EUROPEAN
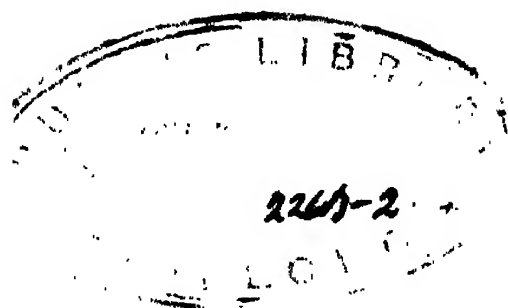# CIVILIZATION

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

BY

VARIOUS CONTRIBUTORS

Under the direction of
EDWARD EYRE

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MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

[Maps 1–9 drawn by PHYLLIS GOMME]

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

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PREFATORY NOTE

I SHOULD like to record my particular obligations to three works: A. Piganiol's *La Conquête romaine*, Tenney Frank's *Economic History of Rome* (2nd ed., 1927), and vols. vii–ix of the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

I have also to express my acknowledgements to the Cambridge University Press for permission to quote a passage from vol. iv of the *Ancient History*.

A. W. G.

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CENTRAL ITALY

CENTRAL ITALY
c. 3rd and 2nd Centuries B.C.

Chora release in black capitals CASTRUM NOVUM
Latin release underlined Sulciola
Contours of 200,600, 900, 1200 and 1500 metre
——— Boundary, approximate only, of Roman territory in 1 B.C.

Longitude East 12° of Greenwich

CENTRAL ITALY (Gazetteer index)

ARQUI	HADRIA	ROME
ARIMINIA	HERNICI	RUBICON, R.
ALBA FUCENS	INTERAMNA	SABINI
ANIO, R.	LATIUM	SAMNIUM
ANTIUM	LIRIS, R.	SATICULA
APULIA	LUCA	SENA GALLICA
ARDEA	LUCANIA	SENTINUM
ARIMINUM	LUCERIA	SIGNINIA
ARNO, R.	LUNA	NORA
ARPI	MARSI	SPOLETIUM
ARRETIUM	METAPONTUM	SUESSA
ATELLA	METAURUS, R.	SUTRIUM
AT FIDUR. R.	MINTURNAE	TARENTUM
BENEVENTUM	MUTINA	TERRACINA
BRUNDISIUM	NAR, R.	TIBER, R.
CALES	NARNIA	TIBUR
CALOR	NEAPOLIS	TRASIMENE, Lake
CAMPANIA	NEPTE	TREBIA, R.
CANNAE	NOLA	TREBULA, R.
CANUSIUM	NUCERIA	UMBRIA
CAPUA	OSTIA	VELITRAE
CORFOLI	PAELIGNI	VENUSIA
CASTRUM NOVUM	PARETIUM (POSIDONIA)	VIA APPIA
CIRCEII	PICENUM	„ AURELIA
CLUSIUM	PISA	„ CASSIA
CORTONA	PLACENTIA	„ FLAMINIA
CORA	PO, R.	„ POPILIA
CREMONA	PONTIA	„ VALERIA
CUMAE	POPULONIA	VOLTURNUS, R.
ETRURIA	POSIDONIA (PAESTUM)	VOLSCI
FALERII	PRAENESTE	
FIRMUM	PUTEOLI	
FREGELLAE		
GAULS		

ORIGINS

THE great achievement of Rome was the intelligent unification, by her political and military gifts, of the Mediterranean world. Her history therefore offers a very complete contrast to that of Greece, whose intellectual achievements were more important than the political, and who never attained to unity even within her own boundaries, even under the rule of the Macedonian conquerors. Yet when Italy first enters history, her peoples present a more diverse appearance than had the Greeks; and, though the geographical conditions there (which are too well known to need recapitulation) have always been more favourable to unity than those of Greece, yet it was not till the Roman conquest that any sort of unity was achieved; and before that, and during that, Rome herself, developing out of very varying elements, had to achieve her own.

The problems involved in the history of Italy after the Stone Age[1] are in some respects similar to those of Greece. There is no written record, to give us a clue to the languages spoken, earlier than the seventh century, no extant reference to Italian peoples by contemporary writers before the beginning of the fifth, when Greek historians and geographers began to notice them. The evidence for the earlier period is therefore (apart from ancient traditions, many of which may be trustworthy enough, but which it is generally difficult to test) entirely archaeological. This gives us certain facts, of which the following is a brief outline. The Bronze Age (preceded by a brief period in which copper was known and used unalloyed with tin) began in the first half of the second millennium B.C., that is, some centuries later than the Bronze Age in Greece, but contemporary with that in Gaul and central Europe.[2] From the pottery and

[1] For the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods in Italy, see vol. i.
[2] For the Bronze Age in Gaul, see vol. iii.

the methods of burial we can infer a certain uniformity through-out Italy and some kinship with contemporary Gaul, and, what is more important, that, in those two districts in which have been found considerable remains of the earlier, Neolithic period, namely, Liguria in the extreme north-west and Sicily, there is a continuity of culture from that earlier age. These people were practised in agriculture and pasturage; sheep, goats, and cattle were bred; wheat, barley, the vine and the olive cultivated. They appear to have paid great attention to burial rites, though it is probable enough that we exaggerate the importance of this because their graves and little else have survived. But there was no great Bronze Age civilization in Italy such as that of Crete and Mycenae in Greece, and until the last period of that civilization, the Third Late Helladic (c. 1400–1100 B.C.),[1] little contact with Greece, and none with Egypt or Asia; then, imports of Mycenaean ware into Sicily were frequent and Mycenaean influence considerable (it is remarkable that imports from the East are known in Sicily before 2000 B.C., but none in the inter-val); but only in Sicily, not in the peninsula. Nor are there in Italy (except a few in the south-east) such remarkable monu-ments of the Bronze Age as the megalithic tombs and 'temples' of western Europe, known in Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Sar-dinia.[2] Italy was undistinguished at this time.

In the north, in the valley of the Po, there appear about 1500 B.C. a people, known as the *terramara* people (from a par-ticular deposit of earth, *terra marna*, common in the region where their remains were first discovered), who were destined perhaps to have considerable influence on the future fortunes of Italy, certainly to be the cause of much dogmatic controversy among modern scholars. Before then, from the beginning of the Bronze Age, the *pile-dwellers* of Switzerland had appeared round the lakes of North Italy, men who built their houses on piles on the edges of lakes. The terramara people also built their houses on piles, though no longer on the water-edge; and though the furnishing of their houses was in many ways different from that of the earlier pile-dwellers, yet they were probably men of the

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[1] See vol. i, p. 986 ff.   [2] See vol. i, pp. 169 ff.

same race. Both they and the pile-dwellers practised cremation, not inhumation, of the dead—a rite, as far as we know, now for the first time introduced into Italy; and the archaeological evidence is clear that they practised this rite and this rite alone. They spread south, over the eastern valley of the Po, and as far as the foot-hills of the northern Apennines. At about the same period cremation appears first in place of inhumation in the Bronze Age tombs of Gaul. Since it implies different religious beliefs, as to immortality and the after-life, it implies also a difference of culture, and perhaps of race; and since the terramara culture is, at the beginning, uniform and distinct from that of the rest of Italy, we may assume that it was brought by invaders from the north, who came by the Alpine passes. It is often asserted, in addition, that cremation is characteristic of a nomad, pastoral people; but it should be noted, at this stage, that the terramara were a settled, agricultural people, living in villages of a fixed and peculiar type.

We have further clear archaeological evidence of another period, the *Villanovan*, from the district round Bologna: tombs of a people practising cremation only, but using weapons of iron. They date from about 1000 B.C., or a little earlier, and mark the beginning of the Iron Age in Italy (very little later than its beginnings in Greece). The weapons and pottery are distinctively Italian in character, and though they show certain affinities with those of the early Iron Age of central Europe, yet the Italian remains are the earlier (and earlier also than the first Iron Age importations from Greece); this Villanovan culture is clearly the work of the terramara people after they had learnt the use of iron; it is a development of the terramara culture. But what is more important, we can compare, from the evidence of many series of tombs, several different districts of Italy in the early Iron Age, that is, down to the end of the seventh century. In the north are three groups, in the Lake District, round Bologna (the Villanovan), and in Venetia; the first two are developments, without a break, from the Bronze Age; in the last the introduction of iron may have occurred as a result of invasion, but whether of the terramara people, or of a

people from Dalmatia is disputed. Then come two more groups, in Tuscany and in Latium. A characteristic common to these five districts is that in all of them cremation precedes inhumation; or rather, in the first four districts cremation only was practised in the earliest Iron Age burials, inhumation begins later and gains ground continuously; whereas in Latium, inhumation, though found in the earliest graves (*c.* ninth century), is less frequent than cremation, and is more frequent in the later graves than in the earlier. Seeing then that we have, in the Bronze Age, inhumation universal over all Italy south of the Po, and towards the end of that period and in the early Iron Age cremation only practised by peoples in the north of Italy, the conclusion is reasonable that these people extended south across the Apennines into Tuscany and Latium, bringing with them their burial rites and their iron weapons, and that the original population continued their own rite of inhumation, which later again gained ground at the expense of the custom of the invaders. But the invaders did not get beyond Tuscany and Latium; except for one isolated case in the south not far from Tarentum, no cremation graves have been found amongst the many Iron Age cemeteries belonging to the four groups which make up the rest of Italy—Picenum, Campania, Apulia, and Lucania—nor in Sicily. Here, it would appear, the original inhabitants held back the invasion, perhaps because they had already learnt the use of iron weapons from Dalmatia and Greece.[1]

So much for the archaeological evidence, in its simplest outline. The philological is more precise, but more limited.[2] It consists of inscriptions, some short, some long, dating from the eighth to the third century, from various parts of Italy, in various dialects, and also to some extent of information given us by the Latin grammarians. From this we learn the existence of a number of well-defined dialects (apart from the two foreign

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[1] This is to put the case for *invasion* perhaps too strongly. It is easy enough for foreign customs and beliefs to be transmitted without any conquest.

[2] For the best short account of all the evidence for this early period (best because it keeps closest to the facts) see Conway in vol. iv of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, where also will be found a bibliography of works which deal with the matter in more detail.

languages, Etruscan and Greek), named, from the districts in which they occur, Ligurian, Celtic (between the Alps and Apennines, subsequent to the Gallic invasions of the sixth and fifth centuries) and Venetic in the north; East Italic, Safine or Osco-Umbrian, and Latin in the centre; Bruttian and Messapic in the south, and Siculan in Sicily. All of these (with the possible exception of East Italic, known by a small number of inscriptions found near Picenum) belong to the Indo-European group of languages; there is no positive evidence (apart from a few non-Indo-European words the origin of which is quite uncertain, whether native or imported, and if imported, when) that from the time when the peoples of Italy first emerge into history they spoke any but Indo-European tongues; as far as we know (we must remember that the evidence is late) the Siculi and the Ligures, who seem to represent the earliest inhabitants of Bronze Age Italy, were as much Indo-European-speaking peoples as the later Gauls, Umbrians, and Latins. Secondly, these dialects fall into two main groups, of which one, consisting of Safine and Latin, forms the specifically Italic branch of the Indo-European languages. Thirdly, this Italic branch is more nearly allied to the great Celtic group of western and west-central Europe (represented in Italy by the Celtic of the Po valley) than to Greek or any other Indo-European tongue.[1] Lastly, this Celtic group is itself divided into two sub-groups, one, Goidelic (the Gaelic of Scotland and Ireland), preserving the original Indo-European guttural (or rather one of them, q^v), the other, Brythonic, spoken by the Britons and most of the Gauls, labializing it into p; the Celtic of the Po valley belongs to the p-group; of the Italic dialects, Safine belongs to the p-group, original Latin to the k-group.[2] There are other important distinctions between Latin and Safine, some of which show that the latter was the nearer

[1] This close kinship between Celtic and Latin has recently been disputed by Meillet, who believes rather that both preserve features of the original Indo-European.

[2] Cf. Latin *quis*, *quod*, Safine *pis*, *pod*; Latin *quattuor*, Celtic *petor*. In Celtic the geographical distribution of the two groups is distinct; but elsewhere they are confused. Compare πέντε (πέμπω) = *coguo*, but λύκος = *lupus*, and in one Greek dialect κόσσος, in another πόσος; though the Latin *lupus* is, as likely as not, a direct borrowing from Safine. The tendency to labialization has continued in modern Roumanian, e.g. *appa* = *aqua*.

to Celtic. Safine was spoken by all the Samnite tribes, occupy-
ing central Italy and, later, Campania and Lucania—driving
out the Bruttii. It also had considerable influence on early Latin,
of which classical Latin shows many traces. It was not until the
first century B.C. that Latin finally prevailed over all the other
dialects spoken in Italy.

We may therefore assume that the speakers of the Italic group
of dialects, more nearly akin to the Celtic peoples than the
Ligurians, Veneti, Messapians, and Siculi, were invaders, though
when they first invaded we cannot say; and that of them, the
Safine-speaking peoples, more nearly akin to the Celts of Gaul,
were the latest comers, an earlier wave of those same peoples
who later, about the sixth century, occupied transpadane Italy
(and who later still made that destructive but short-lived raid
which culminated in the sack of Rome). Combining this with the
archaeological evidence we may well suppose that the Safines were
the cremation-people of the terramara and Villanovan periods,
who in the early Iron Age will thus have spread over central,
and subsequently into southern Italy. In that case the Latins,
earlier comers to Italy, will have been an inhumation-people
(like the earlier Celts in Gaul), as had also been all the original
inhabitants of Italy throughout the Neolithic and Bronze Ages:
Ligures, Siculi, Bruttii, and Veneti. The eastern peoples, the
Messapii and Picentes, may have been largely mixed with immi-
grants from Illyria across the Adriatic.

What is the effect of this on the problem of the origins of
Rome, and in particular of that remarkable and so persistent
division of her citizens into patricians and plebeians? Some his-
torians have maintained that this division was not racial, but
economic, others that the patricians represent an invading people,
the plebeians the original conquered inhabitants, though they
give very different accounts of them, the only points common to
the various theories being the confidence with which they are
held and the evidence on which they are based. Some of the
facts can be briefly given. First, there is no doubt that the Latin
language contains elements of more than one Italic dialect, and
in such a way that they cannot be the result of later borrowing;

not only, for example, has it words both of the *k*-group and the *p*-group, but a confused verb-formation that can only be due to an admixture of foreign, Celtic elements. Secondly, the Romans themselves had many and persistent traditions of an early invasion of Sabines (Sabine is only the Latin form of Safine) into the Roman land, of intermarriage, and of subsequent fusion; the Palatine Hill was particularly the settlement of the Romans, the Capitoline of the Sabines. Lastly there is the evidence of institutions, religious, social, and political. For example, the Roman religion, like the Greek, exhibits a combination of two kinds of deity and two kinds of ritual, of sky-gods and of earth-gods, and these may originally have been distinct; and there were two kinds of augury (always politically important in Rome, as it was not in Greece), the one by the observation of birds, the other of the entrails of sacrificial animals. There were two kinds of marriage, that of *confarreatio*, solemnized by religious ceremony, and that of *usus*, in which there was none; and two ways of holding property, in one of which right was conferred by a ceremony, in the other by simple possession (*res mancipi* and *res nec mancipi*), and so two kinds of ownership, *quiritalis* and *possessio*, the former being applied particularly to land and slaves, the latter to flocks and herds. Then there are the two names for the people of Rome, *populus Romanus* and *Quirites;* the three old *tribus*, the *Ramnes* (said to be named from Romulus, the Roman), the *Tities* (from Tatius, the Sabine), and the *Luceres* (thought by some to be Etruscan and later comers); and finally, after the many revolts of the plebs, the two sets of magistrates, the patrician consuls or praetors, and the plebeian tribunes, each given, in a fashion, absolute powers, and the two assemblies, the *comitia curiata* (in which many suppose that the plebeians had no part) and the purely plebeian *concilium*. The conflict between the two orders informs all the early history of the Roman Republic: was it due to an original racial distinction? And can the dualism of custom and institution be attributed to the same cause? One of the privileges that the patricians clung to most obstinately (according to some, or endeavoured to establish, according to others) was the refusal of intermarriage with the plebeians: was

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this due to, or illustrated by, the fact that they practised one form of marriage (whether *confarreatio* or *usus*), the plebeians the other? And if the cause is racial distinction, can we name the races to which the two orders belonged?

Many believe that the patricians descended from an invading, conquering people, of northern stock, Indo-European, pastoral, nomad or semi-nomad, grouped in clans (the *gentes*) rather than in families, practising cremation, worshippers of the sky-gods (especially Jupiter, who is the same as Zeus), like (they say) the Achaean and Dorian invaders of Greece; and that the plebeians represent the original peoples of Italy, non-Aryan, of 'Mediterranean' race like the Pelasgians, Minoans, Arcadians of Greece, agricultural, settled, with the family as the unit, burying their dead, and worshipping earth-gods and fertility-demons and what not;[1] though they cannot agree among themselves whether to call this conquering people the Sabine or the Latin element in Rome. But first, as we have seen, there is no ground for believing that the inhabitants of Italy, before the invasions of 1000–800 B.C., spoke a non-Indo-European language. This indeed would not in itself be very important,[2] if the description of these two rival cultures were correct. But there is little reason for supposing that it is; nor, if it were, that it could be applied to the patricians and plebeians of Rome. For, firstly, there is no trace of a similar persistent political division into patricians and plebeians among the other peoples of Italy; which we should expect, for Rome was not the only place conquered by the invader. Secondly, there is no sure evidence that any one set of customs and institutions belonged to one or the other order, that *confarreatio* or *usus*, *possessio* or *ius Quiritale*, worship of Jupiter or of the earth-gods, cremation or inhumation, was confined exclusively to the patricians or the plebeians (except that augury by birds was a privilege of the patricians and used in the election, or rather confirmation, of the patrician magistrates only).[3] Nor were any

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[1] See vol. i, 'The Greeks', c. i, for a discussion of the races in Greece; and c. li, for the different religious ideas of Greece.

[2] It becomes important only when the evidence of philology is adduced to support the argument as to the cultures of the invading and conquered peoples.

[3] Even this does not help us; for augury by entrails of animals was probably not

temples barred to one or the other order. Moreover, the Roman tradition is explicit that from the earliest days of the fusion of Roman and Sabine, the patrician senate was composed of equal numbers of the two peoples.[1] It may be true, indeed it is probable, since there had almost certainly been a comparatively recent fusion of two peoples in Latium, that the majority of the patricians (and of the rich landowners generally) belonged to the conquering people; but that is not to assert the distinct racial origin of patricians and plebeians. There were civil and political distinctions between lords and commons in England in the later Middle Ages, and the majority of the lords were in fact

indigenous to Italy at all, but brought in by the Etruscans from the East (learnt by them from the Chaldeans); and some authorities regard augury by birds as Etruscan too. So some maintain that the rite of *confarreatio* is exclusively patrician, others that it is exclusively plebeian. Similarly, those who think the invading northerners, the cremators, are the Sabine element (largely because of their linguistic affinity with the Celts) have to contend with the fact that no trace of cremation has been found in graves of the proper Sabine country.

Another distinction, of dress, has also been made: between the woollen cloak, fastened by a pin or brooch (as in central Europe), and the linen tunic, which was sewn; both were worn in Rome and the difference has been attributed to racial causes—the former was the dress of the pastoral northerners, the latter of the agriculturalists, the conquered inhabitants. And it has been pointed out that, up to a late period, one patrician family and certain priests never wore linen, but wool only; and argued that this helps to show the pastoral and northern origin of the patricians. This custom may be a survival of an old pastoral habit; but we know that the cremation-people of north Italy were an agricultural people; and are we to believe that the original inhabitants, agriculturalists as they were, yet had no flocks, and did not use wool? Moreover, in the sixth and fifth centuries at least woollen garments 'fastened with countless *fibulae*' (Randall MacIver, *Italy before the Romans*, p. 107) were worn throughout Picenum; and Picenum was the district which successfully resisted all foreign invasion whether of the northerners or of the Etruscans; and cremation was never practised there. They may well have adopted a foreign custom (for they were especially open to foreign influence, particularly from Illyria and Greece); but this fact shows the danger of such arguments based on archaeological evidence. Brooches were also worn by the early inhabitants of Campania and Bruttium, where there is no northern influence.

[1] The problem of the three *tribes*, the Ramnes, the Tities, and the Luceres, is not so easy. The tradition attributed them to three different races; but it looks more likely that they are analogous to the three tribes of the Dorian peoples in Greece, or the four of the Ionian (see vol. i, pp. 1011, 1064). In that case they would be indeed survivals from a primitive nomad culture; for nomads have always tended to divide by kindred tribes and clans; but they would all belong to the same people (like the Dorian tribes), and that might as well be the conquered as the invaders. (The names of all three Roman tribes seem also to have parallels in Etruscan: Conway in *Cambridge Ancient History*, iv. 407.)

descendants of the Norman invaders; but we do not conclude
from that that the origin of the distinctions was racial, nor that
all varieties of custom or institution were due to the same cause,
nor that there were necessarily radical differences in culture or
religion between Normans and English. To speak of patricians
= northern invaders = Indo-Europeans = pastoral nomads =
cremation-using, sky-god-worshipping people, and of plebeians
= Mediterraneans = agricultural and settled people = buriers
of their dead and worshippers of earth and fertility spirits, is in
any case to over-simplify the problem, and is misleading. What-
ever else may be true, we may be sure that the invaders, what-
ever their origin, were, by the time they reached Latium (not
earlier, apparently, than the end of the ninth century), already
mixed with many of the peoples they had conquered, already
agricultural, already probably using inhumation as well as cre-
mation, and worshipping strange gods; while there is every
reason to suppose that the conquered too were shepherds as
well as tillers of the soil, and spoke an Aryan tongue (though
doubtless, like the invaders, the descendants of long past fusions
of Aryan and non-Aryan peoples), and worshipped Jupiter and
the other fine gods of the north.

For these then and other reasons (some of which will appear
later) it is best not to assume a racial origin for the distinction
between the Roman orders; but rather to suppose that it arose
from causes (one of which was probably successful invasion, but
not necessarily of a people of radically different culture) which
have operated elsewhere to produce a privileged, landowning
class, though at Rome, for reasons which in the obscurity that
enfolds all her early history we cannot divine, the division
between this class and the rest of the population became wider
and more rigid than in any other European community. So
rigid and stiff-necked, that it required armed revolutions and
the struggles of a hundred and more years to break it down; yet
through them all, in the face of external enemies, the Roman
unity prevailed.[1]

[1] We may compare, in this respect, the divisions within the Spartan state
(see vol. i, 'The Greeks', c. iii) into citizens, perioeci, and helots: certainly con-
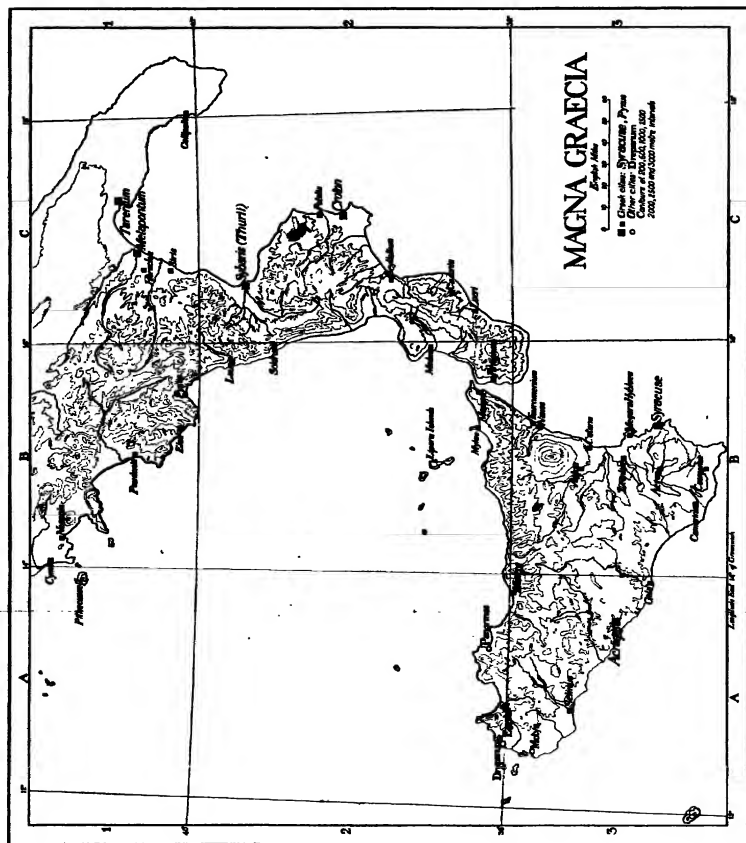
And apart altogether from this problem of the origin of the Roman people (fascinating as it is in itself), we must not ignore the important part which the other peoples of Italy played in the formation of the Italian state. It is to be emphasized that the Romans, in conquering Italy, were not a civilized people bringing culture to rude barbarians, but were fighting neighbours nearly as far advanced towards civilization as themselves (the Etruscans, in their peculiar way, far more advanced). Everywhere agriculture had reached the adult stage: barley and wheat and oats, the vine and the olive, fruits and vegetables, were cultivated; cattle, sheep, and goats, fowls, horses, and dogs all domesticated. In the north between 900 and 500 B.C. Bologna (Bononia or Felsina), the centre of the Villanovan culture, was engaged largely in manufacture, especially in metal-work; their exports and influence reached as far as central Europe. There was trade by sea as well as by land. Farther north at the same time the Veneti, with their centre at Este (by whose walls then flowed the Adige river, with outlet to the sea), were also engaged in metallurgy, and their work was similar to, but distinct from, that of the Villanovans. Both remain curiously detached from the culture to the south of them till the Etruscan conquest at the end of the sixth century: from 700 to 500 B.C. the Etruscans were at the zenith of their wealth and power, importing and copying Greek manufactures and spreading their influence in Campania and central Italy; but hardly a single piece of Etruscan jewellery or Greek pottery belonging to this period has been found in Villanovan or Venetic territory. Shortly before 500 B.C. the Etruscans crossed the Apennines and settled near Bologna and elsewhere, but, apparently, did not mix with the conquered peoples (at least their burial-places remained distinct, the one set of graves and furnishings wholly Etruscan, the other wholly Villanovan); Villanovan and Venetic art declined, and imports of Greek manufacture, both through Etruria and direct, became common. The southern Villanovans, who by the end of the

querors and conquered, with political privileges confined. to the first, and freedom to the first two classes, and no inter-marriage between them, yet all three, in the main, Dorian (for most helots were Messenians).

tenth century had crossed the Apennines and settled throughout Umbria and the later Etruria and as far south as the Alban Hills, were early conquered by the Etruscans, and, at first dominated by them, later combined to form the Umbro-Etruscan culture which had so important an influence on the development of Rome.

To the south and east of the Villanovans were the Picentes, dwelling along the east coast from Ancona to Messapia and in the central Apennines, a hardy, warlike race, to judge from the very military equipment of their graves and the success with which they resisted the invaders from the north. Their contacts were in the main with the opposite coast of the Adriatic, Illyria, and Greece, and later with Apulia. Fine weapons and armour, and bronze ornaments have been discovered. Many of the latter are identical in style with those of the same period found in graves round Lakes Como and Maggiore in north Italy, and quite different from Etruscan, Villanovan, and Venetic work, proving the existence of a separate trade-route, probably through Istria and Trieste. In the sixth and fifth centuries the Picentes, who perhaps had little manufacture of their own, imported much very fine Greek work, especially in bronze, but through Apulia, not direct from Greece. Some of this too found its way to the people of the north Italian lakes, who, in the fifth century, traded also with the Etruscans of Bologna and with the peoples of Switzerland and the upper Rhine valley to the north; through them, as well as through the Greek city Massilia, Greek and Etruscan manufactures found their way into western Germany, Gaul, and, occasionally, to Britain.

Farther south Greek influence becomes more and more prominent. In Apulia native pottery of a peculiar and sometimes fantastic character flourished side by side with imported Greek ware till the beginning of the fifth century; and later, in Hellenistic times, between 350 and 200 B.C., the town of Canosa was a very prosperous centre and produced a distinctive pottery of its own, compound of Greek decorative designs with purely native forms. From Campania and Bruttium we have far less evidence for native culture; the former was influenced by the

MAP No. 2

MAGNA GRAECIA

Capital cities
■ = Great cities: Syracuse, Pyxus
○ = Other cities: Drepanum
Contours at 200, 600, 1000,
2000, 3500 m/3000 mtrs intervals

Greeks after the foundation of Cumae, and then later conquered by the Etruscans, who founded Capua about 600 B.C., but who did not leave such remarkable traces of their rule as they did north of the Tiber, and whose influence after their defeat by the Greeks in the fifth century soon waned. In Bruttium too we must wait for further excavation before we shall know much about its pre-Greek stages.

It is remarkable that during the whole of the Bronze Age and the first three centuries or so of the Iron Age, culture in Sicily was wholly independent of that in Italy, and in the Bronze Age much more advanced. From 1400 to about 1100 B.C. there was frequent trade with Mycenaean Greece; then, in the early Iron Age, there is a brief and unimportant native art; from 900 contact with Greece is resumed, and almost anything of interest found on native sites is either imported from Greece or a close imitation of Greek ware; after 700 and the Greek settlement, native art is entirely absorbed in that of Greece. And still the contact between Sicily and Italy, till the Roman conquest, was that made by the Greek states, not by the indigenous peoples.

But these very centuries which exhibit the slow decadence of native Sicilian culture are marked in Italy by the rise of strong and youthful nations. Building on a continuous foundation of inherited knowledge and experience, the Italians of the Iron Age acquired ever fresh vigour and independence. Villanovans, Atestines, Picenes and others, even before the coming of the Etruscans and Greeks, had built up the greatness of provincial Italy.... The independent vigour and energy of its several peoples and provinces made the ultimate strength and coherence of the Roman state.[1]

II. THE GREEKS AND THE ETRUSCANS IN ITALY. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ALPHABET

In addition to the many peoples mentioned in the last section, all of whom belonged to Italy, and were in a definite sense Italian by the time they emerge into the light of history, there were,

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[1] Randall MacIver, *Italy before the Romans*, p. 157. In the sentence I have omitted above Dr. MacIver writes: 'By the fourth century it was a country civilised from end to end and ready for its political unification under the Romans.' This seems to me to misuse the word civilisation altogether.

from at least the eighth century B.C., two peoples of alien habit, the Greeks and the Etruscans, who, though later, like all the rest, absorbed into a Latin Italy, yet had each its own well-defined, un-Italian culture, and in the early historical period played an important part in Italian history.

There is archaeological evidence of considerable Greek infiltration, especially along the west coast, in Etruria and Campania, in the early Iron Age (the tenth and ninth centuries), and vague, unsatisfactory traditions of Greek settlements there. On the inhospitable east coast as well there had long been traffic between Italy and the Balkan peninsula, piratical raids and invasions by 'Illyrians' of Dalmatia and Albania, a people akin to at least one section of the Greeks. In the middle of the eighth century began the colonization proper of south Italy and Sicily by Greeks to whom the distinctive political system of their own country was already familiar and natural.[1] The intensive period of this colonization was from about 750 to 650, roughly contemporary with the colonization of the north Aegean and the coasts of the Black Sea. All three sections of the Greek people, the speakers of the Ionic, the Aeolic, and the Doric dialects, took part, and this division had strength enough to have effect on their mutual relations for many a generation after. They founded in the west, as in the east, small, independent states, at first primarily agricultural– land was what the settlers were after—later developing, many of them, into commercial and manufacturing states, yet remaining predominantly agricultural; for their commercial, as their cultural, relations were mainly with the Greek communities they had sprung from, and there the population was soon again too large to be fed on home-grown supplies, but now there were manufactures and commercial services to exchange for foreign corn, and south Italy and Sicily were, in the fifth and fourth centuries, among the chief sources of supply. By the end of the seventh century, the toe and the heel of Italy and the western coastal lands as far north as Cumae and Naples, and two-thirds of Sicily, were Greek, as Greek as the Aegean coastlands, and called *Megale Hellas*, *Magna Graecia*.

[1] See vol. i, 'The Greeks', c. ii.

Somewhat later, near the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries, Samian traders discovered (by accident, it was said) the rich mining district of Tartessus, beyond the straits in southern Spain, and Phocaeans from Ionia spread all along the south coast of Gaul and the east of Spain, and settled in Corsica. Only one permanent state was founded in the west, that, however, for ever after a city of importance, Massilia (Marseilles): while several trading stations, subordinate to Massilia, were also settled, at Nice (Nicaea), Agde (Agathê), Port-Vendre (Pyrenê) in Gaul, Rosas (Rhodê) and Ampurias (Emporiae) in north-eastern Spain.

All these separate states remained essentially Greek till well on into the third century at least, not only in speech and culture and political life, but looking to the rest of Greece, not to Italy, for their associations. With the Italian, Iberian, and Gaulish peoples they carried on an active trade, and civilized these neighbours; but they did not mix with them. Several of them set up 'treasuries' at Delphi and Olympia; their athletes competed in the national games, their philosophers visited Athens.[1] Their whole life was Greek. In these states, as in Greece, were elected magistrates, senate and assembly, jury-courts; quarrels between democrats and oligarchs; tyrants; and, as they were neighbours, many wars between them. Even distant Massilia, which through her geographical position kept her politics apart, had a treasury at Delphi; it was from there the Greek explorer, Pytheas, made the first recorded journey up the west coasts of Spain and Gaul to Britain and the North Sea, towards the end of the fourth century. The Greek states did work of untold importance for the west in introducing early, and developing, their complex civilization on Italian soil; but the story of that development belongs strictly to the history of Greece.

A very different sort of people were the Etruscans. Whence they came, and what language they spoke (or rather, to what group of languages theirs is akin), is still not certain. But it is at least probable, from a comparative study of their elaborate tombs, from certain personal and place-names, and other indications, that the almost constant tradition of ancient times that

[1] See vol. i, 'The Greeks', cc. ii and vi.

they originally came from south-west Asia Minor is true. Avoiding Sicily and the south coast (perhaps already being occupied by the Greeks) and the less hospitable southern half of the west coast of Italy, and at the same time attracted by the iron mines of Elba and the copper of Volterra, they first ravaged, as piratical bands, and then settled in what has since been known as Etruria or Tuscany, probably in the eighth century. They found there the Umbrians, who had iron weapons and cremated their dead; they mixed with them, introducing their own system of burying the dead in tombs as magnificent and expensive as a family could afford, and preserving their language for several centuries, but taking as well much from them; the Etruscan culture, which played so important a part in the early history of Rome and central Italy, was Umbro-Etruscan, half Italian. Indeed there is no great break in the archaeological evidence of Tuscany in the century in which they arrived. For all that, to assert that their culture is wholly indigenous is to deny what is obvious—that at its height it was distinctive, different from the true Italic, easily recognized wherever it spread. They were a warlike, marauding people, who later extended their raids and their settlements beyond the Apennines northward into the Villanovan country, and towards the end of the seventh century, southward over Latium and Campania. There, and on the sea, they came into contact and conflict with the Greeks.

Another people of the western Mediterranean were the Carthaginians, a Semitic people from Tyre long settled in north Africa with Carthage as their capital. They were bold mariners and traders like the Greeks, and their adventures had taken them particularly to Spain and the west, beyond the straits and north and south along the coasts of the peninsula and of Africa. By the middle of the sixth century they had secured so firm a hold on southern Spain that they were able to exclude the Greeks not only from settlement there, but even, largely, from its markets. The rivalry between these two peoples for the western trade was intensified by the Carthaginian settlement in western Sicily from which the Greeks were never able to expel them. When the Phocaeans, refusing to submit to the rule of Persia in

Ionia,[1] left their homes to join their kindred at Massilia, and
tried to colonize Corsica, the Carthaginians (already in Sar-
dinia) joined with the Etruscans, and in a great naval battle off 535 B.C.,
Alalia the Greeks were defeated. In 480, whether in concert
with the Persian attack on Greece or only with knowledge of it,
the Carthaginians attacked the Greeks of Sicily, but were defeated
at the battle of Himera by Theron of Acragas and Gelon of Syra-
cuse. Six years later, the Greeks of Cumae (who had already suc- 474
cessfully defended themselves against an invasion, in 524) were
attacked by the Etruscans, both by land from Campania and by
sea from the north; and Syracuse, now ruled by Gelon's brother
Hiero, went to their aid, and inflicted so severe a defeat on the
Etruscan navy that it was never again a formidable force. There
is still preserved, as a memorial of the battle, a bronze Etruscan
helmet, dedicated at Olympia 'by Hiero, son of Deinomenes,
and the Syracusans from the Etruscans before Cumae'. Twenty
years later, the Syracusans captured Elba and Corsica. The
Etruscan power had already been diminished by the successful
revolt of Latium (with the result that the Etruscans of Etruria
were now separated from those of Campania), and politically
they now rapidly declined; Campania was overrun by the
Samnites between 445 and 435 B.C. Between the Greeks
and the Carthaginians in Sicily the position was equal, and
hostility grew. Had the Greeks been united, they would have
had less to fear; but unity was only to be got by the submission
of the several cities to the domination of one, and the domination
of one could only be attempted by an autocratic ruler. Syra-
cuse produced many able and energetic military leaders, Gelon
and Hiero in the fifth century, Dionysius and Agathocles in
the fourth; but in spite of much fighting and the destruction of
many rival cities, none succeeded in uniting Sicily, nor even in
founding a permanent dynasty in Syracuse. To such men there
was always a threefold opposition: the disaffection of their own
subjects who preferred the one party a democracy, the other an
oligarchy; the hostility of rival cities who claimed an equal in-
dependence; and that of Carthage, who held on to the western

[1] See vol. i, 'The Greeks', c. iv, p. 1085.

part of the island and whose wars with Syracuse, destructive of
wealth and culture even beyond the norm of Greek wars, were
for the most part immediately provoked by an appeal for help
from some Greek city threatened by a too powerful neighbour.
415-413 In the same way the Athenian intervention and attempt to found
B.C.
an empire in west[1] (in which she had some slight support from
the Etruscans and tried for that of Carthage) was in part based
on the well-grounded fear of many cities of the dominant posi-
tion of Syracuse. Such perpetual struggles could only be ended
by Rome.

In spite of it all the Greek states of Sicily and Italy (in Italy
after the destruction of Sybaris by her neighbour Croton in
510 B.C. there were fewer wars between Greeks, more with the
Italic peoples, Bruttians, and Lucanians) were prosperous and
civilized. They had excellent land, and exported corn in large
quantities to Greece; their manufacture and trade, both with the
east and the west, were extensive; Syracuse, Acragas, Selinus,
Croton, Locri, Tarentum, were the equals in population and
wealth of almost any Greek city in the Aegean area. In the
development of Greek art, literature, philosophy, and science
they had their full share. In this they were but part of the Greek
world. Pythagoras of Samos, the founder of European mathe-
c. 530 matics and religious brotherhoods, settled in Croton; after his
death the mathematics of his school declined, the brotherhood
flourished and played a part in the politics of the state. Another
c. 490-460 Pythagoras of Samos, a sculptor important in the development
of Greek art, settled in Rhegium; Herodotus the historian in
444-443 Thurii, the colony founded by Athens on the site of Sybaris.
Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar, the international poets of
486-467 Greece, wrote as often for the princes of Syracuse as for any one;
c. 455 Aeschylus ended his days there. The temples of the western
cities were as splendid as those of the east, and of the true Greek
type. Croton was famous all over the Greek world for its school
of medicine and its athletes; in Elea were born two of the greatest
c. 520-450 of Greek philosophers, Parmenides and Zeno; in Acragas Empe-
c. 500-440 docles, scientist, poet, and mystic. Sicily also produced Epi-

[1] See vol. i, 'The Greeks', c. vii, pp. 1173-5.

charmus, the father of polite comedy, Gorgias, who travelled 483–376 B.C.
over all Greece and founded systematic rhetoric, and Lysias the c. 446–37
orator; and later, in the third century, two of the greatest names,
the poet Theocritus and Archimedes. All this too was ended by
the Roman conquest.

Contact with these civilized communities naturally affected
their ruder neighbours. But the peoples of Italy were not yet
enough developed to benefit directly by the philosophy and art
which were flourishing at their doors; which belonged entirely
to the Greek world. It was not till the end of the third century,
and then through the second and first, after the conquest of the
East, that Rome was influenced and dominated by the work of
Greece, of which that of Sicily and south Italy had been but a
part. But it must always be kept in mind that during the for-
mative period of Rome, while she was building up her political
position in Italy, these civilized states were thriving and quar-
relling near by; and that these men of Greek descent and culture
were a not unimportant element in the ultimate unity of the
Italian people.

The Etruscans were the other foreign element, in the sense
that their culture was distinctive and foreign. Our knowledge
of their political history is based on archaeology and on Greek
and Latin writers, of their culture almost exclusively on archae-
ology. We have some remains of their temple architecture (in
which stone was not used till the fourth century, but unbaked
brick and timber), but most that we know we owe to their love
of building expensive tombs in stone and furnishing them expen-
sively. We can observe a people with marked characteristics,
but with almost no originality. In their very earliest graves are
found immense quantities of iron and bronze, used for weapons,
adornment, and furniture, later a great wealth of gold; and they
display from the beginning great skill in metal-work. At first
the style of this is Near Eastern, rather than Greek; but from
the seventh century they began to import bronze work and
pottery from Greece. From this time onwards, in practically all
that they made with their hands, in architecture (except for
some difference, not for the better, in the plan of a building), in

sculpture, in metal-work (for all their technical skill), and in painting, they were imitative of Greece. They had doubtless been in contact with Greek work in their eastern home; when they first arrived in Etruria they found many of the coast towns (notably Agylla, the old name for Caere) in the occupation of men perhaps of Greek origin, certainly trading much with Greece. This contact of Italians with Greece, and with the new Greek colonies in Italy, continued under the Etruscan domination. Greek artists and their native pupils were employed to make the terra-cotta (never stone) sculpture of their temples, and to decorate their earliest tombs with elaborate paintings. The finest Greek pottery and bronzes, from Corinth, Ionia, and finally Athens (who ousted all rivals), were imported in immense quantities from the seventh to the fifth century,[1] and much of it, fortunately for us, placed in the solidly-built tombs to be preserved unharmed to our day. When their own native artists attained the technical skill, as sculptors in terra-cotta (mostly for the tombs) and as painters, they remained in pupillage to Greece. All the stages in the development of Greek art in its archaic period can be paralleled in Etruria. The Etruscan artists copied not merely the technique and method of their masters' work, and their conventions and mannerisms, but they took over much also of their subject-matter, especially the stories of the Greek mythology. Their technical skill in bronze work was so great that it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a piece is Etruscan or Greek; so close is the imitation. Generally, however, there is no doubt; for the Etruscans, for all their artistic dependence, were yet a vigorous people, who succeeded in coarsening and brutalizing their Greek models. You will find a Greek painting faithfully, and indeed skilfully, copied in its technique, its grouping of the figures, its use of colour, to the last detail, and all the grace of the original gone. The terra-cotta Apollo of Veii, of about 500 B.C., is the most important Etruscan statue

[1] It has been pointed out by Tenney Frank, in his *Economic History of Rome*, that, though so much Attic ware was imported into Etruria, comparatively few Attic coins have been found there; and that this (if it is not accidental) points to Etruscan merchant vessels having carried the ware from the ports in Italy (Cumae, Laos, and Medma), to which they were brought by Greek vessels.

yet found; it is Greek in pose, dress, and technique, and formed part of a group illustrating a Greek story, and commonly represented by Greek artists. We can find an occasional independent success, as in the low-relief warrior bust from Orvieto, the Hercules in the Minerva and Hercules group in the Louvre; there is some charm and dignity in the best sarcophagus portraits, and in the terra-cotta rider with two horses in Copenhagen, and the bronze head of a youth in Florence.[1] But in general there is little pleasure to be got from their work. By themselves the Etruscans (to judge them by their plentiful remains) were energetic, cruel, coarse, and unintelligent; where they introduce a new style it is, as in the third century, a hideous combination of debased Hellenistic decoration with a realistic portraiture; if they have a subject-matter of their own, it is demons and hobgoblins of a childish frightfulness. They had no literature, no learning. That they played an important part in the early development of the Roman state need not be doubted; nor that they contributed valuable elements in the formation of the Italian people. They continued with a separate speech and traditions till the first century B.C. Engineering skill may have been especially theirs; but it is idle to inquire now what exactly the later Italy owed to them. We can but take their 'civilization' as they show it to us when it was distinctive, not yet merged in a later unity; and we see it as vigorous, gross, and puerile, scarcely worthy of the name.

One thing, however, western Europe owes immediately to the Etruscans—its alphabet. The history of the alphabet is a very complex one, and in many details uncertain; both conscious change and imitation and unconscious development have played

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[1] It is characteristic that about that admirable bronze statue the *Orator* (which has an inscribed dedication in Etruscan) the greatest diversity of opinion prevails as to its date (from the fourth century to 100 B.C.), its authorship (Etruscan or Roman), and its affinities (Roman or Greek). I find it difficult to believe that it is Etruscan work—it is too divergent from all their portraiture, especially that of the third and second centuries; its closest affinities are with Roman portrait sculpture of the end of the second and beginning of the first century B.C., which itself had been largely influenced by Greek work. If the *Orator* is by an Etruscan artist, he was as imitative of Roman work as his predecessors had been of Greek, and as skilled.

their part; borrowing was not necessarily wholesale, but inter-
mittent, and might vary from district to district. But, put as
simply as possible, the story of our alphabet is as follows: the
Greeks, probably some time before the tenth century, but accord-
ing to some, not till the end of the eighth, borrowed both the idea
of an alphabet and the alphabetic signs from the Phoenicians, to
replace the older pictographic, syllabic, and linear signs.[1] The
Phoenician alphabet being consonantal, with no vowels, and at
the same time having letters for sounds not used by the Greeks,
the latter took some of these unwanted signs to represent their
own vowel-sounds, A, E, I, O. Other signs were taken to repre-
sent approximate sounds, for example H (a guttural in Phoe-
nician) to represent the aspirate in Greek. Five new signs were
invented and added to the alphabet, Υ, Φ, Χ, Ψ, Ω. In the
much divided Greek world there were many varieties of this
new alphabet (though the spread of the alphabet indicates at
the same time the essential unity of the Greeks), from which
emerged later two main groups, eastern (in Ionia and the islands)
and western (most of European Greece and Italy and Sicily): in
the former the new sign Χ was guttural (*ch* as in *loch*) and Ψ was
ps, in the latter Χ was used for *x*, and Ψ for *ch*; later, men of
Ionic speech gave up pronouncing the aspirate, *koppa* (*q*) and *w*,
used the sign of the first of these three (H) for another vowel
sound (long *e*), and dropped those of *q* (Ϙ) and *w* (F) altogether,
whereas the western group retained all three. Attic adopted the
Ionic alphabet during the second half of the fifth century (offi-
cially in 403 B.C.). So overwhelming was the predominance of
Attic literature in the Greek-speaking world of Hellenistic times,
that this form of the alphabet became universally used for Greek.
Long before this had happened the Etruscans had borrowed and
adapted the western Greek alphabet from the Greeks of Italy,[2]

[1] The pictographic and linear scripts of the Aegean period had perhaps already
disappeared; Cyprus (whose dialect was akin to the Arcadian in Greece) preserved
a syllabic script throughout classical times, but one singularly ill-adapted to the
Greek language, and it is quite unknown whether it had been brought over from
Greece by the first Greek colonists. No trace of a syllabic script, to represent Greek,
has been found in Greece. See vol. i, 'The Greeks', cc. i and ii.

[2] Dr. Randall MacIver thinks it probable that the Etruscan alphabet was not
borrowed from Greek, but 'was brought over as an already completed and familiar

and the rest of the Italians from the Etruscans; so that the modern European alphabet, although almost as purely Greek, yet differs from Greek in these main features—the use of H for the aspirate, and X for *x* (and hence the position of *x* in the alphabet), and the preservation of F (though for a different sound) and P.

Further, the Etruscan speech did not distinguish between the sounds *g* and *k* (nor between *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*); hence the third letter of the Greek alphabet, Γ, *g* (written ⟨ or C) was, like K and P, pronounced as *k*, and ultimately drove out K and P altogether from pure Etruscan; but before this happened, other Italian peoples had learnt the art of writing from the Etruscans, and all three signs (with slightly different uses) were preserved in their scripts. Latin used the same sign C for both sounds *k* and *g* and the same V for both consonantal and vocalic *v* until the first century B.C., when new signs were introduced. The Greek Z was dropped in the west as not representing any sound there used (the sign was added to Latin quite late, in Cicero's time, together with Y, and at the end of their alphabet, both only for the purpose of transliterating Greek words); G took its place in the alphabet.

There can be no doubt, from a study of the alphabets of the principal Italic dialects, Umbrian, Oscan (spoken by the Safine people), and Venetic, that all derive directly from the Etruscans,

instrument by the first batch of Asiatic immigrants'; principally because in some inscriptions the sound of *f* is represented by a symbol found in Asia Minor and nowhere in Greece. But not only are the similarities between Greek and Etruscan far greater than the differences: for example, the signs adopted for the vowels—this could not have been independently done by two peoples; there is the further point that the Etruscan is like the western, not the eastern Greek alphabet; which is highly improbable if it had already been formed in Asia. On the other hand, MacIver's view would solve another difficulty: that before the first alphabetical writing there is no evidence that the Etruscans ever used writing at all; yet if they came from Asia Minor, in their original home they must have long been familiar with both cuneiform and pictographic scripts. This difficulty is used by some (for example, by H. Last in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vii, p. 380) to support the view that the Etruscans were an indigenous people of Italy, descendants of the Neolithic inhabitants; against which there are, however, more weighty objections. In any case, if the Etruscans did learn the alphabet in western Asia it would still come directly from Greece; for the western Asiatic scripts derive from the oldest Greek, not directly from Phoenician.

New *names* for the letters (*be* instead of *beta*, *de* for *delta*, and so on) were also probably first adopted by western Greeks, and by the Etruscans from them.

though they may have been at the same time influenced by direct
contact with Greek. Some tribes, especially of the Oscans, were
in direct contact with the Greeks of Cumae, and modified their
alphabet accordingly;[1] and the Latins, apparently after the
expulsion of the Etruscan dynasty from Rome, alone of the
Italic peoples, then adopted the new Greek fashion of writing
from left to right; the Etruscans, like the Phoenicians and the
Greeks in early times, and like the Oscans, Umbrians, and
Veneti, wrote from right to left.[2] But it was the Etruscans who
first learnt the alphabet, so great an instrument of civilization,
from the Greeks and introduced it to the Italian peoples; and
this was perhaps their greatest service to Italy.

Between 800 and 200 B.C. the art of writing spread over the whole
of Italy between the Alps and the Mediterranean, with the excep-
tion of Liguria where we have no pre-Roman evidence: and if we
except the two peninsulas of Messapia and Bruttium, the Greek
colonies, . . . and a few scattered points on the coast of Picenum,
there was no community in the whole area which did not learn the
art, directly or indirectly, from the Etruscans, and which was not
burdened temporarily or permanently, by anomalies due to the way
in which the Etruscans had curtailed the resources of the Greek
alphabet to suit their own comparatively barbarous observation of
the elements of language. The paucity of vowel symbols and the
redundancy of c, k, and q, the two chief weaknesses of the Latin
alphabet, still survive to plague every child who uses that alphabet
to spell his own language: and they are part of humanity's debt to
the Etruscans.[3]

III. THE EARLY HISTORY OF ROME

(*To the end of the sixth century B.C.*)

The greatness of later Rome led poets and historians, with
equal readiness, to elaborate the story of her origin and early
history in such a way that we are free to doubt everything in
their accounts, and yet remain uncertain what nucleus of truth

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[1] The peoples of the extreme south, Messapians and Bruttians, learnt directly
from the Greeks, the Messapians from Tarentum, who used the east Greek alphabet.

[2] There are a very few early *boustrophedon* and left-to-right inscriptions in Etruscan.

[3] Conway, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, iv. 403.

there may be in them. For a story may be wholly invented, or a true tradition embroidered; the finished products in both cases will be very similar. To take the most obvious instance, Aeneas and the Trojan origin; it is not in the least improbable that, in the disturbed state of the Aegean after the fall of Troy and the invasion of Greece by the Dorians, that is, in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C., groups of men, driven from their homes, settled in Italy, and in Latium amongst other places; but it is equally likely that the whole story is a poetic fiction, as much invented as that of Brut the Trojan who founded Britain. Fortunately this particular case is historically quite unimportant; for even if there were such wanderers in Latium, they were but a negligible element in the population. But for all the early history of Rome, the period of the kings, the early republic, the struggle between the patricians and plebeians, the wars with the Italian peoples, even down to the end of the third century B.C., there is much that is doubtful and obscure; and though what is doubtful is often unimportant (the exact chronology or the achievements of an individual), yet, as will appear, we are equally in the dark about much that is of great importance, as for example the development of the constitution. We leave the light of Greek literature and science for the darkness and uncertainties of early Rome. For not only was there no attempt made to compose a history of Rome before about 200 B.C., when the constitutional struggles of the republic and the wars which established Rome as the mistress of all central Italy and foreshadowed her control of the Mediterranean were long over; but we have not those earliest writers; except the invaluable Polybius, we depend on Livy and the Greek Dionysius, both writing in the reign of Augustus, neither of them a critical historian. They depended, in the main, on historians of the previous generation, contemporaries of Cicero, who were the first, or almost the first, to compose a systematic history of Rome, and in their turn depended on writers on the second century B.C. who were chiefly 'annalists', that is, editors of such public and private records as had been preserved. Those annalists wrote under the inspiration of the new Greek learning which in the second century dominated

Rome (the earliest of them, though Italians, yet wrote in Greek, Latin being still, for learned men, but a vernacular tongue); nothing but the records themselves preceded the influence of Greek. And, as we have practically nothing of these earlier writers, nothing before the Augustans, we cannot judge how the story developed; we have only the finished, rhetorical product in Livy and Dionysius.

These records, however, were of value even in the hands of uncritical historians. The Romans, like the Greeks, early prac‐ tised the habit of putting on record the names of annual magi‐ strates, and the principal events, wars, famines, eclipses, &c., of each year; such *annales* were drawn up every year by the *ponti‐ fex maximus*. They would establish the first requisite for history, an established chronology. Unfortunately we do not know how far back such lists were preserved, nor indeed when they were first started; those available to the annalists of the second cen‐ tury, it has been argued by some, were not composed before the beginning of the third. In addition to these public records were the private records of noble families, who each preserved the names of members who had distinguished themselves by holding office. But these were naturally liable to error, especially when families recently famous endeavoured to establish an equally famous reputation for the past. From these public and private sources, consular *fasti*, the lists of consuls, were drawn up, which are of doubtful value for the early period (at least for the first century of the republic) because, as Livy observes, there was much confusion due to the fact that rival family records had to be reconciled. That such confusion existed and was recognized is in itself, however, some guarantee that the nucleus of the records is genuine; if everything had been smoothed out, if no discrepancies remained, we might well have been suspicious. Similarly with the regal period: the Roman tradition knew the names of seven kings only, not nearly enough to fill the years between the establishment of the republic at the end of the sixth century and the arrival of Aeneas from Troy; so the story of Aeneas at Lavinium and the founding of Alba Longa, the religious centre of the Latin League, by his son was invented;

and Romulus only carried out the long-destined task of founding
Rome four centuries later. Rome was not in truth 'founded' in
753 B.C.; but that no other names of kings were invented to
bridge the gap between Romulus and Aeneas shows that the
names of the seven from Romulus to Tarquin the Proud were
fixed in the tradition, and to that extent trustworthy. Inci-
dentally, by using an established (though probably quite ficti-
tious) list of years for each king, and so a fixed year for the founda-
tion of the state, the Romans had later a simple numerical
system of dating, *anno urbis conditae*, such as the Greeks had
never had.

In addition to the annales, there were also preserved (though
again we do not know from what period) all the laws of the state
that had not been rescinded, recorded on bronze, and, what
was more important and very characteristic of Rome, the *com-
mentarii* of magistrates and priests, the latter containing the inter-
pretations of auguries and the formulae necessary to make public
acts (passing laws, elections of magistrates, and the like) valid—
the *auspicia*; the former the interpretations of judicial decisions;
both preserved because of the stress the Romans always laid
on precedent and the *mos maiorum*. From these sources later
antiquarians, particularly Varro, the contemporary of Cicero,
drew much of value for the early history of the constitution.

For the whole history of Rome then during its formative
period, we must continually bear in mind the late date at
which the study of that history began, the doubtful nature of
the materials, the inadequacy of the historians who dealt with
them, and the fact that only a few of them, and those the latest,
have survived for us. These were all rhetoricians or legally
trained antiquarians. The former saw everything in black or
white, with conventional outlines, and of course only through
the eyes of Rome; and though the rhetorical element in all the
stories of early (and indeed in much of later) Rome does not
necessarily destroy the credibility of the kernel, yet it leaves us
for ever in doubt. And as to the lawyers: 'We must be on our
guard against the natural but insidious tendency of a nation of
trained lawyers to represent the Roman constitution as the

result of an ordered and organic growth, ending in a coherent system based throughout on fixed principles.''[1]

As we have seen, archaeological evidence shows that Latium, including the site of Rome, was occupied at least as early as the ninth century b.c., by a population predominantly agricultural, and by representatives of both the cremating and inhuming peoples of Italy.[2] Whatever their origins, the evidence of language, as of archaeology, makes it almost certain that by the eighth century at least they formed an ethnic unity, distinct from their Safine-speaking neighbours to the east, as from the Etruscans to the north; for the definitely Safine elements in the Latin language are few, and even these may well be due to later borrowing. They lived in villages (walled towns are probably not earlier than the end of the seventh century), situated mostly on the hills of Latium, and cultivated the rich agricultural land—a land, it is to be observed, of good pasture for cows, not sheep and goats only, as Sicily, south Italy, and Greece, as well as of corn and vineyards. Of their earliest political organization we know nothing; but probably, as in later times, they formed a group of independent communities united round a religious centre at Alba Longa. There have been found but few signs of connexion with the outer world—some imports of Greek pottery in the eighth century, and little else; in the main, before the southward advance of the Etruscans in the first half of the sixth century, the Latins lived apart from the main stream of life elsewhere, little affected even by Etruria, and hardly at all by the Greek communities to the south. Hence it was that they learnt the alphabet not direct from the Greeks, but from the Etruscans, though in the fifth century they learnt from the former the habit of writing from left to right.

Of these communities Rome was one, farthest north on the banks of the Tiber, at the lowest ford across the river, holding probably already the Janiculan hill as a bridgehead on the right bank and with territory extending to the confluence of

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[1] Stuart-Jones, *Cambridge Ancient History*, vii. 331–2.
[2] See above, p. 8. It is probably only an accident of archaeological discovery that we have no evidence of occupation before the ninth century.

Tiber and Anio. It lay on the easiest land route between south Etruria and Campania, and at the end of the natural way, down the Tiber valley, from northern Italy across the Apennines; not only this—all the land to the north and west of the Tiber was in the hands of the Etruscans, by the seventh century rich and energetic, and Rome more than any other Latin community (more also than the Sabine peoples of the Central Apennines) was exposed to their hostility and their influence. The fixed tradition that this early community was ruled by kings is entirely credible: moreover, from various survivals in later times, we can reasonably infer that it was of that European type which is found in early Greece and in Macedonia. The king was the leader in war and the representative of the people in its relations both with the gods and with other communities; some of his religious functions survived in those of the *rex sacrorum* of classical times, as those of the early kings of Attica survived in the *basileus*. He had supreme power, but it was customary (and custom has the validity of law in small and primitive states) to consult a body, perhaps loosely defined, and chosen by him, of elders, heads of the most important families—the *senatus*. Besides these was the *populus*, the whole body of citizens in arms, which could meet possessed of certain traditional rights: that of acclaiming, if not actually electing, a new king (for kingship, even when hereditary as in Macedon, is not by divine right), of being consulted on certain issues such as war and peace, and above all of hearing appeals from any of its own number when charged with a capital offence—one, that is, involving his life, or his rights as a citizen, his *caput*. The populus was divided into *curiae*, probably, since they were primitive, kinship rather than local groups; and, when they met as an army, into *centuriae* (nominal hundreds). These last were based on property qualifications, as in Greece: the richest being in the cavalry, the others divided into five classes, of which the highest only were fully armed, the *milites* proper, the rest, briefly, *infra classem*; and for this a *census* of property was made. The curiae ceased to be of importance in republican times, though retained for certain formal acts; and later new divisions were formed, called *tribus*, on a territorial basis (just

as had been done in Sparta and Athens).[1] Meetings of the popu-
lus were *comitia* (*curiata*, *centuriata*, or *tributa*). So far (except for
the three forms of assembly) there is little that is distinctive in
this; but already one characteristic Roman feature appears
which was later to be of great importance—voting in these
comitia was by groups, not by individuals: the majority in
a curia, century, or tribe deciding how that group was to vote,
and the majority of groups deciding the issue.

In social structure, too, early Rome is in essentials like early
Greece; but here as well certain features soon appear (common,
as far as we know, to all the Italic peoples), which distinguish
them from the Greeks. It was a patrilinear society, with descent
that is in the male line and the father as the head of the house-
hold—the *familia*; but his power over his wife and children and
all other members of the familia was greater than it ever was in
Greece—extending even to life and death—and better defined;
the *pater* alone had a legal personality.[2] The *gens*, a true kin-
ship group of familiae, a *clan* in its proper sense, also was like
the Greek *genos*, but better defined; for every man bore besides
his personal name (the *praenomen*) that of his gens (the *nomen*):
Publius Cornelius; whereas in Greece, though the names of several
gené are known, yet a man did not declare his membership by
his name; only his father's personal name was added to his own,
Κλεισθένης Μεγακλέους (corresponding to the Latin *Publius Lucii
filius*), not Κλ. Μ. ᾽Αλκμεωνίδης. The *cognomen* was a name
(often originally a nickname, like *Balbus*, the stammerer) won by
an individual, but borne thereafter by all his descendants. To the
full Latin name, *Publius L.f. Cornelius Scipio*, the Greek had only
Κλεισθένης Μεγακλέους to correspond; while in Rome there was
nothing corresponding to the Athenian official *local* designation
by the deme (Κλ. ᾽Αλωπεκῆθεν).[3] Descent and kinship were
thus emphasized and made clear.

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[1] See vol. i, pp. 1064, 1074. The old division into three tribes (*tribus*), the *Ramnes,
Tities*, and *Luceres*, corresponding probably to the original *phylae* of Dorians and
Ionians in Greece, survived only in the centuriate organization of the army, and
soon ceased to be of any importance.

[2] Hence the familiar name for the senate, the *patres*: it was a body consisting of
heads of families.   [3] See vol. i, p. 1075.

Moreover, every important family had not only slaves but *clientes*—these probably in origin new-comers to Rome, not citizens, who attached themselves to powerful families and gave service in return for protection; a system later defined and legalized, but originating by natural growth. Slaves might be freed by the *paterfamilias*, but still owed some duties to their former owner. Their descendants were free, and both they and the clientes regularly adopted as their *nomina* the gens names of the families to which they had been attached. The contrast between the Roman and the Greek practice in the matter of freedmen and clientes is instructive and important. The nearest parallel to the latter in Greece are the *metoikoi* of Athens and other cities, who on their first entry, probably, into their semi-membership of the state had to have a citizen to sponsor them; but they were not attached permanently to any citizen, still less to any family, but thereafter enjoyed their metic rights independently, free from guardianship.[1] Similarly slaves in Athens (who belonged to individuals, not to families), when freed, became metoikoi (though we know of cases, at any rate outside Athens, where a freed slave still owed some service to his former master), and their descendants had no further connexion with the former owners. They were free individuals, not members of a family group. In Rome all such persons were retained, in some sense, within the familia; but this had its advantages; for all free members of a citizen familia themselves became citizens; the citizen population therefore was continually being renewed by the descendants of clientes and freedmen, and there was not at Rome that permanent division of the free population into citizen and non-citizen which was characteristic of the Greek states.[2] This was a paradoxical penalty paid by the Greeks for the development, in the political structure, of the individual at the expense of the family and the clan.

Later writers could compose biographies of each of the seven

[1] See vol. i, pp. 1012-13.
[2] Philip V of Macedon (221-179 B.C.) noted this liberal policy of the Romans and the advantages they gained from it, in a letter to the people of Larissa, who needed new citizens.

kings of Rome,[1] and attributed to them victories in war and
the establishing of various institutions, the senate, the priestly
colleges, the army divisions, and so forth. These we may ignore,
for they are unimportant as well as dubious; it is the later func-
tioning of institutions which matters. A few things only need
be noted; the story that Rome extended her power over a great
part of Latium by the conquest of Alba Longa by the third king
Tullus Hostilius (a story decorated with a full array of rhetorical
details) is confirmed by archaeology at least in this sense, that
a town on the site of Alba was destroyed about the time when
Tullus is said to have reigned; and we need not doubt the strong
tradition of certain Roman families, among them the Julii, that
they descended originally from Alba. Secondly, the Sabine
origin of Numa Pompilius and the Etruscan origin of the
Tarquins is confirmed by their names; for Pompilius is Safine
for the Latin *Quinctilius*,[2] and Tarquins have been found in
the Etruscan cemeteries of Caere; though that is not to argue
any considerable settlements of Sabines and Etruscans in Rome.[3]
Lastly, we may well believe that the Tarquins were in Rome by
right of conquest. The sixth century was the age of Etruscan
expansion, first across the Apennines to the north, then into
Campania; and for this latter Latium lay across their path. At
sea, too, in alliance with the Carthaginians, they were victorious.
But not a conquest of Rome by Etruria. The Etruscans had at no
time, it seems, formed one state; and the several states into which
they were divided (twelve in old Etruria, according to later tradi-
tion) were seldom in accord. Rather must the first Tarquin have
been an Etruscan adventurer, with a band of marauders, who
seized Rome. They left their mark in the *Vicus Tuscus*, the *Porta
Capena*, and the *Porta Ratumena*, and in the names of some Roman

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[1] The traditional names of these seven are: Romulus, Ancus, Tullus Hostilius,
Numa Pompilius, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, Tarquinius Superbus.

[2] Cf. above, p. 9.

[3] The great difficulty is Servius Tullius, coming in between the two Tarquins,
yet not himself Etruscan either by name or in the tradition, and whose story is
surrounded by the most fanciful legends; so that some have doubted his reign
altogether, others have joined the two Tarquins into one. But again the very
difficulty is in some way an argument for his credibility, for no one would have
invented simply such a broken line of kings.

families, Sisenna, Catilina, Sulla; and their influence at least
(which might not have been due to any conquest) in the system
of divination, known to the Romans themselves as the *disciplina
Etrusca*, and some other features of Roman religion. If they were
the great builders that tradition asserts, it was probably the
Etruscan kings who strengthened the city walls, and drained
the valleys between the hills, including the site of the earliest
forum; and their artists were called in to build and to decorate
early temples. But there can have been no large settlement of
Etruscans; not only was the Latin tongue scarcely affected, but
there have been found no characteristic Etruscan remains in
Rome, nor anywhere in Latium except at Praeneste.

On the other hand, there is evidence of considerable pros-
perity throughout Latium in the sixth century, during the period
of Etruscan dominance—of interior cultivation, of much drain-
age and irrigation work, of walled towns, and a comparatively
dense population ready to expand. The land was not appa-
rently held in small holdings, but already by large landowners
with numerous clientes.

The childlike story of the expulsion of the Tarquins, proud
and wicked, by the virtuous republicans of Rome is typical of
the later historians (told without subtlety or humour and herein
very different from the not always more credible stories—from
which it is ultimately copied—of Herodotus). Yet the kernel of it
is to be believed, and is certainly as easy of belief as some imagina-
tive modern reconstructions. It was dated 509 or 508 B.C., that
is, roughly contemporary with the expulsion of the tyrants from
Athens and the legislation of Cleisthenes; and we may accept
the date. It coincides with the beginning of the decline of Etrus-
can power. Aristodemus, ruler of the Greek city of Cumae, had
already more than held his own against Etruscan attacks in
Campania, and had even, according to tradition, joined the
Italians in an attack on the Etruscan position in south Latium.
The revolt of Rome severed the Etruscans north of the Tiber
from their kinsmen in Campania; and their power at sea was
for ever destroyed by Hiero of Syracuse at the battle of Cumae
in 474 B.C. Moreover, we can see in between the many stories

in the tradition that the fall of the vigorous and capable monarchy and the subsequent faction struggles in the city were followed, as we should expect, by a decline in Roman influence in Latium. Under the kings this had been considerably extended, especially south and east; but in the early years of the Republic Rome was struggling to hold her own against the Latins before she was able once more to assert her supremacy. Polybius relates in a manner that commands credence, that there was preserved in Rome in his day (middle of the second century B.C.) the record of the 'first' treaty with Carthage, made in the first year of the Republic, limiting their respective spheres of influence; in this Rome lays claim to the whole of the coast-line as far south as Tarracina as within her sphere. This will have been an inheritance from the government of the kings (Etruscans and Carthaginians had long been in alliance);[1] it was long before Roman influence extended so far again.

Moreover, the virtuous republicans were not democrats, but rich nobles; and the new government was a narrow oligarchy, and the change was almost immediately followed by the struggle of the plebeians, excluded from all office, against the patricians —just such a struggle, though ending so differently, as that of the oligarchs and common people after the expulsion of the tyrants at Athens. This is entirely credible if the autocracy of the later kings had been like almost all other autocracies of history, at least of European history, based on the support of the masses against the nobles; it being always to the common advantage of autocrat and people to curb the political and the economic power of the rich. And this supports the view that the origin of the differences between patrician and plebeian was in no sense racial, that the patricians themselves were of mixed origin (witness the later inclusion in their numbers of the Claudian gens, which was Sabine), and that their close corporation, which denied even intermarriage with the plebeians, was a creation of the time of the kings and the early years of the republic.

We cannot, however, be confident of more than this: that towards the end of the sixth century the monarchy was over-

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[1] See above, p. 21.

thrown (and remained for ever hateful in Roman eyes) and was
succeeded by a government of magistrates, that is, of men elected
by their fellows, for a limited period only, and expected to con-
sult their fellows. Rome entered on a period of government by
discussion, as the Greek states had done and as all European
states were ultimately to do after them; but of a kind all its own,
which it will be necessary. to analyse.

THE GROWTH OF THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE UNIFICATION OF CENTRAL ITALY: THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURIES B.C.

F ROM the fifth century onwards the story of Italy (outside the Greek area) is the story of Rome; the other Italic peoples, however much they may have contributed in energy and in variety of outlook, in the introduction of new ideas and the keeping alive of old ones (as well as in man-power), yet do little or nothing of this as separate units, and all that they do is done under the guidance of Rome; though at the same time it must be remembered that all our evidence comes from the later historians of a time when Italy had long been united under Rome, when it had become a convention that *her* origin and development was of the greatest importance and when those of the other peoples had been neglected and forgotten. It is but a mark of the very different stories of Greece and Rome, that the study of local history and antiquities, which flourished in the former, in the latter was almost unknown.

During the great formative period of Roman development, from the end of the sixth to the opening years of the third century B.C. (for which we are still dependent on the highly artificial historians of the Augustan period, good as was some of the material which they used), her story is divided into two main parts—the expansion of her power in Italy, chiefly by hard and stubborn fighting, and the growth of her political institutions; and in this last again two things must be distinguished, the development and significance of the institutions themselves and their subsequent importance, and the 'struggle of the orders', the long and finally successful efforts of the plebeians for a full share in them. All these three elements in Roman history are closely interlinked, and affect each other, so that the narrative must be broken; it is not possible to give a continuous account of any one of them.

I. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. IMPERIUM. THE FIRST STRUGGLES
BETWEEN PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS (*to* 445 B.C.)

We read of the first republican institutions in the light of the
systematizing of the later lawyers; yet even at the time the
Romans must have been, at least dimly, conscious of the prob-
lem which faced them on the overthrow of the kings—the pre-
servation of authority in the state and the prevention of its
abuse. The latter part of it they solved in what we may call the
normal way—by making the magistracy elective, by limiting
its period, and by increasing the number of its holders. Hence-
forward there were to be two supreme magistrates in place of
one, elected by the people, and holding office for one year only.[1]
But (and herein lies an essential difference between Greek and
Roman political ideas), while in office, their authority was not
to be curtailed; they were to stand exactly in the place of the
king; 'regio imperio duo sunto', writes Cicero (when the idea
had been systematized), 'iique praeeundo, iudicando, consulendo
praetores, iudices, consules appellamino: militiae summum ius
habento, nemini parento: ollis salus populi suprema lex'—'Let
there be two holders of the royal authority and inasmuch as they
lead and give judgement and take counsel let them be called
leaders, judges, counsellors; in war let them enjoy supreme
power, and obey no man: for them let the safety of the people
be the highest law.' That is to say, they had all the powers of
the kings as civil and military leaders, supreme magistrates as
well as commanders of the army; in peace, that is within the
city boundaries, their powers were only limited by the right of
any citizen whose *caput* was threatened of appeal to the people,
by the fact that new legislation and declaration of peace and
war lay with the people, and by the necessity under which they
lay, at least in practice, of consulting the *patres*, the senate;[2] in
war-time, outside the city, their powers as military leaders were
absolute. Like the kings they had the power of selecting new

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[1] It is maintained by some scholars that there was originally only one consul
and that with him was elected regularly a dictator (an office at first normal, not
special: below, p. 50); and that the double consulate arose out of the combination
of the two offices.   [2] See above, p. 33.

members of the senate; and, to ensure continuity, themselves summoned the *comitia* at which their successors were elected. The word *imperium* was properly used of the authority wielded by the military leader; it meant command in war; but command actual or potential, that is, only such magistrates were vested with it as could be given that command, but it was applied to their authority as civil magistrates as well. It was given therefore to the *praetores* (a college originally of two, later enlarged), and to those who were from time to time elected in their place, as the *dictator*, the *magister equitum*, or the *tribuni militum consulari imperio*. It was conferred (as, we are told, had been the imperium of the kings) by a special meeting of the comitia curiata[1] after the elections.

An essential principle of the imperium was that it was held not by the praetors as a body, but by each praetor separately; a decision was not made by them after consulting together, by majority vote, and any holder of the imperium could veto the act of a colleague. This principle, as we shall see, was later applied to the colleges of plebeian magistrates. It implied, as a corollary, that one invested with it alone, as the dictator, or a praetor whose colleague died in office, was then possessed of the supreme power by himself.

The original name of the two magistrates elected to replace the king was perhaps *praetor* (*prae-itor*, leader); but later the second name, *consul*, counsellor, prevailed, and when the college was enlarged by the addition of officers who took over the judicial administration, the name *consules* was kept for the two senior (and now chiefly military or political) members, the name *praetores* for the judicial members. This is doubtless a sign of the emphasis early laid on the duty of the magistrates to 'deliberate' together with the senate. This had (or so we are told) been the practice of the earlier kings, violated by the 'tyrant' Tarquin; and the later jurists held that even during the kingship powers devolved on the senate at the death of a king, and it was they who appointed an interrex to govern till the election of a new king. At any rate the senate was a powerful and

well-organized body from the very beginning of the republic. All oligarchies have been jealous of the influence wielded by any one of their number, and in spite of the great powers conferred on the magistrates, the Roman senate succeeded in keeping a general control over policy. The limitation of the magistrate's tenure to one year was their best weapon for this end; for·though there was no rule to prevent re-election to the consulate year after year, yet the ordinary practice was contrary to this. The senator was senator for life (he could only be ejected for very special reasons), and since they secured that the consuls should be chosen only from among members of their own families, their position was from the first a strong one; and it was the senate who embodied the resistance of the patricians to encroachments of the plebs.[1]

It was against this attempt by the existing senatorial families to preserve all office (and therefore membership of the senate) for themselves, as *patricii*, the only families with true ancestors, that the plebs revolted. The plebs must have consisted not only of the common people (who would naturally have been protected against the too powerful nobles by the kings), but of many rich families who had worked for, flattered, and enjoyed the favour of, the tyrant; while at the same time large numbers of plebeians, attached to patrician families as clientes, will have helped to divide their forces. It was in no sense a struggle for citizenship, or for civil rights; these the plebs possessed—they were as much members of the comitia as the patricians, and took their part in elections and legislation; they could hold property; their children were citizens (they had, as the jurists later phrased it, the *ius suffragii*, *ius commercii*, and the *ius conubii*); these were in Rome as in Greece the three essentials of citizenship; they were part of the populus, the Roman people, in theory at least supreme, and the source of all authority. Nor was it, as we shall see later, a struggle for political democracy, for which the Romans never showed any gift. It was one in part

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[1] It is probable that the patrician families, not racially distinct from the plebeians (above, p. 10 ff.), were formed by the descendants of those who had formed the senate in the time of the kings; as has also been suggested for the Eupatridae at Athens (vol. i, p. 1069, n. 1).

for protection against the magistrates' imperium (or at least its abuse), in part for participation in it, the first doubtless mainly for the benefit of the poor, the latter for the rich, plebeians.

There were also, as always happens, economic causes of discontent. Rome in the fifth and fourth centuries was not a manufacturing nor a commercial state; that is, it did not, to any large extent, manufacture for export, nor trade much by sea. Archaeological discovery for the period has so far given no evidence of contact with the outside world (though there was some Greek influence on their architecture and it was in the fifth century that the Romans adopted from the Greeks the practice of writing from left to right); there was probably a diminution of external trade after the expulsion of the Etruscan kings. Rome was predominantly an agricultural state; the society which can be discerned through what we know of the early codes is agricultural. There was private property in land, in the sense that it could be conveyed to another, but it was the *paterfamilias* only who could hold it, for his family, as it was the father only who had juristic existence. The *heredium*, the customary limit of land that one man could hold, was two *iugera*, or 1¼ acres—an amount much too small to support a family; and it is probable that every family had, or might have, as well both grazing rights on common land and some share in the *ager publicus*.[1] This last had been land primarily set aside for the service of the religious cults of the state and the support of the king (which he had doubtless used to reward his friends and to keep the poor contented), and had, as often as not, been won by conquest from neighbouring states. Many patrician families (and doubtless plebeians as well) held more than two iugera, and in practice probably secured far more than their fair share of common land and of the *ager publicus*, especially of the latter; for it is the habit of virtuous oligarchs to enrich themselves at the expense of the tyrants they overthrow or restrain; moreover, since Roman power abroad declined on the establishment of the republic, it is likely that much *ager publicus* reverted to the Latin communities from

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[1] Perhaps the two iugera was the lower limit; he could not be a citizen with less land—like the hoplite franchise in Greek states.

which it had not long been taken and which were once more asserting themselves. At any rate land hunger was a principal cause of discontent; and though the patricians promised measures of relief, they always delayed them, for there was very little land to distribute except what they themselves occupied; only later did foreign conquest enable the Romans both to extend the *ager publicus* and send out colonies of citizens, which, just like the Athenian *cleruchies*,[1] served at once to satisfy the landless citizen and keep in submission a defeated people.

As in Athens, too, a social crisis would arise only too easily from economic causes, when owing to a poor harvest (caused by bad weather or, in Rome, by the frequent wars which took men away from the land) those families with the bare minimum of land found themselves compelled to borrow from their more fortunate neighbours. For though we do not know that in Rome land was mortgaged to secure a debt (perhaps owing to the idea that it belonged not to an individual but to a family, even ultimately to a gens), yet debts were secured on the person, and a debtor, driven to the last resource, became the slave of his creditor, by entering into the contract known as *nexum*. Add to all this that the law was not codified nor written down, that an individual therefore was to that extent at the mercy of the magistrate's imperium; and we can see reason enough for the political struggles of the early republic.

But whereas in Athens, 150 years before, the economic problem was solved by the revolutionary legislation of Solon (though the political difficulties lasted for upwards of a century and were then removed at one blow), in Rome the economic difficulties remained, never during the lifetime of the republic solved, though often assuaged by temporary remedies, and the political took two centuries of strife to settle; yet, such was her innate power of growth, during all this period her institutions were at the same time, with singular capacity and adaptability, being developed and modified to meet changing circumstances and new responsibilities. In the first half of the fifth century the patrician senate was so stiff-necked in opposition that it was

[1] See, vol. i, p. 1119.

only by the method of 'secession' that the plebs secured reform.
We are told (and since this method was certainly adopted later,
494 B.C. credibly told) that the plebeians left the city in a body for a
position within the Roman territory, and there set up an assembly
of its own, which proceeded to elect officers—the *tribuni plebis*
(at first perhaps only two—our authorities differ; soon after
there were ten). There was a compromise; but the troubles
continued, for the senate apparently succeeded in ignoring its
terms. By the middle of the century, a more definite arrange-
ment was made. First the patricians were forced to a codifica-
tion and publication of the civil and criminal law; a deputation,
454-453 it is said, was sent to south Italy and Greece to study the Greek
laws; it visited Athens, then at the height of her power and
energy. (Or is this a fiction of the later historians, that the
Roman legislators must have studied the code of Solon? It is
not mentioned by any historian of Greece. If it is true, note how
the visit of a delegation from an obscure state of barbarian Italy
451 aroused no Greek interest.) On their return a body of ten,
decemviri, was appointed in place of the usual magistrates, and
vested with imperium, to codify the law. They published the
famous XII Tables, which in spite of their primitive and harsh
character (such as we know of them), yet, like the code of Draco
in Athens, marked a definite advance: it not only afforded by its
publication some protection against an arbitrary act by a magis-
trate, but in it crimes were removed from the sphere of private
action, and made a matter for state interference.[1] But the claims
of the plebs were not satisfied. A second body of decemvirs,
450 appointed in the following year to continue the work, succeeded
in incorporating in the code a law forbidding intermarriage
between patrician and plebeian families, whether in accordance
with ancient custom or a new attempt to secure patrician exclu-
siveness is uncertain; and we are told stories of violent and unjust
acts by Appius Claudius, their proudest and best-known mem-
449 ber. There was another secession; the decemvirs resigned, and
this time laws were passed to make a definite and very peculiar
arrangement between the parties. The authority, sphere of

[1] Cf. vol. i, pp. 1069-70.

action, and composition of the older institutions, the consulate
with its imperium, the senate, the assemblies of the populus (of
which the comitia centuriata, which elected the higher magis-
trates and passed legislation, was the only one of importance)[1]
were not altered; the *patrum auctoritas*, the ancient right which
the senate claimed to review and if necessary reject measures
passed by the comitia (which had once perhaps been a right
exercised against the kings) remained; the centuriate assembly
continued to consist of the same groups and to vote by groups[2]
which gave the predominance to the rich, if not to the patri-
cian rich only—for there were 193 'centuries' in all, and of them
the cavalry and highest class of infantry formed 103, the other
four classes 90 (20, 20, 20, and 30). This arrangement was not
altered; it was not made more democratic.[3] Instead, the as-
sembly of the plebs, the *concilium plebis*, and its officers, the
tribunes, from both of which bodies patricians were excluded,
were incorporated within the state, and give certain powers.
The concilium, because it did not include the whole populus,
could not, strictly, legislate, could not pass *leges*, but only *plebi-
scita*; but we are told that thus early, by this legislation of 449
(passed by the comitia centuriata), the plebiscita were given the
force of laws, that is were made binding on all the citizens.
Since we are told that a similar law was passed in 339 and again
in 287 B.C., it has naturally been doubted whether any such
legislation was carried in 449; yet the plebs by itself, we are
told, passed important laws in 445 and 367; and a probable
solution of the difficulty is that this law was carried in 449, but
often, whenever possible, ignored by the senate (as it succeeded
in ignoring other laws), who claimed that the patrum auctoritas
was still necessary to confirm plebiscita. Secondly the tribunes
of the plebs were given the right of veto on consular acts, that

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[1] See above, pp. 33–4. Some have maintained, with some show of reason, but
probably wrongly, that the *comitia tributa* was an assembly of the plebs only, not
of the populus, and so in practice indistinguishable from the *concilium plebis*.

[2] Above, p. 34.

[3] Each group was also divided into *seniores* (men over 45) and *iuniores*; a division
which had originally only a military purpose, but which gave an equal voting
power in each group to the older men, who were less numerous and more con-
servative.

is, originally on such acts as the arrest and fining of a citizen, an essential part of the consular imperium; this was a guarantee of personal liberty against arbitrary action by the executive; the office of the tribune was to 'bring help', *auxilium ferre*, to the individual citizen; it developed later into a general power of veto on all consular acts. The imperium itself was not in any way diminished (though by later legislation the amount of the fine which a consul could inflict on a citizen was limited); but particular instances of its use could be stopped. Lastly, the right of appeal to the people from a capital sentence[1] which had indeed been included in the XII Tables but apparently abused by the second body of decemvirs, was reaffirmed. Four years 445 B.C. later further attempts at equality were made by the plebeians; a law permitting intermarriage between patrician and plebeian was passed, but the senate succeeded in preventing, at the price of a compromise, the passage of a law admitting plebeians to the consulate. The compromise was typically Roman: for the next year, and on some later occasions (presumably when the senate could not prevent it) no consuls were elected, but *tribuni militum consulari potestate*,[2] officers with the rank and duties of consuls (from three to six—our authorities disagree—according apparently to military needs), and to this office plebeians were eligible and were elected. But the compromise was not often resorted to; and for the remainder of the century the general control of the senate increased rather than diminished.

The Roman state now had one very remarkable feature: the legislative body consisted not, as might have happened, and as has happened elsewhere, of an exclusive, patrician senate and an assembly of the commons, but of this senate and two assemblies, the one of the whole people, still arranged to give greater influence to the rich, the other of the plebs only, and each with similar powers, legislative, elective, and the right to hear appeals from decisions of magistrates; and two sets of magistrates, the one representing the whole people, elected therefore by the

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[1] See above, p. 33.

[2] They are thus distinguished from the ordinary *tribuni militum*, who were officers of the army simply.

comitia, the other representing the plebs, elected by the concilium. These plebeian institutions were modelled on the other. With that respect for formality which perhaps more than anything else distinguished the Romans from the Greeks, the comitia could only meet when convened by the proper authorities, the consuls, and when the auspices were sound (this rule was severely kept, and therefore often abused; no Roman assembly ever declared, to justify unconstitutional action, that 'the sovereign people may do what it pleases'; a *contio*, an informal meeting of citizens, had explicitly no powers); and the initiative in any law or resolution to be put before it lay only with those authorities, who also presided (the proceedings did not open with the words 'who wishes to speak?'[1]); so the concilium met only when summoned by the tribunes of the plebs, who had the initiative and presided, who alone had the right of 'transacting business with the plebs'. Secondly, the plebs in concilium were distributed into the new territorial tribes, and voted by these groups. Thirdly, the persons of the tribunes were specially protected during their year of office, as were those of the consuls, and like the consuls and praetors they did not form a true college, but each tribune had the power of veto, and therefore not only of veto on consular acts but also on those of his own colleagues. The activity of the tribunes was confined to the city boundaries; outside, on military service, the consular imperium was absolute, as before. No one would expect such a constitution ever to work; it says volumes for the sanity of the Romans, though nothing for their sense of logic, that, for a time, it did.[2]

[1] Cf. vol. i, pp. 1072, 1178.

[2] It should be stated that owing to the fact that much of this fifth-century legislation—like the fifth-century wars—was repeated in the fourth, and because of some discrepancies in our authorities, mainly Livy and Dionysius, it has been doubted whether it ever took place; but on insufficient grounds.

In order to appreciate fully this struggle between patricians and plebeians, it must be remembered that the essential difference between the position at Rome and, say, the lords and commons of England, is not that the peers here have never, in so many words, laid claim to all important office, but that, first, the right of the crown to create new peers has always existed and been freely used, and, second, that not all members of peers' families become peers, but the eldest son only—the rest are commoners and their descendants commoners. Hence there has never been in England a sharp social division corresponding to the political; and therefore,

The struggle against the patricians had to be renewed in the next century and carried on for nearly a hundred years more; and before we resume the story (which can be briefly told, for its main features are repeated), an account must be given of the military operations of the fifth century. But one or two other points of interest must first be mentioned. At moments of crisis, when the constitution would not work, it was within the power of the consuls, of course at the suggestion of the senate, to nominate a dictator, to be vested with powers by the comitia, as sole magistrate possessed of imperium, but for a period of six months only: an action taken several times in the course of the fifth and fourth centuries during the constitutional struggles, and when Rome was severely beset by foreign enemies. It was a regular constitutional procedure, for exceptional times.[1] Another matter of interest was the institution, already in the fifth century, of new magistrates, the *quaestors*, to assist the consuls (at first as 'inquirers' in judicial cases; they later became financial officers), the *aedile* to assist the tribunes of the plebs, the *censor* to relieve the consuls of the duty of drawing up the census of property for the purposes of the army[2]—an officer who soon developed very wide powers, as will be later explained. None of these magistrates were granted the imperium. The quaestors and censors were both patrician; and their institution was both a political move to keep power in the hands of the patricians when the plebeians seemed likely to invade the consulship, and a beginning of specialization, of the division of public work between magistrates with different functions and different powers. In

though the peers formed a legislative and judicial body with special powers, and we developed a second legislative body from which peers were excluded (as the patricians from the concilium plebis), the struggle with us did not take the form of the commons forcing the right of entry into the lords, but of asserting its own rights and powers against the lords (as well as against the king and his ministers). In Rome, on the other hand, no plebeian families were created patrician, and every member of a patrician family was a patrician.

[1] It would be hardly fantastic to compare with the dictatorship the Athenian institution of ostracism—*their* way of dealing with a political crisis; and to note the difference between the two peoples.

[2] The *stratēgoi* at Athens had similar duties. The objects of the census as a whole were to determine, (1) a man's right to vote, and in which century or tribe; (2) his liability to military service, and in which century; and (3) his liability to tax.

Rome as in Greece, down to the end of the republic the work of government, both judicial and administrative, was in theory done not by a professional civil service, but by amateurs elected by the people, to serve for a limited period; but in Rome, a beginning was made thus early of separating the functions of magistrates, and also of making some subordinate to others—thereby not only preserving the authority of the major office (the consulate), but providing, as it later developed, some sort of training for it; for it became the practice of one starting a public career to begin with the minor offices and advance step by step.

II. THE EARLY WARS AND THE UNIFICATION OF CENTRAL ITALY (*to* 290 B.C.)

In the conventional history of the later writers, on whom we precariously depend (and it is particularly in the account of the wars that it is unreliable, for family legends played here an even more important part in the making), the hegemony in Latium, won for Rome by the kings and nearly lost in the first years of the republic, was apparently soon regained, or at least close alliance between Rome and the Latin League secured; for the wars of the fifth century were between the Latins as a whole and Sabines, Aequians, Volscians, neighbours of Latium on the south and east; which is surprising in view of the revolt of the Latins against Roman domination after the Gallic invasion of the fourth century. It is probable that these wars were in the main due to pressure by these peoples on Latium, and that it was in the course of the successful defence against the aggressors that Rome once more took the lead in Latium. With the Sabines (that is, the particular peoples of the Safine-speaking stock who dwelt in the hill country east of the Tiber between the Anio and the Nar rivers) the Romans had long had relations: there was a Sabine element in the population (some Sabine words in the language, and the patrician families of Claudii and Valerii claimed Sabine descent), though its origin—perhaps faction at home—and the date of settlement are alike obscure. There was also pressure by the Etruscans on the right bank of

the Tiber, lessened by the victory of the Greeks over the Etruscan fleet off Cumae in 474, but sufficient to keep Roman armies occupied and give Roman consuls many legendary victories.

426-425 B.C. By the end of the third quarter of the fifth century, the successful defence of Latium against these various enemies was complete.

424-394. During the next thirty years, if we are to believe our authorities, the Latins took the offensive, under the leadership and initiative of Rome. The Aequians were driven back beyond the hills which defend Latium on the east; the Volscians lost the whole coastline to the south-east, as far as Circeii and Tarracina (which Rome had once before claimed to be within her sphere),[1] south Etruria was invaded and the first Etruscan city, Veii, captured

396 and held (the northern and central Etruscan cities being indifferent to her fate, and her nearest neighbour, Caere, friendly to Rome). These wars are of importance because, if we can believe our authorities (and, because these conquests had to be repeated in the fourth century, some have doubted them), Rome was already using some of the means by which the solid foundations of her later expansion were laid: garrisons were placed in

393 certain towns, and a colony was settled at Circeii, and perhaps already at Sutrium and Nepete in south Etruria, neighbours of Veii, thereby securing land for landless and perhaps restless men at home and influence for the state abroad, as Athens had done;[2] and when Veii was captured, part of her land was made ager publicus and distributed amongst Roman citizens, and four new

387 tribes were made and added to the original twenty;[3] that is, part at least of the inhabitants of the conquered territory, probably

[1] See above, p. 38.
[2] It is worth noting the dates: the Athenian cleruchies had been planted not long before this time (c. 506–416 B.C.) and were already lost; some were resettled in the fourth century, and lost again at the Macedonian victory. These early Roman *coloniae* had also all to be resettled in the fourth century after the Gallic invasion; but they were resettled for good.

The Roman colonies were of two kinds: one of Roman citizens, which exactly corresponded to the Athenian cleruchy; the other (of which the three mentioned above are examples) of men possessed of the Latin right, *ius conubii et commercii* with Rome (for which see below), the so-called Latin colonies. These were theoretically independent states, like the Greek colonies (unlike the cleruchies), and the first settlers would be, not only Romans and Latins, but men from elsewhere too, like the Athenian colonies at Amphipolis and Thurii, except, characteristically, for the tie with Rome in the *ius conubii et commercii*; the former, the Roman colonies, were not independent states, but extensions of Rome, as the Athenian cleruchies of Athens.

[3] See above, pp. 33–4.

those amongst whom the new Roman settlers were planted (as likely as not, of Italian stock, with perhaps no love for their Etruscan masters in the city of Veii), were made citizens, absorbed into the Roman state. This is what Athens, nor any Greek state, ever attempted: the borderland of Oropus, for instance, the cause of much ill-feeling and quarrelling between Athens and Boeotia, was often held by Athens and for long periods; yet was never included in Attica, never made part of Athens; it was always foreign, conquered land. Stranger still perhaps, Salamis Island, conquered by Athens as far back as 580 or 570, was not included in the reorganization of 508 B.C.: the land had been divided amongst Athenian citizens (it had been made, as it were, *ager publicus*), but it did not become a deme, nor part of one of the new *phylae*; Athens made no new *phylae* (nor enlarged existing ones), and so never enlarged her citizen-body, and so her man-power; so little did any Greek community ever desire to absorb its neighbours.[1] Rome pursued the opposite policy from the beginning.

This steady advance was, for a moment, interrupted by a sudden storm—the Gallic invasion. Towards the close of the fifth century large numbers of Gauls, driven by some unknown necessity, poured over the passes of the Alps down into the fertile plains of Lombardy and the Po basin; a nomad people, grouped in clans, pastoral, not agricultural, fierce warriors; with distinctive weapons and ornaments, so that there cemeteries give very clear evidence of their coming (and this archaeological evidence is to some slight extent supplemented by the evidence of contemporary or nearly contemporary Greek writers of Sicily and south Italy, some fragments of whose work have survived). By the turn of the century they had destroyed the Etruscan cities north of the Apennines,[2] marched against the Veneti, but were checked, then in marauding bands turned south, overran Etruria, defeated a Roman army and sacked Rome, went on, with ever lessening impulse and smaller forces as casualties increased and many were satisfied with their plunder, till the

c. 420–400 B.C.

c. 390

[1] See vol. i, 'The Greeks', c. ii, especially p. 1029; and map, p. 1097.
[2] See above, p. 20.

great wave spent itself in southern Italy. Thereafter many
stayed behind as mercenary troops to fight for Italian peoples
against one another, or for the Greek cities of the south, especially
for Dionysius, now the active tyrant of Syracuse. The large
majority of the invaders, however, settled in north Italy, and
learned the art of agriculture from the conquered people, so
that by the third century Italy north of the Apennines (always
except the valiant Veneti) was known as *Gallia Cisalpina*, and
one of the most flourishing districts of the peninsula. The city-
life, so characteristic of the Etruscans and Mediterranean peoples
in general, decayed, for the Gauls were a rustic people till con-
quered by Rome; farther south, in the north of Etruria proper,
a mixed Gallo-Etruscan culture prevailed.

The sack of Rome by the Gauls plays a large part in our his-
tories written when Rome was adult, self-conscious, and almost
pleased with an early lapse; and the spectacle of these furious
invaders left a lasting impression on the Italians, as it did in the
next century on the Greeks.[1] But its effects were small. It does
indeed appear that the peoples with whom she had been at war
or whom she had come to dominate in the previous century, not
only the Aequians and Volscians, but the Hernici (old allies of
Rome against these) and then the Latins themselves, thought
this a good opportunity for freeing themselves from the too-
dominant city (though at the same time fear of further attacks
by the Gauls made many prefer the protection of Rome, and
certainly helped the union of central Italy). But their earliest
389 B.C. invasions, following immediately on the departure of the Gauls,
382-377 were repulsed, and in later campaigns Rome once more estab-
lished her ascendancy in Latium, the Anio and Trerus valleys,
and along the coast to Circeii, where her colony was resettled;
387 and it was within three years of the Gallic invasion that the
Veientine land, in south Etruria, was absorbed and the four
376-363 new tribes of citizens made. A few years of peace were filled
376-366 mainly with fierce faction at home between patrician and
plebeian, rich and poor, which left Rome's position abroad un-
affected. The Latins and the Volscians then made a last attempt

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[1] See vol. i, p. 1216.

at freedom. Gallic mercenaries were called in by the former; but these marauders proved doubtful allies, and a Roman vic- 360-354 tory was generally welcomed; all the Latin cities had not seceded, ᴮ·ᶜ· and those who had were forced back into the League, the leadership of which was now secured to Rome. The final struggle broke out some twelve years later; but in the year in which 343 Athens and her allies were defeated at Chaeroneia, Rome (aided 338 now by the Samnites, the Latins by the Campanians) definitely defeated the Latins and the Volscians, and established a new position; four more tribes were instituted, two in Latium, two in Volscian territory, in the Pomptine Marshes—the direct territory of Rome being thus extended. A few old Latin cities were left with a nominal independence, some others were granted Roman citizenship, that is absorbed in Rome; to the rest *ius conubii* and *ius commercii* with Rome were granted, with each other denied; which meant that if any one from these cities settled within Roman territory, he could acquire property and could marry there with Roman citizens and his children be citizens; but the Latin cities could not grant these privileges to each other. Before the Latin war colonies had been founded (as those at Circeii, Sutrium, and Nepete) with these same rights, *ius Latinum*, and they were left undisturbed, 'Latin colonies' as they were called;[1] others were now settled in the Volscian territory.

What was more remarkable than any of these actions, and significant of the future, was the arrangement made with the Campanians, who had deserted the Latins in the war and made special terms with Rome. For, though the Romans now came into close contact with them for the first time, many of their towns were granted the *civitas sine suffragio*, that is they had all the civil rights of Roman citizens when on Roman territory without the power of voting or holding office; in return for which they agreed to furnish troops in war time. Doubtless this limited citizenship was of no great practical value to the vast majority of Campanians; but it is important as showing the trend of Roman statesmanship, and was a bond of union

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[1] The 'Latin name' developed without any ethnic significance, but as a judicial idea, implying a stepping-stone to full citizenship.

between the two peoples. Campania had now for over a century been settled by the Oscans (a Safine-speaking people), and even the Greek town of Cumae had fallen to them; the cities (including Cumae, which was one of those which now received this *civitas* from Rome) had formed a league of which Capua was the head. Archaeological evidence shows us that it was enjoying in the fourth century a period of great prosperity, with a well-defined Oscan culture, profoundly influenced by Greek, indeed a copy of it, as was inevitable, and a little influenced by 329-328 Etruscan, yet with a certain gay independence which later, when B.C. colonies at Fregellae and Tarracina made communications secure and the Appian way made them easy, had important effects in Rome.[1]

Another interesting result of this extension of her military activities was Rome's first direct conflict with an independent 327-326 Greek state—Neapolis (Naples). There was faction there, caused in part, it seems, because many families from Cumae had settled there when the latter was captured by the Oscans; and one side called in Capua to its support, the other Capua's rival in Campania, Nola. The Nolan party asked aid from the Samnites, who sent some troops; and Capua, by virtue of the recent treaty, appealed to Rome. Rome sent an army to blockade Neapolis, with little effect, for the city got its supplies by sea; but at last won the city by intrigue and diplomacy, and made her an ally.

Conflict between the victorious Romans and the Samnites 325 immediately followed. The Samnites were a numerous and hardy peasant people, of Sabine stock (akin therefore to the Sabine people to the east of the Tiber, and to the Oscans and Lucanians who had conquered Campania and Bruttium), living in villages amongst the hills and mountains of central Italy, a people of farmers and shepherds, with some kind of central organization above the village communities. We have detailed accounts of the campaigns in this long struggle, of the few defeats and the many victories and triumphs of Roman generals; but

[1] The 'Nolan' vases in our museums are Campanian of this period, and the *Atellanae*, the farces which delighted Rome, were so named from Atella in Campania.

in addition to the doubts and difficulties that are still attached
to the history of Rome as told two and three centuries later, the
whole strategy of this war is confused. Quite suddenly, at the
very beginning, we find Rome not only in alliance with Apulia,
but sending armies across the central Apennines, through the
territory of at best neutral, and later hostile people, the Sabines
or the Marsi, kinsmen of the Samnites, and fighting battles on
the east coast in order to reach the Apulians and attack the
Samnites in the rear. The first phase of the war ended with the
famous battle of the Caudine Forks, where the Roman generals 321 B.C.
were outmanoeuvred and defeated; apparently completely de-
feated, for both consuls were present and so all the main forces
of Rome, and the army surrounded and the consuls forced to
sign peace. Roman history said that the senate (once the army
had returned home) patriotically denounced the peace, and that
a series of Roman victories followed. Modern scholarship rejects
these as fictitious, maintaining that the peace was kept for five or
six years—yet admitting that Rome was able to create two new 318
tribes (thus once more increasing her territory and her man-
power) in Volscian and Campanian territory, the latter very
close to the Samnite Hills, and to prepare, within five years of 316
the peace, to send a colony to Luceria in Apulia: how could
they have got there, and how could she have defended so distant
a place, after so severe a defeat? and why was Luceria, even if
at enmity with Samnium, ready to receive colonists from Rome?

At any rate war broke out afresh. The Samnites invaded 315
Campania and tried to make the cities secede from their 314
alliance with Rome; but the Romans won a great battle at
Tarracina, and were thus able to strengthen their position there
by the severe punishment of the seceding cities and by planting
more colonies, and building the first section of the first of the
great military roads, the *Via Appia*. Years of confused fighting 312
followed: the Etruscans threatened to join the Samnites, but
were defeated and the Roman influence there restored. The 310
Hernici, near neighbours and old allies of Rome, declared war, 306
and a consul had to come back with his army from Apulia to
defeat them (when some of their cities renewed their alliance

with Rome, others were incorporated as *cives sine suffragio*); then the Aequi and the Paeligni (who lay on the route to Apulia); but the Romans won a battle against them and the Samnite forces, and the Samnites agreed to make peace—a peace which left them their old boundaries, but gave Rome the opportunity for consolidating her position in central Italy by strong colonies and alliances stretching across to the east coast, and thus cutting off the Samnites from possible allies in the north. Two new tribes were created in the Anio and the Trerus valleys.

In the next year the Samnites attempted to gain control of Lucania, which had shown hitherto a benevolent neutrality towards Rome; and Rome declared war again, and won so decisive a victory that she was able to keep her army summer and winter in Samnium, destroying the Samnite villages. In a last attempt the Samnites moved north through the territory the Roman armies had passed through so often to Apulia, and joined forces with the Gauls (who were moving again, and against whom Rome had concluded alliances with Umbria and Picenum); the Etruscans were coming to their help. But the Romans acted rapidly and in the battle of Sentinum completely defeated them and decided the issue of the struggle. The Etruscans immediately made peace; the Samnites obstinately held out in their mountains for a few years longer, till after further battles they were forced to acknowledge defeat. Then, we are told, as a curious pendant to this long and exhausting war, the whole of the Roman forces fell on the Sabines, their near neighbours, who had at the most given but feeble support to their kinsmen, crushed them and made them *cives sine suffragio*, and, a generation later, citizens in full.

But whatever the difficulties inherent both in the ancient histories and in modern reconstructions, it is certain that by the beginning of the third century Rome had not only become a large state by the absorption or attraction of many of her neighbours, and had consolidated her position in central Italy from the Tyrrhene to the Adriatic coasts, but had already shown herself to all as the strongest single power in the whole peninsula. The vigorous peoples of the Apennines, not so advanced in

culture as the Latins, had been impressively defeated; the Etrus-
cans were crushed, their vitality on the wane. The Gauls were
too barbarous, and far too loosely knit a community, to be
serious rivals to a state like Rome. The only other people of
Italy were the Greeks, who, had they been united, might have
led an opposition to Rome as leaders of the south Italian peoples.
But not only were they, as always, divided into separate states,
no one of which was strong enough, in man-power or in energy
and initiative, to lead the rest; but just at this time they were
engaged in a series of destructive wars with each other. The
history of the Italians and that of the Greeks in the last quarter
of the fourth century, and the first twenty years of the third, pre-
sent a singular contrast. Both were engaged in a long series of
wars; but whereas Rome was using them to build up and con-
solidate a state and to lay the foundations of an empire, in a
way to make the most ardent pacifist admit the value at least
of some wars in the past, the Greek wars resulted in nothing but
loss of life, material destruction, and moral degradation, so that
many men must have welcomed almost any kind of government
that would stop them. In the east indeed the many dynastic
wars did leave in the end three or four more or less stable states,
whose Greek and Asiatic population had alike, to all appear-
ances, kept their vitality unimpaired. But in Italy and Sicily
the wars had been incessant, and had achieved nothing, not
even an artificial unity. Dionysius of Syracuse in the first half
of the fourth century had defeated the Carthaginians and carried
his arms (mostly mercenary) through south Italy and as far
north as the mouth of the Po river on the Adriatic; but Carthage
remained in the west of Sicily, and had to be fought again after
his death, when the influence of Syracuse abroad at once waned 367 B.C.
and her power was weakened by long internal strife, which lasted
for twenty years. After a short period of internal and external 358-339
peace, civil war broke out again, at the end of which a certain
Agathocles won his way to a tyranny in Syracuse, first as general,
then as king in an endeavour to establish a dynasty. He was the
same kind of able, energetic, ruthless, and ultimately worthless
man, with no constructive or imaginative powers, that Dionysius

had been. His rule is marked by a series of startling victories and defeats, none of which had any permanent value. He began by re-establishing the dominance of Syracuse among the Greek 310 B.C. states of Sicily; which brought in Carthage against him, and Syracuse was besieged. By a bold stroke he got out of Syracuse and landed in Africa, where he collected a mixed body of Greek troops, laid waste the land and attacked Carthage, with vary-307 ing fortune, till a severe defeat, when he left his troops to their fate and returned to Syracuse; an episode which showed the world the weakness of Carthage, and a remarkable example at once of daring enterprise and cowardly egoism; the Romans later imitated the former and eschewed the latter. When Agathocles got back to Sicily he found the dissident Greeks fighting (with the Carthaginians) against Syracuse, under the leadership of one of the very few of his opponents whom he had laid under an obligation by not having him executed. He defeated him, however, and after many massacres of his political enemies, had 304 himself declared king, struck coins in his own name, like the successors of Alexander in the east, like them too made a political or dynastic marriage, with Ptolemy's stepdaughter, and gave his own daughter first to Pyrrhus of Epirus and then to Demetrius 304-289 son of Antigonus,[1] and reigned for fifteen years in peace till his death in bed. His three eldest sons, by his first wife, had been killed by the troops he had deserted in Africa; the fourth was destined to be his heir, but was murdered by the eldest grandson. Quarrels followed immediately upon his death, and what little he had achieved in uniting the Greeks of Sicily and keeping Carthage at bay was immediately undone.

Meanwhile the Italiote Greeks, during the Samnite wars of Rome, were living their own life, blind apparently to what was happening to the north of them; fighting when necessary against Apulians and Bruttians, calling in Agathocles to their aid (who, like Dionysius, achieved little in Italy), still civilized and influencing their neighbours, but not taking the opportunity of playing a part in the struggle for the mastery of Italy. Had they been united, they might have taken decisive action; but their

[1] See vol. i, pp. 1212 ff.

eyes were turned away from the new sun that was rising, were turned in upon themselves, and most of their political energy was spent in civil strife and internecine wars. The net result of these last forty years among the Greeks of the west was the loss of much man-power, and of all confidence that they would ever again enjoy even the minimum of tolerable government; they were politically bankrupt, and aware of it; while Rome was steadily increasing and consolidating her power, mostly by two means which were especially foreign to the Greeks—by the extension of her territory and franchise (which meant a gain not only in numbers, but in variety, and the abandonment of her character as a small state), and by roads.

III. FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION (*to* 287 B.C.)

During all this steady progress abroad, Rome had many political struggles at home. Soon after the Gallic invasion, we are told, the noble who had saved the Capitol tried to use his popularity to make himself a tyrant in the interests of the poor, 385 B.C. but failed. The struggle between patricians and plebeians then broke out afresh, and it was only after ten years of agitation 376-366 marked by two dictatorships and much strife (prolonged because the patricians were able, we do not know how, to get the majority of the plebeian tribunes over to their side and thus to veto the action of their popular colleagues, who thereupon attempted a veto on all the actions of the consuls) that the plebeians at last won their way into the supreme magistracy, under the law that one consul at least must be plebeian. By way of answer the senate secured that a new member, a praetor without the title of consul, should be added to the college, to relieve the consuls of the administration of justice between citizens within the city; and the praetor was to be patrician. Often enough too in practice both consuls after this were patrician; but soon plebeians were elected praetors, dictators, and censors, and then to the colleges of augurs and pontifices, and this particular phase of the struggle was over: the plebeians had won the right of admission to all office, and hence to the senate; and the old distinction

between patrician and plebeian families, though preserved in name, ceased in time to have a political meaning.

Two other matters had still to be decided—the one political, the other economic. The former was the right of the senate to reject or delay measures passed by the assemblies—the patrum auctoritas: it was affirmed in 339[1] and again in 290 that the assent of the senate to any act of an assembly, whether legislative or elective, must be given beforehand, so that it became a mere formality—or so it was intended; but it must be remembered that measures could only be brought before an assembly by the convening magistrates and would be known before the meeting. At the same time it was laid down again, in 339 and finally, after a long struggle and a third and last secession of the plebs, in 287, that plebiscita, decisions of the concilium plebis from which all patricians were excluded, should have the full force of *leges*, and be binding on all citizens.

The economic problem was the old one of debt—the relation of debtor to creditor. This in part solved itself, for the conquests of the fourth century led to a great extension, both of *ager publicus* which was distributed among the citizens, and of colonies in which doubtless the large majority of settlers were landless men. But attempts were also made by legislation to meet the difficulties of the debtor: one, we are told, by the legislation of 376–366, to limit the amount of *ager publicus* that one family might hold, others to regulate the rate of interest (one even to 342 B.C. prevent usury altogether—a law was passed to forbid it, which 326 naturally came to nothing), and at last, over two and a half centuries after similar legislation in Athens, that no debt should be secured on the person, but only on property, and that execution of a debt should be illegal without the intervention of a magistrate. These provisions were not always observed; but in the main, the economic difficulties of the Roman citizens (which were mainly agrarian) were, during the third and the first quarter of the second century, either forgotten amid the military activities and triumphs, or solved by the expansion and increasing prosperity of the city.

[1] Or reaffirmed: see above, pp. 47, 49 n. 2.

Politically too there was but little internal strife or danger during this century and a half following the last victory of the plebeians in 287. For two hundred years the patricians, the old families who, on the overthrow of the kings, had formed themselves into an exclusive senate and endeavoured to make that senate all-powerful, had struggled and been compelled to give up one by one their privileges. It was an important victory, this of the plebeians, if only because it enlarged the body from which Rome was to draw her magistrates and counsellors; just as the extension of the franchise to Latin and other neighbour communities enlarged it further. Yet there is something highly artificial in the whole of this struggle between the orders, for though the ideas of liberty and equality and even democracy were involved, and in spite of the prolonged faction and civil war, yet the structure of the state remains almost unaffected, just as no amount of faction at home seems ever to have weakened Rome's position abroad. When the patrum auctoritas, the power of the senate to review and reject acts of the comitia, was abolished, and when plebiscita were given the force of laws, this was not simply a victory of plebeians over patricians (for the senate was by this time half plebeian), but, at least in appearance, a victory of the people in assembly over a small and oligarchic council (oligarchic because its members were, normally, members for life, though theoretically they could be expelled at any time by the censor, a magistrate elected by the people). Yet neither the prestige nor the real power of the people's assemblies was in any way increased. The ultimate cause of this was that the mass of Roman citizens had neither taste nor gift for political life, that they preferred, unlike the Greeks, to leave public work to chosen officials; but the interest lies in the way this was expressed. No effort was made either to reorganize the comitia on democratic lines (for example, as we have seen, to do away with the predominance of wealth in the centuriate assembly,[1] which, with the concilium plebis, was the most impor-

[1] Some effort at reform was made later, probably in 241 B.C., to diminish the power of wealth in this assembly: the eighteen centuries of knights were retained, but the other five classes were merged into one, and then divided by *tribes*, that

tant legislative body, and which still elected all the magistrates except those of the plebs), nor to increase their authority by making them true places of debate and decision; they never did more than accept or reject proposals brought before them by the convening (and presiding) magistrate. The most democratically organized were the comitia tributa and the concilium (which also voted by tribes); yet this system too soon ceased to be effective. For with the increase in the number of citizens, it was improbable that any but a handful of those who lived at a distance from Rome would be present on a day of assembly; and in any case a meeting which consisted of any considerable fraction of the total of citizens would be so large as to be unmanageable (unmanageable, we say rightly of the Roman assembly; unable to manage itself, we should say of the Greek). That meant that, in the tribal comitia and the concilium, the more distant tribes (consisting of the new citizens and those old ones who had obtained a grant of land in the new territory) would be scarcely represented, and the voting by means of the tribal unit would tend to be farcical. Representative institutions were not thought of: the old idea of personal participation, even in Italy, was too strong. Moreover, no attempt was made to preserve equality in numbers (nor in anything else) between the tribes (the four of the city were by far the largest), and the censor had the power not only of fixing the tribe to which a newly made citizen should belong (just as it was his office to place a man in his proper centuria, according to his wealth), but could transfer him from one to another: a practice not conceivable in a Greek state, where even at Sparta and Athens with their artificial, territorial phylae, a man's phylê was that into which he was born; still less would any such power have been given to a magistrate. Later, all freedmen were enrolled in the urban tribes;[1] and when

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is, territorially. As the centuriate assembly was the body which elected magistrates, this secured a better representation of public opinion; but it was never a truly democratic body.

[1] Presumably to diminish their influence, but the cause of this is obscure, as at the time they were hardly numerous enough to be powerful. But the practice was to prove very important later, when slaves were imported in large numbers from the East, and many were given their freedom.

large numbers of Italians were given the citizenship during the social war of the first century, they were all put into eight of the old tribes, thus reducing to a minimum the value of their votes. It was inevitable in these circumstances that the popular assemblies, whether of the plebs only or of the whole people, should have an air of unreality and weakness; that the hard-won legislative powers of the concilium plebis should in the result amount to nothing, and even their elective powers to very little, when the senate could secure that some at least of the tribunes, at times a majority of them, should be its partisans; and that in consequence the powers of the magistrates at these assemblies should be real and should increase—their right to initiate all discussion and so to propose all new laws and nominate all candidates for office, to summon an assembly or not, to put it off or dismiss it because the signs were unfavourable (a thing which never happened in Athens), or even to ignore its decision for the same reason, on the ground that it had not been properly summoned, or for any other irregularity in the *auspicia*. Thus the Roman assemblies were never the scene of great debate as the Greek had been; the great Roman speeches that decided events or were but masterpieces of the oratorical art were not made to the people, like the Greek.

Yet there was government by discussion at Rome as at Athens (till the last years of the Republic when government altogether broke down); but it was discussion in the senate, not in the assembly. For though the powers of the magistrates in relation to the people as a whole were little diminished by the legislation of the fourth and third centuries, but rather increased, yet the yearly tenure of office, as well as the power which one magistrate had to veto the acts of another, prevented (for the present) the growth of great power in any one individual, or of an official class powerful by reason of their office. The senate, to which normally men who had already served the state many years and had risen to be consuls, praetors, or censors were nominated, by simple reason of the great weight that is bound to attach to the counsels of experienced and influential men, not subject even to the chances of frequent re-election, took the

place of the magistrates (or rather retained its own place) as the seat of real authority, where the final decision was taken, in spite of all the laws of 366 and 287 B.C.[1] How naturally oligarchic was the Roman tendency can be seen from the fact that after 366 a new nobility was gradually formed, quite independent of the old patriciate, consisting of families of men who had been elected to the higher offices, hence senatorial families; and it became customary to nominate and elect men to office only from among these *nobiles*. A *novus homo*, that is one whose family had never held high office, as Marius and Cicero, had at the beginning of his career the whole influence of the senatorial families against him. An ordinary man elected to the highest office, of whose family the older members and most of their friends were already in the senate, who belonged to the senatorial class, was not likely to dispute the authority of so distinguished an assembly, of which he was himself soon to become a life-long member.[2]

But though the long struggle between the orders resulted in little that is of interest and occupies an exaggerated place in the story of Rome, there were other constitutional developments taking place during all this period which were afterwards to prove of fundamental importance. It is customary still to praise the 'well-balanced constitution' of Rome, in the manner of Polybius, who saw in it a mixture in the right proportions of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. This was in part conventional, a well-worn idea, derived from the Aristotelian doctrine of virtue as a mean, expressed in well-worn phrases, without an attempt to perceive their true implications; but in part also Polybius saw, or thought he saw, magistrates with the power of initiative in the senate and comitia, and commanding

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[1] Contrast the position in Athens after 487 B.C. when election to the archonship was by lot instead of by vote, and the consequent political weakness of the Areopagus (vol. i, pp. 1097 ff.).

[2] We must remember (once more) that if we find the story of the political struggles in Rome from the fifth to the third century unsatisfactory and artificial, it is likely enough that the historians of the first century imported into it political and economic ideas only proper to the last hundred years of the republic (when for example democratic ideas were really involved). But we are not at all in the position to reconstruct the history.

obedience from the citizens, with authority such as no Greek magistrates ever possessed, yet tempered by the influence of the senate (for policy) and the tribunes' veto (to protect the individual); the element of aristocracy in the senate, embodying in fact most of the ability and experience of the state, and in the readiness of the people to choose magistrates from among the 'best' families; and just enough democracy in the popular election of magistrates—public opinion able, when necessary, to make its weight felt by constitutional means in the assemblies. And for nearly a century and a half the constitution did work, through the most dangerous times, because the dangers arose from the pressure of foreign enemies, not from internal causes; the Romans showed themselves throughout both united and determined in the face of the enemy, and the senate proved worthy leaders. No man of first-rate ability (with the possible exception of Scipio) appeared as a statesman or soldier, but large numbers of able men of the second rank; and, as generally in oligarchic governments, things were none the worse for that— a genius would not have fitted well into the scheme. But the moment internal troubles arose, as in the second half of the second century, the constitution broke down. The system of magisterial vetoes, the authority so long held by custom by the senate, produced only a deadlock; and the solutions of the political and economic difficulties, both the many temporary and the final and permanent one, were all alike won by violence. Before Polybius' death the constitution which he had so much admired proved itself incapable of resisting the first serious shock from within.

On the other hand, in the sphere of administration the Roman genius for government showed itself at its best, in the adaptation of existing forms to meet new needs. Specialization was developed further with an increase in the number of the minor offices, as quaestors and aediles, and to appointment of commissioners for special duties, as the *duoviri navales* (first in 311 B.C.) and the commissioners for colonies, and the better definition, by custom rather than by law, of their functions; a necessary work owing to the increase of responsibilities and the

growing complexity of the problems that had to be faced; and in
succeeding in creating some sort of machinery of imperial govern-
ment, at least for a time, without sacrificing the idea of the
elected magistrate, responsible to the people, Rome did what no
other state had yet done—hitherto the only successful administra-
tive systems had been the bureaucracies under the monarchies
of the east. One development in particular was destined to be
of vital importance: the siege of Neapolis (already noted as of
327–326 interest in another connexion) lasted more than a year; the
B.C.
Roman army was commanded by the consul, Q. Publilius Philo
(a distinguished man, of a plebeian family, who took a noted
part in the political struggles), new consuls were in the ordinary
way elected for the next year, but it was desired to keep Publilius
in command at Naples. He was therefore chosen, by the as-
sembly, *pro consule rem gerere*, to carry on as though he were con-
sul, and invested with the imperium. This device, for continuing
a man in office when in charge of a particular duty, and for
increasing the number of men with imperium, without altering
the law regulating the number of consuls and the annual tenure
of office, came increasingly to be used; moreover in practice
(how the change came about we do not know) it was the senate
who came to nominate men as *proconsuls*—to prolong their im-
perium, and this was a very important element in its influence;
and when Roman power had extended so much that wide
territories had to be administered, it became normal to prolong
the consul's imperium so that, as proconsul, he should continue
in office abroad. It was the great power wielded by these
proconsuls and the clash between individuals among them that
ultimately broke the senate and the republic.

    Another important change was made: in the almost endless
wars with more than one army in the field at once, and those
kept in the field, or at least away from their homes, summer and
winter, the old idea of a citizen force, the substantial manhood
of the state forming the army, the army being the people,
necessarily was lost. The Roman forces were reorganized and
rearmed (they learnt much, especially in the matter of mobility,
from their enemies the Samnites); but what was more impor-

tant, pay was introduced (during the Veientine war, we are *c. 400 b.c.* told)—the first step in the creation of an army of an Imperial State, a professional army, in which a man would make his career, not one in which he would serve for the campaigning season, from time to time called up from his farm to meet a special danger. The old world of small states, in which all the citizens could assemble to transact public business, or as an army, where Rome had been but one of several such 'cities' of Latium, not very different in structure from the cities of Greece, was ending in Italy at the same time as in Greece, but in Greece both state and society were dissolving, and attempts to create something stable to replace the old, as the Macedonian monarchy, the Hellenic League, or the Leagues of Achaeans and Aetolians, failed; whereas in Italy a new and constructive state was being built. For by 290 Rome, by her rare combination of military genius and energy and political skill when dealing with other states (and thanks also to the particular circumstances which made the undeveloped Italian tribes glad to unite, against the Gauls, and then later against the Greeks and the Carthaginians, and willing enough to accept Roman citizenship in place of their own), had so consolidated her position in central Italy, that when, almost immediately after, she had to meet the shock of foreign invasion, her leadership was recognized and welcomed, and it was the unity of the Italian peoples, under Rome, against the foreigner that was the main cause, or one of the main causes, of her ultimate success. That it was possible gradually not only to dominate but to absorb these peoples was the chief factor in this unity; and quite early it was seen that the status of Roman citizen was a privilege not of a few, born of Roman parents, nor even of Latins only, but one which could be earned by individuals (as by service in the legion) and by communities, and did not depend exclusively either on origin or on residence: a true international principle which was to prove later one of Rome's greatest services to mankind.

RESISTANCE TO INVASION. FOREIGN CONQUESTS.
ROME DOMINANT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN
(285–146 B.C.)

.I. FOREIGN INVASIONS OF ITALY. THE FIRST PROVINCES
(THIRD CENTURY B.C.)

IF the history of the last hundred years, to the first decade of the third century, as we have it, is even approximately correct, every one would agree that a long period of peace was now a necessity for Rome; if for nothing else, to allow her man-power to recuperate; if for nothing else, to permit the development of the agricultural land that had so often been fought over and had so much of it been recently settled by new owners; to give time for the reformed constitution to discover a mode of working, and for the large numbers of new citizens to find a place for themselves in the new Central Italian State. But in fact Rome was at once faced with fresh wars, this time caused by foreign invasion: which perhaps had the advantage of preventing men thinking too much about the new constitution, of persuading the Italians at once that they must look to Rome for protection against the foreigner.[1]

Up till now Rome's foreign contacts had been of the slightest: the commercial treaty with Carthage at the end of the sixth, the dedication at Delphi after the Veientine war and the possible embassy to Greece in the middle of the fifth century, the long-standing alliance with the Greek city of Massilia. Nothing more than that to indicate that Rome felt herself part of the Mediterranean world; as likely as not her successes made her more narrowly Italian in the fourth century than she had been before—certainly Greek culture, spreading so rapidly in the east, was of less account in central Italy than formerly; and the Greek states of the south, though commercially and intellectu-

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[1] Athens at this time, and other Greeks, were seeking the aid of the more distant power against the nearer, for both were Greek; the Italians looked to their kinsmen in Latium against the unknown invaders from abroad.

ally within the Greek sphere, had, since the Athenian invasion 415-413
during the Peloponnesian war, too little political contact with B.C.
the east for this to affect the other peoples of Italy. During the
short interval between the last Latin war and the opening of the 338-325
Samnite wars, a king of Epirus, a hitherto semi-barbarous
country now come within the orbit of Hellenism, landed in Italy 334
to help the Greeks against the Lucanians and Samnites, and
won a victory; the Romans were content to make an alliance
with him, and watch the way the fighting went. He soon with-
drew home again; for he quarrelled with his allies of Tarentum 330
and was defeated. A similar quarrel and a similar defeat befell
another soldier from Greece, Cleonymus of Sparta, thirty years 303
later.

But in the third century, very soon after the end of the wars in
central and northern Italy, there was a much more serious in-
vasion—more serious because led by Pyrrhus of Epirus, who had
already proved his ability as a soldier and his instability as a
politician in the Hellenistic world,[1] and because he was defi-
nitely intending to incorporate the Greek states of the west
within his kingdom and so bring them within the eastern Medi-
terranean sphere. Only a few of the Greek states of Italy were
any longer politically important; some had succumbed at last
to the attacks of the Italian tribes; of those that survived Taren-
tum was the most powerful and most in conceit of itself. Rome
was friendly with Thurii (that colony, 160 years before, of
Athens), and Thurii, in a difficulty, summoned her aid. Taren-
tum resented and feared the invasion of Rome in the Greek
sphere; there was conflict between them (in which the dignity of
Rome and the folly and insolence of Greeks are only too well
brought out in our rhetorical histories), and Tarentum sum-
moned Pyrrhus to her aid. How familiar are the causes of wars!

The war that followed showed first that the Italian peoples, 280-275
however recently humiliated by Rome, were unwilling to wel-
come the Greek intervention (and they remembered that they
had been engaged for generations, off and on, in hostilities with
Tarentum and the other Greek states of the south), and secondly,

[1] See vol. i, p. 1215.

that the Romans, both statesmen and soldiers, were well able
to stand the shock of defeat in battle at the hands of a skilful
general in command of a well-trained and well-organized army;
that in adversity they were neither weak nor desperate. It was
the first of such demonstrations, and it was a presage of the war
280, 279 with Hannibal. Pyrrhus won two notable victories, but with
B.C.
heavy losses, which he could not replace, and made a modest
dedication at Dodona of spoils won 'by Pyrrhus of Epirus and
the Tarentines from the Romans and their allies'; but after,
wasted a year in fruitless diplomacy, while Rome made treaty
with Carthage. Helpless, he crossed over to Sicily; in that dis-
tracted land he put an end for a time to the quarrels of the
Greeks and won some indecisive victories over the Cartha-
275 ginians, as so many had done before him; and returned, irre-
solute, to south Italy, where at Beneventum[1] he met the full
Roman army and was defeated. Tired of facing the crude and
vigorous Italians, he withdrew home to the other side of the
Adriatic, back to the more congenial Greek world where he
could play the part of the upright soldier amidst intriguing courts
and quarrelsome cities. Once the first shock was over, he had
not been a serious menace; and for some time yet neither the
Greeks in the east, nor the Romans in the west, looked across the
Adriatic or took interest in the activities of the other.

But Rome went on with the consolidation of Italy; her armies
were in the extreme south-east; more colonies were planted,
268, 264 now on the Adriatic coast, Ariminum, Castrum Novum, and
220 Firmium to secure her hold on central Italy (a little later the
246 Via Flaminia was carried as far as the coast) and finally Brun-
disium, which looks eastward, and acted as base for a fleet which
policed the eastern coasts; that fleet was built and manned
chiefly by the Greek cities, who became Rome's *naval* allies,
contributing ships and their crews instead of soldiers. Amongst
the cities was Tarentum, captured in 272 and punished, with a
garrison in her citadel, but retained as an ally and her institu-

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[1] The traditional site of the battle. According to others, near Paestum, in the
plain on the west coast of Lucania. The ancient authorities are confusing on this
point.

tions undisturbed. Greeks were beginning to look to Rome as a political centre. Even more remarkable was the rapid use of Roman coinage over the whole federation. Rome had no silver coinage (and but little bronze) before the Samnite and Epirote wars (when for her needs in the south Campanian and Greek mints struck coins, based on the drachma, under contract with her); and this though not only the Campanians and the Greeks but the Etruscans to the north had been using coinage from the sixth and fifth centuries. In 269 Rome issued silver coins from her own mint for the first time; the *denarii*, of a weight that could be used with the bronze currency, and equivalent to the drachma. Some mints were also established in the more distant colonies. Naturally this coinage was used universally by the central Italian peoples who had had none of their own; but it also spread to the south, and before the war with Hannibal had begun the old Campanian and Greek mints had ceased issuing, and Roman silver was in universal use within the federation.[1]

There was, however, to be little peace. A trifling pretext (so we are told) and Rome was at war with Carthage, the dominant power in the western Mediterranean. It was a war the story of whose progress, as we have it, is barely credible, though supported by the respectable authority of Polybius; but it had important and definite results. It was the first overseas war in which Rome had engaged—her enemy had had centuries of experience—and the first, and almost the last, in which a Roman fleet played the predominant part; it settled the fate of Sicily at last; and it gave Rome her first *province*, that is, her first taste of rule over subject peoples.

It lasted twenty-three years and began and ended in Sicily. 264–241 B.C. After some successes on land the Romans learnt that without a fleet they could do little; with the help of their Greek allies of Italy they built one—the first they had ever built. The crews were in part Greek, mostly Italians, trained by Greeks for the

[1] Or rather, according to the latest argument (Mattingly and Robinson, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xviii, 1934), Rome's first issue of silver (in 269) was in didrachms; the denarius (of the value of one drachma) was not issued till 187 B.C.

emergency. A consul who had never been to sea was put in command; it grappled by means of cranes with the enemy fleet, making the battle as like a land battle as possible, and won a
260 B.C. complete victory in its first cruise at sea. So much is possible; the Carthaginians, never noted for competence in government, had been taken by surprise. With her great wealth and her numerous trained seamen, she was soon able to put another fleet to sea. But this too was defeated. We are told of six big naval battles, in all but one of which the unskilful Romans were victorious, including the final and decisive one—with the help of their Greek allies, who had not, however, themselves ever been able to prevent a Carthaginian fleet from crossing to Sicily when it wished. Yet twice was a Roman fleet, owing to its inexperience, helplessly destroyed in a storm which their more skilful enemies were able to weather; and how a new fleet was at once not only built but manned, we do not know. Moreover, since the Romans did not afterwards take to a seafaring life, whether in war or as merchants or explorers, it cannot be said that in this crisis they discovered a latent capacity for the sea. The story of the first Carthaginian war, on its naval side, though now almost for the first time in Roman history we seem to be on firm ground with Polybius for our guide, remains a mystery. But one feature is to be noted: after their first naval victory, the Romans, like Agathocles of Syracuse half a century before, attempted to end the war by an invasion of Africa, and
256-255 landed a large force under the consul Regulus to attack Carthage itself; like Agathocles too Regulus was at first successful, then decisively defeated (largely through the disciplinary measures and tactical skill of a Greek, Xanthippus of Sparta, who with a Greek force had entered the service of Carthage). But the Roman consul did not imitate the paltry treachery of the tyrant of Syracuse and desert his men, as the later historians do not fail to point out. The remnants of his force were rescued by the fleet, which gained a second naval victory off Carthage; but the fleet, chiefly through bad seamanship, was destroyed in a storm off the coast of Sicily on its return. A new fleet was somehow built; and the two consuls who were responsible both

for the victory and the disaster were not blamed, but retained in command. Herein lay one source of Roman strength: the Athenians (and the Carthaginians), when in desperate straits, would have had the energy to build the new fleet, but would have dismissed and prosecuted the commanders. The Romans had a greater confidence; they made a better use of men of not more than average ability; so that, though, before Marius, they produced perhaps no soldier of genius and suffered many defeats through aristocratic incompetence, yet they were better served by their generals than any Greek state but Sparta had been. They were more stable, and, like most oligarchies, not so dependent on exceptional gifts.

Obscure, however, for us as the great naval effort of Rome in this war remains, the results of the war are fortunately more certain, and more important. First: Carthage was at last driven from Sicily; Rome had accomplished what no Greek state nor ruler had been able to do; and after three centuries of fierce conflict, of Greek against Carthaginian, of city against city, and of civil war within the cities, marked by every kind of cruelty and treachery, the island was at peace. Secondly, on the one hand, Roman contact with Greek civilization was increased; Greek customs, their art and architecture became familiar to Romans, and then their literature, especially the drama, which still flourished—Livius Andronicus who staged the first play 240 b.c. seen at Rome came as a prisoner from Tarentum; Naevius, the c. 260-199 most prolific author of the next generation, was from semi-Greek Campania, and had campaigned in Sicily; Ennius 239-169 (though more important for his epic than his tragedy) was also from the south, Calabria—half-Greek, half-Oscan, wholly Roman when he received the citizenship; and within twenty years of the end of the war Plautus, himself from Umbria, was c. 260-184 fashioning the Roman comedy on the basis of the Greek. Hiero, king of Syracuse, was invited to Rome to witness the Roman games; Roman religion, architecture, and painting were now a mixture of Italian, Etruscan, and Greek elements, with the Greek the newest and most inspiring. The *Odyssey* was translated into Latin, and the first Latin epic, the *Punic War* of

Naevius, was based on the Greek; and it was now that the
Romans were flattered into the belief that they were descended
from Aeneas and his Trojans, and so no longer outlanders, bar-
barians, but within the Greek world. On the other hand, the
independent Greek and Italo-Greek culture of south Italy and
Sicily rapidly declined, and there now began the slow but in-
creasing Italianization of the Greek west, its divorce from
eastern Europe; till now it had been part of Greece; in this
third century B.C. lived Timaeus the historian, the poet Theo-
critus, and one of the greatest of all scientists, Archimedes; all
three looked to Greece for their intellectual contacts, and indeed
spent much of their lives at Athens or Alexandria.[1] Lastly, and

262 B.C. most important: in the third year of the war the Romans be-
sieged and captured the old Greek city of Acragas, which had
been held by Carthage since the death of Agathocles (how they
succeeded without a fleet is one of the obscurities of our story);
they pillaged the town and sold its inhabitants into slavery. It
was the first Greek city that had been so treated, as an implac-
able enemy; others, in alliance with Carthage, suffered a
similar fate. In others again, held by Carthage, the Greek in-
habitants showed little sympathy with the garrison and were
leniently treated by the Roman conquerors; while a few were
allied to Rome in the struggle, amongst them Syracuse, once
more governed by a monarch, but by the last and most en-
lightened of his kind—Hiero, who at the commencement of

263 hostilities had been an ally of Carthage, but soon made treaty
with Rome; a treaty developing later into a permanent alliance,

248-218 which lasted for thirty years, during which Hiero ruled his city
in peace, and disarmed, relying on the Roman protection. But
the Romans made no attempt to incorporate the conquered
cities of Sicily within the Italian federation; they might be

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[1] Curiously the Greek language, and in consequence later the orthodox church,
lasted much longer in south Italy, where it had always been exposed to Italian
influence, than in Sicily where it had been compact. Greek monasteries, with the
Greek rite and language, survived in south-east Italy right through the Middle
Ages and the language lingers on in places still. This was only to a small extent due
to a revival consequent on Justinian's conquests; and this revival was itself only
made possible because the Greek element had resisted the Italian domination.

treated well or ill, but always as foreigners; unlike the Greek
cities of south Italy, they were not regarded as part of Italy. The
Romans were determined to keep their hold on Sicily, and were
thus faced with an entirely new problem—the government of
a foreign people, not their gradual absorption. How they solved
it will be discussed later; here let it be briefly said that a new
annual praetor was appointed, whose *provincia*, sphere of activity,
it was to govern Sicily. Sicily was the first of the Roman pro-
vinces. Before the new system is described, it will be necessary
to deal with the second Punic war, the invasion of Hannibal;
which for Carthage was a war of revenge and a last and greatest
attempt to assert her predominance in the western Mediter-
ranean, for Rome rather a repetition, in fiercer form, of the in-
vasion of Pyrrhus, a final test of her leadership of a united Italy.
Towards the end of the first war Falerii had revolted against the ²⁴³⁻²⁴¹
unceasing conscription of her citizens; and the fortified town B.C.
was destroyed and half its territory confiscated; but this was the
only revolt in all Italy, though the federation was so large and
so recent. The war with Hannibal was to prove that this was
no accident.

There is that in the Roman character and in their own record
of their success which compels a sympathy with their enemies;
of this Hannibal has had his full share, though, except for the
always sympathetic spectacle of a man fighting against odds
and even more against envy and incompetence at home than
the enemy in the field, he did little to deserve it; and there has
never been any reason why posterity should regret his defeat.
Our record is now fairly detailed (up to Cannae we have Poly-
bius, based on contemporary sources); but in the rhetorical
histories of a later age the figures have become conventionalized;
the war was caused, we are told, by the personal desire for
vengeance of Hamilcar Barca and his family; Hannibal and the
Roman commanders alike are largely conventional figures: the
one always the cruel enemy; of the others, one is the steady and
loyal aristocrat, such as Fabius, another the plebeian who is
a demagogue in Rome and criminally rash in the field, as

Flaminius and Varro; a third type is Scipio Africanus, who is at
once nobly born and the people's favourite, signally successful.
(Another conventional picture is that of Archimedes and the
unlettered Roman soldier.) But at least we are on firm ground
in giving an outline of events, and the most important results of
the struggle. Soon after their defeat in the first Punic war and
240 B.C. the loss of Sicily (and, very soon after, of Sardinia as well,
which revolted from Carthage and sought the aid of Rome, who
238 against the terms of the treaty soon accepted the alliance,
227 occupied it and Corsica without a struggle and later created a
second province: events which Carthage, without a fleet, was
helpless to prevent and could only watch with increasing hos-
tility), the Carthaginians attempted to re-establish their position
in the west by the conquest of Spain, with which they had
had for so long close commercial ties. In this, under the able
command of Hamilcar and his family, they were successful;
southern and eastern Spain was incorporated within their
dominions, a source of considerable financial and military
strength. Within ten years the Romans, threatened by a renewal
of the struggle with the Gauls of north Italy, and urged on by
their old ally, the Greek city of Massilia, who saw their own
226-225 trade-relations with Spain in danger,[1] were glad to conclude a
treaty which fixed the river Ebro as the northern limit of
Carthaginian expansion and thereby recognized their rule in
the rest of Spain, with which Rome promised not to interfere.
An occasion for war was, however, soon found; Rome had some
sort of alliance or agreement with Saguntum, a coast-town 100
miles south of the Ebro, of no great importance, but trading
with Massilia, and which had not yet been reduced by the
Carthaginians. Naturally it was a source of mutual suspicion;
naturally there were a pro-Roman and a pro-Carthaginian
party in the town (probably a helpless middle party as well).
The pro-Romans gained the upper hand, and became active
against the Carthaginians in the neighbourhood; the latter be-
219-218 sieged the town, denying the Roman right to interfere south of
the Ebro, and took it after a prolonged siege. Rome, who had

[1] See map, vol. i, p. 1003, for Greek colonies and trading stations in the west.

meanwhile completely defeated the Gauls, thought her prestige or her interests involved, and, after hesitation, declared war.

They clearly supposed that they would have the initiative; they were confident that they would be the attackers, in Spain and in Africa. They prepared two fleets for these invasions, their bases to be Massilia and Sicily. The first got as far as its base; but before any attack had been made, the Romans were thrown on the defensive by Hannibal's march across the Pyrenees, through southern Gaul (crossing the Rhône well north of Aut. 218 Massilia) to the Alps and over them into the basin of the Po, B.C. where the Gallic tribes soon after joined him. The two legions destined for Spain were landed there, nevertheless; but three decisive Carthaginian victories in Italy, at the Trebia, at Trasi- Jan., mene (where the popular Flaminius, who had been the victor over 217 the Gauls, was defeated and killed), and at Cannae, the greatest 216 of them all,[1] where the democratic consul Varro, against the advice it is said of his colleague the aristocratic Aemilius, with a rash confidence fell into the trap set for him by Hannibal, brought Rome almost to her knees. There was yet another defeat, at the hands of the Gauls, in the north. But it was at this moment that the Roman quality and the strength of the Italian federation were best shown. Hannibal proclaimed 'the freedom of Italy', as so many Greek princes in the last hundred years had proclaimed that of Greece; his Italian prisoners he set free at once, without ransom (the Roman, after Trasimene, he killed). But there was little response: a few defections after Cannae, notably Capua; but the rest stood firm, and Greek cities, as Naples and Cumae, refused Hannibal's solicitation even though he made alliance with Philip V of Macedon. The 215 senate did not censure Varro after Cannae, but thanked him 'for not having despaired of the Republic'; they refused even to ransom the prisoners; and made every preparation for a siege.[2] But for this Hannibal was not strong enough. The weeks that

[1] The figures for the Roman losses, however, given by our authorities, are not credible.

[2] Contrast the Athenians, both towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, when they refused to accept defeat, but distrusted their leaders, and after Chaeroneia, when they accepted defeat (above, vol. i, pp. 1177–8, 1199).

followed Cannae, when the Italians would not move, and Rome
was not daunted, proved in fact the turning-point of the war.
For Hannibal was cut off from both his bases: he could get no
reinforcements either from Spain, where his brother Hasdrubal
was held by the Romans (and weakened by internal dissensions
at home), or from Carthage, for Rome held the command of
the sea and factious quarrels prevented any attempt to wrest it
from her. His own losses could not be made good. He was
isolated; for ultimate success he depended not only on brilliant
victories, but on breaking down the federation in Italy or a
weakening of the enemy's will. Once he failed in this, the
victory of Italy was certain; his further efforts only delayed
the end.

His skill ensured it that this delay should be a long one, that
Rome should be tested to the last; that men and women should
continue to suffer. On his political failure after Cannae, he
retired to the south. He gained some allies among the Greeks:
216 b.c. Hiero of Syracuse, and his incompetent son who succeeded him,
215 were dead; Marcellus, the praetor of Sicily, roused the people
against him by the cruelty of his rule, and then through attempt-
214 ing to win them by massacre and treachery; and Syracuse
213-212 joined the Carthaginians. Tarentum, Metapontum, and Hera-
clea went over to Hannibal in south Italy in the expectation of
help from Macedon. But none came; and the Carthaginian
214-12 fleet failed to give any aid to Syracuse. A long siege of the city,
made memorable by Archimedes' turning his genius to help in
the defence and by his death in the sack of the town, ended in
its inevitable capture. In spite of another victory, at Bene-
ventum, Hannibal could not prevent the Romans taking the
212 offensive and besieging Capua. He made a sudden march on
211 Rome, a forlorn attempt at frightening the enemy; he retreated
again, and Capua fell, and was destroyed, divided into villages
in the old fashion; the most culpable of the citizens sold as
209 slaves. Later Tarentum was recovered, and 30,000 of its inhabit-
ants, reduced to slavery, paid the penalty for their city's mad
resistance to Rome. Hannibal was helpless, his numbers
dwindling, his troops living with difficulty on the country; his

own genius alone combating with events, and his enemies well able to avoid contact with him if they wished.

Meanwhile the legions in Spain, commanded by the two brothers Gnaeus and Publius Scipio, had at least succeeded in holding the Carthaginians there and preventing communication with Hannibal; and as well, mainly through the skill of their Massiliote allies, destroyed the enemy fleet in a single 217 B.C. battle. They suffered later a severe defeat at Hasdrubal's hands 211 in Andalusia, but reinforcements could be spared from Italy after the fall of Capua. Publius Scipio's son was sent out with consular[1] powers at the age of 24, chosen by the force of popular acclamation; he won a series of successes, and eastern and 209–207 southern Spain were conquered. The important silver mines near Cartagena, which had for long helped to support the enemy, were now in the hands of Rome. Hasdrubal indeed, with a considerable force, escaped north, and in a desperate attempt to join Hannibal (which would have come to nought, had he succeeded: it would only have meant a larger force isolated in Italy) followed the latter's example in a march across Gaul and the Alps into Italy. But he was met at the Metaurus by the main Roman army (which could afford to leave only a covering force to watch Hannibal), and defeated and killed; his 207 head was cut off, we are told, and thrown into his brother's camp. The war dragged on for five more years. The young Scipio returned from Spain, was elected consul, and then given 206, 205 command in Sicily of the legions there (those who had fled at Cannae), and no more; till the popular will once more exerted itself against his jealous enemies in the senate, and he was put in command of the Roman forces now sent against Carthage 204–203 itself. There more dissensions had broken out within the city and between Carthage and the subject tribes; and Scipio had many successes. Hannibal was recalled at last, and, somehow, got back with his remaining forces to Africa. The final battle took place at Zama to the south-west of the town; a pitched battle, and at last Hannibal was defeated. Carthage 202 was invested; but before a siege terms of peace were arranged.

[1] See below, p. 85.

Besides having to pay a heavy indemnity and to surrender her fleet, she was to retain only her own territory, a strip of land not more than 50 miles in average width, stretching from Thabraca on the north, to the Syrtis on the south; all her overseas possessions were lost for ever, and her subject allies in Africa were to be independent and in alliance with Rome. She bound herself not to wage any war overseas, nor even in Africa, without Roman consent. There was to be no rival of Rome in the west.

II. CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT. ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVINCES. THE UNITY OF ITALY

It has already been pointed out that, though by the beginning of the third century, the Roman constitution was on paper a democracy (indeed, in the one provision that the acts of the concilium plebis were binding on the whole people, almost a dictatorship of the plebs) and that this development was by stages that can be roughly paralleled in Greek history, yet in fact a democratic government never came into being; and that, while the real and primary cause of this was the unpolitical nature of the mass of the people, their readiness to leave the control of and responsibility for public affairs to a few leaders (in this respect they were very different from the democratically minded Greeks), it was also the logical outcome of two factors not themselves consciously designed to this end: one, the practice of admitting to the senate, for life, all men who had held the higher offices—the consulate, the praetorship, the quaestorship, and the tribunate of the plebs—so that the senate represented in fact all that was active, experienced and, since election to office was by popular vote, influential in public life, and exercised an authority that could not be disputed; the second, the rapid extension of the franchise, so that soon there were many times more citizens than could possibly have attended comitia, and the majority lived too far from Rome ever to attend a meeting at all: this, and the anomalous procedure of comitia, the voting by tribes[1] and so forth, made it that the popular assem-

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[1] See above, pp. 34, 47.

blies ceased to be representative of the people and lost authority
as rapidly as the senate gained it.

This natural tendency was increased during the prolonged
wars of the third century; in war men were even more ready to
forgo discussion and leave the control of affairs to a few; and
though the consuls who commanded the legions continued to
be elected at the comitia, yet in fact the senate directed the
course of the wars (and therefore, at this period, of Roman
affairs in general) by assigning to them their field of operations.
That it, in the main, acquitted itself admirably, only increased
its repute, both at home and abroad; and, if there is any truth
in the stories that Flaminius and Varro were popular heroes
as well as rash commanders, this will further have led men
to trust to the steadiness and caution of the senate. The
power of the popular assemblies did not, of course, die all at
once, and was not in every case willingly surrendered; it was
occasionally, and once or twice decisively, asserted. The dis-
tribution among Roman citizens of the *ager Gallicus* (Gallic land
south of the Po from which the Gauls had long been driven,
now *ager publicus* and leased by the state) was carried in the
concilium plebis by the tribune C. Flaminius in the teeth of 232 b.c.
opposition by the senate (the plebeian senators opposing the
measure in the concilium). Later, during the Gallic war which 225-222
was so serious a menace that Rome had to consent to the Car-
thaginian expansion in Spain, the senate attempted to control
the movements of this same Flaminius, now consul and in com-
mand of an army, and even bade him lay down his command
and return to Rome; he ignored their letters, gained a victory,
and was granted a triumph on his return by the jubilant people,
after the senate had refused him. About the same time the
concilium carried another law, restricting the right of senators
to engage in trade. It was by the force of public opinion that
the young Scipio was appointed to the command in Spain, in 210
the second Punic war, and that the senate, where he had jealous
and factious enemies, was compelled to give him the command 204
in Africa. Even after the battle of Zama, he was opposed by
them in the negotiations for peace, till a special assembly of

the people was called which expressly gave him full powers. But in spite of these checks the senate continued to grow in power; few men were elected consul more than once; a dictator was appointed after Trasimene and again after Cannae, but, till Scipio at the end of this period, there appeared no man of outstanding personality throughout these wars; magistrates in general, who, by virtue of the imperium, had such great powers in the exercise of their office, all recognized the senate's authority. 220 B.C. Even Flaminius, who had so successfully defied it, would not when censor abuse his wide power to avenge himself on his enemies; and in the matter of colonies and roads (the *Via Flaminia* to Ariminum) followed the general continuity of Roman policy. Here was one of the secrets of Roman strength. Moreover, the innate conservative temper of the people, added to their lack of political training and the natural tendency of senators to support members of their own families, led to an unnoticed but definite narrowing of the field from which candidates to office were found; it became more difficult for a man from an unknown family to gain political honours; and youthful candidates from the senatorial families naturally grew up to respect the body to which their more distinguished relatives belonged.

Since the senate was by now recognized as the administrative head of the state, it became customary, though not yet fixed by law, for it, not the people in comitia, to assign to magistrates their sphere of duty—their *provincia* (not a territorial area in the strict sense of the word). With the growing complexity of state affairs this became increasingly important. By the end of the Carthaginian war there were four provinces of subject peoples—Sicily, Sardinia, and two in Spain (organized in 206 after the younger Scipio's victories); each had a governor, with full powers—that is, four more magistrates had to be elected possessed of the imperium. It was the senate which assigned to each his provincia; it was in that way that it tried to cramp Scipio by giving him the, at the moment, unimportant governorship of Sicily in 205. Moreover, though at first two new magistracies, praetorships, were instituted for the two provinces of Sicily and Sardinia, who were therefore directly elected, it

soon became customary to use the *proconsular* power for this pur-
pose. It will be remembered that in the previous century Pub-
lilius Philo had been continued in command of the siege of 327–326
Naples beyond his year of office as consul; he was instructed *pro* B.C.
consule rem agere. This device, by which a man held office for
two years in succession, though not for both in Rome itself, while
in theory the old principle of an annual magistracy was retained,
came gradually into regular use as a system for filling the gover-
norships of provinces; and it was the senate which designated
the province. A man was elected consul or praetor by the comi-
tia, for a year, and for the ensuing year was sent by the senate,
with consular powers, to govern a part of the empire, outside of
Italy: he had no powers within the area of the Italian federa-
tion, that is Italy south of Cisalpine Gaul. By this device the
old idea of annual tenure of office was preserved, an undue in-
crease in the magistracy (and therefore in the number of magis-
trates outside the senatorial families) was avoided, and the
control of the senate over the provinces was secured. A pro-
magistrate was any one vested with the powers of an office
without having been elected to it, not necessarily only a pro-
consul or pro-praetor; and he might be so vested for any pur-
pose, as when Scipio was sent to Spain to take command of the
army (by vote of the comitia on this occasion) before he had held
any office—he too was ordered *pro consule rem agere*; the two con-
suls for the year had already been elected. But in practice the
pro-magistracy came to be confined to the consulate and prae-
torship, and to be used for the governorship of the empire. The
fact that by this means a man elected consul regularly was in
office for more than his single year, with full imperium and
troops at his command, was later to prove of the greatest impor-
tance; the means by which the senate maintained its supreme
authority in the state in the second century were to be the cause
of its fall in the first.

The administration of the provinces—that is, of all the terri-
tory ruled by Rome outside the Italian federation—would in
certain ways vary from one to another of them according to
the needs and character of the inhabitants. In Sicily (where a

resident praetor was first appointed in 227, fourteen years after its conquest) there was a complex system. Not all the island was within the province; many cities who had assisted Roman arms in the struggle with Carthage, chief among them Syracuse (until the second war), remained independent, allies of Rome. In the province the system of taxation elaborated by Hiero of Syracuse was adopted: one-tenth of the agricultural produce was exacted in kind and a corresponding money-tax on pasture, based on an accurate annual census of land under crops and estimate of the harvest. The collection was leased to tax-farmers, who had written contracts with each land-owner, which were deposited with the magistrates of the city to which he belonged. The allied cities were of course exempt from this taxation; but all Roman citizens living within the province were equally liable to it with the original inhabitants. The agricultural produce from Sicily, mostly corn, was sent to Rome, where the growing population was already becoming dependent on imported supplies; as apparently no protest was raised by the farmers in Latium, we may assume that vine and olive culture and pasture had already taken the place of corn-growing there; and that corn had anyhow to be imported by the state for the Roman army. That Romans did settle in the Sicilian province proves that the taxes were not in themselves burdensome; and that no mention is made of any tax on manufacture, shows how largely agricultural Sicily had remained, in spite of the large towns (Syracuse, of course, as an ally of Rome, not being taxed at all).[1]

In other provinces a simpler method of collecting taxes prevailed, for in them the Romans found undeveloped peoples whom they were to educate in the art of settled government, not as in Sicily a civilized system from which they themselves learned. But in all the essential principles were the same: a taxation not burdensome in itself, generally collected in kind; a governor, with consular imperium, a quaestor for financial

[1] Very little land too was declared ager publicus, only some possessions of Carthage, and, later, Hiero's own domain; the land was mostly left with the original owners. A different system prevailed later in the Asiatic provinces, following the practice of Hellenistic princes. See throughout, Tenney Frank in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vii. 793 ff.

affairs under him, and a military force to keep order. It was a system liable to abuse, because of the immediate power the governor had over the provincials: complaints could be made in Rome; but that was a long and costly business; and though the annual appointment limited the power of the governors in relation to the senate in Rome, it did not do so in relation to the inhabitants; indeed a man appointed for a year only would have the less interest in his province and be the more inclined to make personal advantage out of his short tenure. That abuses abounded we know; but we must keep a sense of perspective, even if all the charges against a Verres are true. Sicily was not the only province, nor Verres the only governor of Sicily. What is more important, and characteristic of the later imperial spirit, is that no attempt was made to assimilate the government of the provinces, even of those nearest home, Sardinia and Sicily, to that of Italy, to incorporate them within the federation. For the Roman of the republic they remained outside of Italy, foreign, to be ruled, mainly, for Italian benefit.

Such a system, moreover, will have aided that union of all Italy (south of the basin of the Po which was still Cisalpine Gaul[1]) which was finally effected by the invasion and the defeat of Hannibal. The Italians had no natural desire to help the Carthaginian invaders; and they were not sufficiently developed politically, they had not the memory of a long independent past, a conscious history, such as might have led to a merely factious and self-destructive opposition to unity under the leadership of Rome (the principal cause of the political disunion of Greece). Some were already absorbed within the Roman citizenship; the others were allies and by now long used to Roman victories; such as did join Hannibal were defeated and severely punished; all were impressed by Hannibal's failure, after his spectacular

[1] The Cisalpine Gauls were well defeated in the war of 225–222, as also were the Istrians, and their territory taken (the Veneti, the old friends of Rome—above, pp. 9–10, 15—were still her allies); two colonies were planted, at Placentia and Cremona, in their midst. Rome seemed thus to have reached the natural boundaries of Italy; but they were not incorporated within the federation, but later made a province like Sicily. The feeling of the Italians that they were all different from Gauls must have been strong.

victories, to shake the dauntless resistance of Rome; and his final defeat made them all, including at last the Greeks of the south, not only feel that Rome was invincible, but conscious of their essential Italian unity in contrast to the outside world. It was for Italians to govern the western, and soon the whole Mediterranean world—Gauls, Iberians, Africans, and Greeks: Italians under the guidance and in the name of Rome; Latin was now spreading over Italy and the other dialects disappearing, though important inscriptions in Oscan and Umbrian are known as late as the second century B.C.; by 180 even Cumae adopted Latin as its official language.

In 225 B.C., threatened with the danger from the Gauls, the Romans took the first census of their available military strength, citizen and ally—the first census of all Italy that is; there had long been a regular census taken of citizens. There were found to be 250,000 foot and 23,000 horse among the citizens, both active and reserve (contrast the puny figures of the population of Athens and the largest Greek states[1]—even those larger than was thought desirable by Plato and Aristotle), and some 400,000 allies, of the active army only: all ready to resist the Gauls. Such was the strength of the Italian federation. If the 273,000 citizens include all males over 18 years old (as is generally supposed) and not only those of 18 to 50 or 60, this would mean a total citizen population of about 850,000–900,000; and of allies —assuming a strict census of the active forces, that is, males of 18–42—about 2,000,000 or rather more: in all some three million free persons living in Italy south of the Po basin—about one-fifth of the present population.[2]

III. THE ITALIAN CONQUEST OF GREECE (*to* 146 B.C.)

During this third century B.C., while Rome, mainly by war, was developing and consolidating, and showing to every one her extraordinary strength, the Greek world was by war becom-

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[1] Vol. i, pp. 1028, 1108 f.

[2] See Tenney Frank in *Cambridge Ancient History* vii. 811–12, who gives smaller figures for total population; but those given above should be regarded as *minima*; if anything, to be increased.

GREECE

GREECE

Names in upright black capitals represent independent states. In the case of ARCADIANS—these are thus—both the districts and the names of the conditions of states are given.

ARCADIANS, ORCHOMENUS, MANTINEA, TEGEA

Contour lines of 200, 600, 1000, 1500, and 2000 metres.
Sea depths at 40 & 500 fathoms.

ing politically and morally weaker. For there the continual warfare was barren of definite results, and seldom dignified by any important purpose; Ptolemies and Seleucids went on fighting for the possession of Palestine and southern Syria, new states were formed in western Asia Minor, and in Greece proper there was to be no peace nor material recovery, even after the final defeat of Athens by Macedonia in 262 B.C.[1] There were, indeed, since the Greeks were still full of energy, many interesting experiments made in politics and society, as well as much activity in science, art, and literature; but they were soon to come into conflict with Rome, and for this they were utterly unprepared. The Roman conquest of Greece was to prove of the utmost importance for the future history of Europe; and the political weakness of the latter must therefore be emphasized.

Two political experiments were made which in happier conditions might have been of greater practical importance. Two groups, the Achaeans and the Aetolians, neither of whom had up till now played much part in the political and intellectual history of Greece, attempted a federal system of government and became for a time, with Macedonia, the strongest states in the peninsula. The two systems, set up by peoples of very different social and political development, were by no means identical. The Achaeans, inhabiting a narrow strip of land along the coast of the Gulf of Corinth in the north and north-west of the Peloponnese, had been divided, in the usual Greek fashion, into a dozen autonomous states, with strong cultural but weak political ties. They now formed themselves into a single state with a central magistracy (mainly military) and a central elected council, with full powers in war and peace and in all matters pertaining to foreign powers; a full local autonomy was retained by the original communities, who each (this is characteristic) kept its own body of citizens; a man had a say in the affairs of the whole league by virtue of his citizenship in one of the constituent states. Other states, notably Sicyon to the east, sooner or later joined the league, entering it on the same terms as the original members. The Aetolian league had a different basis.

[1] Vol. i, p. 1217.

These had been, right up to the end of the fourth century, a comparatively rude and undeveloped people, consisting of loosely knit groups living in the extremely mountainous district, covered with forest, north-west of the Gulf, where the difficulty of communications and the scarcity of cultivable soil had stayed both agricultural and urban development; they were mainly a pastoral people. Towards the west, by Agrinion and its lake, there is more favourable soil, and with some access to the sea, and here in the third century the various tribes set up a central capital. The development of the league was at first not strictly federal, but on the old Greek lines; there were to be generals and other magistrates and a council representing all, but they were elected by mass meeting of all the Aetolians at the centre; so far the state, except for its wide extent and its late formation, was similar in its constitutional basis to Phocis or Athens; it was not, like the Achaean League, a federation of independent communities, but an amalgamation of hitherto separate groups. But there was one thing the Aetolians and the Achaeans had in common, and which was different from the practice of all Greek states hitherto: as they became more powerful and more self-confident, when they defeated a neighbouring state in war they extended their territory, absorbed the conquered by admitting or compelling them to membership of the league, on equal terms with the original nucleus; and naturally also accepted as members any other states who were willing to join. This was, in the different conditions, the Roman way, something quite new in Greece. Thus the Achaean League soon came to include Arcadia and most of western Peloponnese, Corinth, and at times Argos; Sparta, pathetically trying still to be the Sparta of old, forgetting nothing, was its bitter enemy. The Aetolians early secured Delphi, and later Acarnania in the west, and spread their power right across the peninsula to Phthiotis, which gave them direct access to the Aegean, and cut off Macedonia from the south. In all these cases the leagues were extended; the added territory was not treated as conquered, but absorbed.

Any hope, however, that men might have had that such new ideas might bear fruit was frustrated by the many wars between

the two leagues and between Aetolia and Macedon, which being
generally without decisive result, weakened rather than helped
to consolidate their power. The Macedonian kings were still
engaged in the last third of the century in the hopeless task of
uniting all Greece under their leadership; the old Hellenic
League—not a federation, but an alliance of various indepen-
dent states with Macedon—was revived more than once, a refuge
for any state that resented the aggression of Achaea or Aetolia;
but even when Macedon was in open hostility with Rome, she
never succeeded and seldom attempted to unite Greek senti-
ment with her. Her presence in Greece only increased the com-
plexity; it did not make for unity. The Achaeans tried to extend
their territory, by force, too fast, and exhausted their energies
against states like Sparta that resisted them; they frequently
called in the help of Macedonia, which involved them in war
with Aetolia. The latter, regarding itself as the bulwark of
Greece against Macedon and its kings, was more consistent of
purpose, but no less inconsistent and short-sighted in policy.
These were now the three chief powers in the Greek peninsula,
exhausting their strength against each other. All three neglected
their fleets, a sign not that the Greeks were no longer sailors,
but that they were no longer interested in foreign affairs, and
had eyes for Greece only, like Sparta of old. The other indepen-
dent states, such as Athens (now attempting a policy of dignified
retirement), Byzantium, Rhodes (who alone had an efficient
fleet and played an international part), made attempts, often
successful, but always short-lived, to bring about peace by arbi-
tration. In addition there was an increasing political (though not
cultural) separation between the Greeks of Asia Minor and of
Greece proper: places like Ephesus and Miletus now had less con-
nexion with the west coast of the Aegean than they had had from
the seventh to the fourth centuries. In Asia Minor and Syria, as in
Egypt, hellenization was still proceeding rapidly, and the coun-
tries were flourishing. In western Asia Minor new Greek states
had been formed, independent of the King of Syria, as Bithynia
and Pergamon, ruled by kings; both destined to play a part
in the extension of Roman rule in the East, and Pergamon in

particular at this time a notable centre of Greek culture, and a
rival of Alexandria and Antioch in prosperity and importance.

Meanwhile the growing strength of Italy in the west, and the
significance of the Carthaginian war, was clear to every one in
Greece. When that war opened, Philip V of Macedon was fight-
ing Aetolia once more, and had driven her out of Phthiotis when
the news came of Hannibal's victory at Lake Trasimene. On
the mediation of Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, and Ptolemy of
Egypt, peace was made, that events in the west might be
watched. It was one more 'general peace in Greece instead of
war'; and fine and sincere words were spoken at the conference,
217 B.C. held at Naupactus, by Agelaus the Aetolian: pointing to Italy,
he said, that instead of fighting each other they ought to thank
heaven if by all joining hands, like men crossing a river (the
rivers of Aetolia are swift and dangerous), they could repel the
attacks of the barbarians and save themselves and their cities.
At least they should all be together and on their guard; for of
a certainty the immense armies of the west, whether Rome or
Carthage won, would threaten Greece, and he appealed per-
sonally to Philip to treat the whole Hellenic world as his kin;
if he was eager for action, let him turn his eyes to the west and
be ready to fight the victor of Italy in the common cause. But
Greeks he must let be; 'for if the clouds rising in the west once
overspread Greece, we shall, I fear, no longer play the games
which now like children we play together; rather shall we be
praying to the God to give us back the chance of fighting and
making peace with each other when we choose, and even of call-
ing our very quarrels our own'. *Even our quarrels*: with their usual
insight the Greeks understood their own weakness and the danger
which threatened them, only too well; but they were as far as
ever from overcoming the one or adequately facing the other.[1]

Serious conflict between Rome and Greece was delayed till
after the close of the war with Hannibal; and was then caused
not at all by the greed of Rome, but by the folly of Philip of

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[1] It is possible enough that Polybius, in recording this speech two generations
later, has allowed himself to anticipate. It was easy to be wise after the event; at
the time there would have been nothing surprising in Greece ignoring Rome (who
had scarcely touched the east) any more than in Rome ignoring Greece.

Macedon; for amidst all the details of diplomacy and intrigue, one fact stands out—that Philip had allied himself with Hannibal when things looked blackest for Rome and had then done next to nothing to help him. Indeed in spite of some provocation, and the certain dictates of self-interest, Rome had long turned her back on the country beyond the Adriatic. In early times, in the sixth and fifth centuries, she had come much under the influence of Hellenism; there is the story, perhaps true, of the embassy to Athens in 454 B.C.[1] and the dedication at Delphi; but later, perhaps more consciously Italian with her growing success, she had seemed to pay but little attention to it;[2] and even in the third century, when, as a close ally of Massilia, and after the conquest of the Greeks of south Italy and Sicily, she once more came into direct contact with and (in consequence, we may say) under the influence of the Greek way of life (and indeed began a conscious imitation of it), she still took little heed of the politics of the east.[3] There had been an embassy from Ptolemy II to Rome on the defeat of Pyrrhus, and a return visit of *legati*, perhaps even a formal alliance; but it was an isolated act and remained an alliance on paper only. There were but few Italians (which name includes the Greeks of south Italy) trading in the Aegean before the middle of the next century; Puteoli, the port of Rome for the eastern trade, was not founded till 199 B.C. But trade was still active between south Italy and western Greece, and Italian merchants taking part in it; it was considerably interfered with by privateers from Illyria (inhabiting what is now Dalmatia and northern Albania, with a centre at Cattaro), who harried the Greek islands and the coasts of Epirus and western Peloponnese. The Aetolians and the Achaeans were both weak at sea and were defeated; the Macedonians had allowed their fleet to decay. But the Romans since the close of the first Punic war had had a fleet stationed at Brundisium,

[1] Above, p. 46.

[2] Etruria, too, apparently was not influenced by Greek art in the fourth century, as she had been in the sixth and fifth, and as she was again influenced in the third.

[3] This separation, with the Adriatic as the dividing line, then political (as between Greek Italy and Sicily and the east), was ultimately to become cultural and permanent; the third century B.C. gives a foretaste of the future.

though they had so far done little to stay the depredations of the
Illyrians. They now intervened and defeated the pirates; three
Greek cities, Apollonia, Epidammus (Dyrrhachium), and Cor-
cyra, and two of the native tribes, surrendered to them; and they
established a protectorate over the coastal belt in Albania, by
holding the Aous defile, and took precautions against a Mace-
donian attempt (like that of Pyrrhus) to invade Italy. The
cities were not called *socii*, allies, nor did they become tribute-
paying subjects, and no Roman officer was stationed among
them; but they were dependent on Rome, who could if neces-
sary demand armed contingents: that is, they were allies in all
but name; Rome hesitated to extend her federation beyond the
boundaries of Italy. But the result of this, the first incursion of
Rome across the Adriatic, was later to involve her in the whole
of the Greek east. For the Greeks, far better informed about
Rome than Rome about them, were nervous of her power, and
in particular Macedonia, who now became an ally of the
Illyrians.

Preoccupied with the Carthaginians in Spain, with the Celts
of north Italy and then with the Punic war, Rome did little,
could do little in Greece in the next thirty years. An embassy
sent to the Aetolians and Achaeans, then to Corinth and Athens,
228 that is, to the enemies of Macedonia, was noted as the first formal
embassy of Rome to Greece, and Romans were admitted for the
first time to compete in the Greek games at the Isthmus; its
object was to acquaint the Greeks with the nature of their
actions against the pirates in Greek waters, but nothing was
done to form a combination against Macedon, or to prevent
her consolidating her power once more. There was another
219 war against the pirates (who were probably instigated by Philip,
with great short-sightedness, to ravage the coast of Greece
because they were enemies of Rome and his allies) and the posi-
tion in Albania rapidly re-established; but after the war with
Hannibal had begun, the Romans were naturally content to let
Aetolia keep Philip of Macedon in check, without making any
entangling alliances, and to act on the defensive when Philip
made spasmodic and feeble attacks, by sea and by land, on the

Roman position in Albania. Philip was an active and energetic
soldier, but he was a short-sighted statesman, and incapable
of sustained effort. He made no use of the years at his disposal
to build a strong fleet; the Roman fleet was always his master;
he waited for a year after Cannae before allying himself with 215 b.c.
Hannibal, and then waited longer for Hannibal to take Taren-
tum and for the arrival of the Carthaginian fleet. Inside Greece
his policy was no wiser; he thought of nothing but to set city
against city, and his cruelties turned against him even those
enemies of the Aetolians who were his natural allies; so that the
Greeks in general were delighted at his discomfiture by the
Roman fleet, and his method of strengthening his position was
not only destructive but ineffective. The Aetolians on their side
were once more anxious to recover their territory lost before
the peace of Naupactus, in spite of all the fine words then spoken, 217
and so much in love with fighting for its own sake that many went
off to serve in a civil war then going on in the Seleucid Empire.
Everything was going as well as possible from the Roman point
of view; she was free to concentrate her thoughts and her forces
against Hannibal. By 212 Tarentum (the natural landing-place
for Philip as for Pyrrhus, had Rome not destroyed what fleet he
had) was in Hannibal's hands, and Philip had gained some suc-
cess by land in Albania; on the other hand, the Romans had
recovered Syracuse and the Carthaginian fleet had achieved ·
nothing, so that, though with reluctance, the senate concluded 212-211
a definite alliance with Aetolia and the other Greek enemies of
Macedonia (Sparta, Elis, and Messenia). The terms are interest-
ing: the Romans were to act at sea, the Greeks on land; but all
territory in Greece captured by the Romans was to remain
Greek (the Romans to have only the booty), and when they took
Zacynthus they handed it over to the Aetolians. But as Philip
fought only on land, the Romans came in practice into conflict
not with the Macedonians but with the Greek states allied
with Macedon, and the Roman effort had therefore from the
first an anti-Greek, rather than an anti-Macedonian air; and
their methods of warfare were of the cruellest, savage and bar-
baric. Philip, with no fleet, and kept out of south Greece by the

Aetolians at Thermopylae, could do little to help his allies; while
the Aetolians, who had to do all the fighting by land, became
irritated with the Romans; more particularly when, after the
209-208 recovery of Tarentum and therewith the last danger of invasion
B.C. of Italy from the east removed, and on the sudden appearance
207 of Hasdrubal in Italy, the Roman fleet, which had made its
first historic appearance in the Aegean, was withdrawn, and the
Aetolians left alone to face Philip and their other enemies. They
206 were badly defeated and forced to make peace; and at last the
205 Romans, after failing to stir up war again, made peace with
Philip, and left Greece. The two countries were separate once
more; Rome had in Greece no allies and no friends.

Rome had apparently got all that she wanted; she had checked
any menace from Philip during the Carthaginian war and had
at the same time freed herself from any entanglements in the
east; possible enemies there had been engaged in weakening
each other. Yet once the Carthaginian war was over, when it
was to be expected that she would have wanted years of peace
to recover from its devastations, her whole eastern policy was
changed, from motives that have remained entirely obscure.
Philip was turning his ambitions eastward. There in western
Asia Minor there had been for some time a tendency for new
and smaller states, to be formed out of the vast territories of
the Seleucids; of these Pergamon was the most interesting; and
with the increase in the number of states went an increase in
alliances and counter-alliances and wars. Rhodes to the south,
with a strong fleet, was still pursuing her steady, independent,
and prosperous policy; and her trade connexions, and with them
her coinage, were almost as widespread as those of Athens had
once been. The Greek kingdom of Egypt was weakening chiefly
through trouble between the Greek and the Egyptian inhabitants.
But in the east Antiochus III, by his splendour and his extensive
conquests, had made for himself a universal name, with all the
pretensions of an oriental monarch and perhaps some claim to
the title of Great which was accorded him. Both Attalus, King
of Pergamon, and the Rhodians were nervous of his ambitions;
and when Philip of Macedon turned *his* attention to Asia as well

—ostensibly to join with Antiochus in an attack on Egypt—they appealed in alarm to Rome, with no other motive to suggest for her intervention than fear that Antiochus would one day fulfil Alexander's dream and add the western to the eastern half of the civilized world, in one Greek empire. (Because Philip had been allied with the piratical Illyrians, Rhodes had been his enemy and the friend of Rome in the previous war; and now their trade connexions with the Black Sea were threatened by Philip's seizure of the Hellespont; Attalus had been the ally of the Aetolians and of Rome, because Philip stood in the way of his western expansion.) The Romans had no possible excuse for interference, and every apparent motive for its avoidance; and the masses at Rome were strongly against renewed war, and so voted in the comitia.[1] But the senate was bent on it; and to secure it they adopted a well-known device: they sent Philip 200 B.C. an ultimatum which they knew he must reject, a quite unreasoning demand which treated him, the victorious general, the head of a great nation, the successor of Philip II and Alexander the Great, as a vassal princeling under the orders of Rome—he was to make reparation for injuries done to Attalus (a demand which, to say the least, prejudiced the issue), and he was to make no attack on any Greek city; he was to be confined, that is, to the old boundaries of Macedonia as they had been 150 years before. Philip did reject the ultimatum; and the senate used the rejection to put the onus of aggression on Philip and persuade the comitia to vote for war. War was declared, and the Romans 199 landed an army in Illyria.

There is, however, one point of interest in this commonplace piece of diplomacy, the demand that Philip was to withdraw from Greece. Macedonia was treated once more as a foreign conqueror, not as the Greek power which it had in effect been for 100 years, still less as the head of a Panhellenic alliance, the position which it so often affected; and Rome now assumed the title of protector of the Greeks. It was a change of policy wholly unexpected; their conduct in the last war had shown nothing but the harshness of easily victorious soldiers. But some

[1] This opposition to war in the comitia has, however, been doubted.

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of the leading Romans, the more humane or more cultivated
or the vainer, were now under the spell of the Greek past; their
ambition was to secure Greek praise. Scipio had not only put
205 B.C. right the grievances of the Greeks in Sicily, but imitated their
manners and secured their personal affection. Now another
Roman, the first of a long line of avowed Philhellenes, Flamin-
198 inus, was elected consul and given command in the war against
Macedon. He proclaimed the freedom of Greece, and invited
all the states to join in a national crusade; he spoke to them in
their own language (always a thing to which they have been
susceptible), gave and received flattery. In spite of the presence
of the all-powerful Roman and Rhodian fleets and the eloquence
of Athens (this and her glorious name now her only assets—she
had been goaded out of neutrality by a quite senseless attack
by Philip, and saw her land cruelly ravaged), few Greeks
responded; for they were mindful of the previous conduct of
Romans, rightly distrustful of their promises, and unwilling to
see the powerful western state dominant in their own country.
But none joined Philip; and when he, mainly because he was
helpless at sea, was confined to the defensive in Macedonia and
Thessaly[1] and could do nothing to help his garrisons in Greece,
opinion changed; the Aetolians joined the Romans with mis-
giving, and the Achaeans, who for long had been the best
friends the Macedonians ever had. Finally Philip was caught
in Thessaly by joint forces of the Romans, the Epirotes, and the
197 Aetolians, and a confused battle was fought at Cynoscephalae,
north of Pharsala, in which, largely through the valour of the
Greeks, he was completely defeated, and compelled to sue for
peace. He was made to abandon all Macedonian conquests in
Greece and to the north, and confined within the old boun-
196 daries of his country. At the Isthmian games of next year,
Flamininus declared all Greeks free, in the way that many con-
querors had done before: Rome had had no motive in fighting
Philip but to rid Greece of the Macedonian burden. He was

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[1] He was also, as every Macedonian ruler had more or less been, harassed by the
barbarian tribes to the north. The world would have been happier if Macedonian
energies had been spent in conquering and civilizing these tribes, instead of help-
ing the destruction of Greece.

loudly acclaimed; a new Panhellenic League was formed, under 195 B.C.
the presidency of Flamininus, that was to settle all difficulties;
and to prove their good faith, the Romans then withdrew alto- 194
gether; Greece was left to herself.

Not, however, for long. Antiochus the Great, having defeated
Egypt, had ambitions to reunite all Asia Minor, and to advance
farther westwards; the power that would have been his chief
obstacle, Macedonia, had just been defeated; only Pergamon
and Rhodes stood between him and Greece. They once more
pointed out the danger to Rome; and the latter, whose first
embassy to Asia had been to Sidon with a view to keeping 200-199
Antiochus neutral in the war with Philip, entered into prolonged 196-193
negotiations with him. But Antiochus continued to advance,
and landed in Greece: he came, he said, to free the Greek cities. 192
Greece was again in disaccord; some, including the Aetolians,
were for welcoming him; others, including the Achaean League,
were against him; most felt the helpless quandary in which they
were placed. On the one hand, Antiochus was a Greek, head
of a Greek kingdom, while the Romans were foreigners, and
distrusted at that; one could see through the vanity of the
Philhellenes. On the other hand, Antiochus was nearer the
true type of Oriental monarch than any that had been seen in
Greece since Xerxes. In any case Greece was too weak to
decide her own fate; she was only the field (as she has been
since) on which greater forces worked by intrigue and by war.
The Romans sent an army, which defeated Antiochus at Ther- 191
mopylae, and he retired at once to Ephesus. The Roman fleet
appeared in the Aegean and won a victory; then the Rhodians
defeated the Syrian fleet (on board of which was Hannibal, who 190
had joined Antiochus some six years before; a small point, but
symbolical, that Rome represented Europe against Asia). A
new Roman army marched through Albania and Macedonia,
and entered Asia, welcomed there by Pergamon; and in a great
battle at Magnesia met Antiochus' forces and defeated them. Dec. 190
They advanced and defeated the Gauls of Galatia; they made 189
allies with Cappadocia. They had travelled far to the east; and
next year Antiochus made peace, giving up Asia Minor and his 188

fleet. The last of the great Hellenistic kingdoms was reduced
almost to impotence. Not long afterwards the eastern provinces
of the Seleucid Empire broke away, and the Parthians invaded
**141–139
B.C.** and conquered Mesopotamia; but it was not till the first century
that Rome learnt that with the collapse of Syria she must herself
bear the burden of defending Hellenism and Europe on the
banks of the Euphrates.

Rome was now supreme, for all the world to see; but without
as yet the experience to tell her how to use her power, to shoulder
her responsibilities. She endeavoured simply to dictate a settle-
ment in Greece and the Aegean, and withdrew her forces and
her magistrates once more to Italy. Greece was to be free. But
she was too weak; her population on the decline, her material
prosperity almost ruined—her fields laid waste by armies or left
deserted, her commerce gone; there were quarrels and recrimi-
nations not only between state and state, but within every state,
between rich and poor, creditor and debtor; every one with a
grievance and something to say, and now the all-powerful
western city to appeal to. There was a constant succession of
embassies to lay grievances before the senate—real enough
grievances, for the tragedy of such a situation is that no one, so
to speak, can do anything without injury to another (there were
always exiles to be restored and their property given back to
them at the expense of their temporarily defeated opponents);
and a constant succession of legati to Greece to settle them. The
task was anyhow an impossible one, and the Roman attempts
were clumsy. Their unpopularity increased everywhere. When
179 Perseus succeeded his father Philip in Macedonia, he began an
active and easy policy of finding friends in Greece. The senate
171–168 sent an army across the Adriatic again; three more years of
fighting and intrigue, with the Greek states divided and hesita-
ting, and Rhodes as before attempting to intervene as arbitrator,
to end the dissensions. But in the final battle, at Pydna, Perseus
was everywhere outmanœuvred and defeated; by the terms of
the peace, Macedonia ceased to exist as a kingdom, and was
148 divided into four republics. It revolted again, and was at last
146 made into a province, and the *Via Egnatia* built from Dyrrha-

chium to Thessalonica to secure communication with Italy.
Rhodes was humiliated and weakened; Epirus enslaved and laid
waste. About the same time the last attempt by the Greeks to
resist Rome was made—as usual, not a united, but an isolated
rising: this time by the Achaean League, who had up till now
been most consistently pro-Roman. The fierce and not always
truthful light which shines on the private transactions of public
men in Greece at all periods of her history (when there is any
light at all) illumines the miserable beginnings of this the last
Greek war, with its tale of fears and jealousies and bribes to the
Achaean general. Separate parties were intriguing, one with
the senate, others with one or another of the Roman officers,
who were themselves divided and mutually jealous. The result
was inevitable: the Romans won again, and Corinth was sacked 146 B.C.
—to point the moral of a barbarous soldiery irrupting into an
old and civilized country. Even now the magic of her name
prevented Greece from being reduced to a subjection like that
of other lands (including Greek Sicily): the proconsul of the
province of Macedonia was to act as overseer and keep the
peace, but she was not made into a province; a Roman was not
made governor of Greece. Local autonomy, on the lines hallowed
by tradition, was kept everywhere; some states, including Athens
(who still preserved her ecclesia and boulê, her stratêgoi and
ephebes and the rest) remained as 'allies of the Roman people'.

<center>IV. ROME AND GREECE</center>

The advance of Roman power was at once astonishingly
rapid (for within a hundred years almost of her first serious
conflict with an enemy from beyond Italy, she found herself
mistress of the Mediterranean; the victory was actually accom-
plished in fifty-three years—220–168 B.C.) and apparently in-
evitable; both the Romans themselves and others got so quickly
used to the idea that men forgot how recent it was and wondered
how the world could get on without it. It was, fortunately for
us, observed and recorded by Polybius, the last of the great
Greek historians, a part of whose work has survived.[1] He was

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[1] His importance is thus emphasized by Mommsen: 'His books are like the sun,

in a peculiarly favourable position to do this. He was a leading public man of the Achaean League, and with many others was sent to Rome as a hostage in 167 owing to the doubtful attitude of the Achaeans during the war with Perseus. There he became an intimate of the most cultured men in Rome, when to be cultured meant to know classical Greek literature and art and contemporary Greek philosophy; he joined the circle of the younger Scipio, the patron of Terence, who just at this time was endeavouring to plant polite comedy in the unfruitful soil of Rome by his translations and pale adaptations of the Greek. As Scipio and the others were politicians and soldiers as well, Polybius was given an opportunity of studying the public life and institutions of Rome such as few foreigners had, and which no other Greek used as well as he; and, like all the great historians of Greece, he was remarkably free of national prejudice (though he was biased enough in matters nearer home; as an Achaean, he is seldom, for instance, just to the Aetolians or the Spartans); and he bore no rancour against the Romans as conquerors of his country. Living as he did in the decline of Greece, when all his countrymen's weaknesses were exaggerated and stood out in sharp outline, there were two things about Rome which he particularly noted and admired: the apparent stability and dignity of her politics, and her steadiness of purpose. The former was more apparent than real, and Polybius himself lived to see it badly shaken. In his estimate of the constitution with its ideal 'mixture' of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, he was deceived; but he is no more than just in his admiration for their steadiness of purpose, shown equally under external defeat and during internal confusion. He pauses in his narrative after Cannae to contemplate the spectacle of a people stronger after so signal a defeat than before. He tells the story of how Rome refused to ransom the 8,000 taken prisoner in the battle, rejecting all the supplications of their relatives; how one who had cunningly broken his parole to

in the field of Roman history; where they begin, the veils of mist which still enshroud the wars with the Samnites and with Pyrrhus, are lifted; where they end, a new and if possible more vexatious twilight begins.'

Hannibal was returned in chains; and how the Carthaginian 'was not so much rejoiced at his victory, as struck with astonishment at the unshaken firmness and lofty spirit displayed in the resolution of the senate'. But the Roman advance in spite of internal struggles is even more worthy of our wonder and admiration. It is most notable in the century following the age of Polybius; but it can be observed as well before. Flaminius, the plebeian tribune and consul, may have been an upstart demagogue, or his opponents in the senate inspired only by the pettiest jealousy; both alike carried on the policy of Rome and used the Roman method; Flaminius defeated the Gauls, and built the *Via Flaminia*; he was a faithful servant of the republic. So was Scipio, hampered as he was by his political enemies both in the Punic war and against Antiochus; so both Marius and Sulla, Pompey and Caesar, advanced the cause of Rome as well as fought each other. In most things Roman history is in direct contrast to Greek; but in nothing so much as this. No Greek state, not even Corcyra, suffered from civil strife as much as Rome; yet Rome not only emerged triumphant, but was all the time extending and consolidating her empire. And very little of what we know of her policy towards other states and her administration of the provinces is inspiring; almost all the details of our knowledge tell us of the brutality, faithlessness, incompetence and corruption of the Romans abroad, far exceeding anything in Greek history—the cleverest thing she did was to look on cynically while dynastic wars in Syria (fomented by the enfeebled Ptolemies) destroyed all hope of regeneration in the Greek empire of the east; where the heirs of the kingdom fought each other more and more fiercely as the boundaries of their heritage contracted. Yet Rome held on, where every other state in turn failed. We must of course beware of our sources; every detail in the story of Roman wickedness may be true, but the whole picture false. Rome stood for the element of stability in a most uncertain world; the mass of men must have benefited from her rule, so that Ptolemy Physcon of Cyrenaica, who later ascended the throne of Egypt, in default of heirs left the province to Rome, as a free gift. When the last king of Pergamon

133 B.C. died, without legitimate issue, he declared in his will all the
Greek cities in his territory free, and left his own domain to
Rome (as *ager publicus* that is; Rome was not to succeed to his
kingdom—that was ended). His death was at once followed by
civil war, in which a natural son of his predecessor tried to
obtain the throne, and declared all slaves free and all men
129 equal. Rome intervened and established a province (of Asia,
as it was called); an end to independence as well as to dreams
of equality, and a beginning of Roman tax-gatherers; but at
least peace. Rome was the only state to which appeal could be
made. Just as all the elements within the Roman state worked
for her advance, so did it seem that events outside all conspired
to the same end. Polybius (partly as a literary convention)
makes the figure of the Goddess Fortune gather everything into
the hands of Rome, and so establish the unity of history as of
rule. The political history of Greece had been the separate
histories of hundreds of states, and beside them there had been
the unconnected history of the east and of Carthage (except
partially, during the brief period when the Greek states were
more or less united against Persia, the period for which Herodo-
tus collected all the threads into one strand); men's political
activities were as widely separated in their origins and results
as in their localities; now, after 220 B.C. says Polybius, 'history
becomes an organic whole: the affairs of Italy and Libya are
involved with those of Greece and Asia, and everything now
tended to one quarter'.

There is this further to be said about the conquest of Greece.
Although, from the point of view of the Roman constitution,
the system of administration of the conquered countries was
similar in the east and the west, yet the conditions of govern-
ment were entirely different. In the west (except in Sicily and
Carthaginian Africa) Rome was the civilizing power, intro-
ducing her own administrative methods, and imposing her
customs and her language on the conquered peoples—succeed-
ing in this in Sicily and Africa as well as in barbarian Spain and
Gaul; in the east she had to deal with a people with an older
and more highly developed culture than her own, and, in the

large kingdoms, a complete and complex administrative system, a people moreover whose pupil she herself was. The leading Romans, not men of letters only, but lawyers, statesmen, and generals, were all learning the Greek language, and as much of Greek history, religion, philosophy, science, art, and law, as they could assimilate. There could be no question here of imposing Latin customs and language; it was the Greeks who were the teachers. This too, be it remembered, not only in the old homes of the Greeks, but throughout the east as far as the Euphrates, in Syria, and in Egypt. So thorough had been the work of hellenization, that within a hundred years of Antiochus I, within a hundred and fifty of Alexander and the first Ptolemy, no other language but Greek was used for government and trade, and all literary purposes, no other administrative system than the Greek known, even in those regions, as Pontus and Armenia, the Jewish pocket of Palestine, and Coptic Egypt, in which either Greek rule or Greek culture had been partially resisted. Indeed the Romans learnt more from Asia than from Greece proper, from the Seleucid kingdom which, partly as an inheritance from Persia, had an administration which, with its roads and postal services, its combination of centralized and provincial government, its elaborate system of taxation, was suited to its immense area and at the same time fostered, in the cities, municipal and cultural, if not political, freedom. It was a government which, through a constant succession of wars, had been politically weakened and succumbed easily to Rome; but its system survived and was largely adopted by the Romans; and the culture and the language of the people were far too deeply rooted to be disturbed by a western conquest.[1] Indeed the Romans did less than they might have done: Asia Minor, and still more Greece proper, have never had an adequate road system, and except for the *Via Egnatia* from Dyrrhachium to Thessalonica, the Romans did little to develop it, as they created that of the west. The Roman Empire then was, from

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[1] How deep-seated this was can be seen by a single instance: the so-called Syro-Roman law-book of the fourth century A.D. is based, not on Roman nor on native Syrian law, but on Greek law, established in the district at the beginning of the third century B.C. (Rostovtzeff in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vii. 168).

the first, as soon as the conquest of Asia Minor was completed in the first century B.C., divided into two halves, a rapidly latinized west and a Greek east; and this division remained to the end. (And in the east the cultural unity, now aided by the political unity imposed by Rome, was such that no separate nations arose among the Greeks as among the Latin-speaking peoples of the west, where Gaul, Spain, and Italy were conscious of mutual differences even before the barbarian invasions, and even after the unity of Christendom was established. Hence the survival of the Greek half of the Empire for so many centuries after the collapse of the west.)[1]

The Romans succeeded, at least for a time, in adapting the Hellenistic administrative system, which was based on an autocratic government and had its centre in the personal household of the monarch, to their own republican institutions, their elective magistracy with its well-defined powers. So too they continued to use (and with a continued success unknown to the Hellenistic princes) a citizen army, and had no need for the highly artificial system of raising an army adopted by the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. Had other forces not combined to overthrow the republic, and therefore ultimately the magistracy, they might have continued to show the world, for the first time, that a vast empire can be governed with a constitutional, not an autocratic, administration. As it was, under the empire, the Imperial household became of ever greater importance; Antioch was the true precursor of Imperial Rome, Augustus the successor not only of the consuls and tribunes of the republic, but of the Hellenistic monarchs. Hence partly the ease of the transition to the Eastern Empire: Justinian was as much the successor of the Seleucids as of Augustus.

Greek intellectual activity declined rapidly after the Roman conquest. The output of literature continued till the beginning of the second century, of science till the middle (Hipparchus the great astronomer flourished about 150 B.C.). After this, apart

[1] This was aided also, after the spread of Christianity, by the naturally democratic temper of the east. There was not, as in the west, a pagan aristocracy to oppose the growth of Christianity; rich and poor would be equally ready or reluctant to embrace a new religion.

from isolated instances, original work almost disappears; the long history of Greek art and letters (why do men write of a 'brief flowering' of Greek culture?) drew to a close, at least a temporary close; not only is there no new discovery, but knowledge and understanding of past achievement declines; the sum of knowledge is lessened. (This is as true, it should be remembered, of history as of the other sciences; there is very little after Polybius.) Not till the Christian writers of the third century onwards does the Greek spirit partially revive. For this decline the Romans were not responsible; but it must be noted, and certainly their system did little to foster intellectual activity as the Greek had done.[1] They themselves lacked intellectual curiosity; also they were hard, lacking in sympathy, stupid where the Greeks were intelligent, with no subtlety. They did not therefore stimulate Greece to new efforts. But for the rest it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the Roman conquest of the east. It made easier than it otherwise would have been, the transmission of the permanent achievements of the Greeks to the west. It decided what might have been disputed, the dependence of Latin art and literature on that of Greece (it was more dependent on its predecessor than that of any other people has been); it is impossible to imagine the great Romans, the most individual among them, Catullus or Lucretius, as much as Cicero and Virgil, without their Greek inspiration. There had been a time, the first half of the second century, when Plautus, Ennius, and Cato were active, which promised an Italian literature, based on Greece indeed, but independent; their successors, as Terence, sought to impose Greece rather than

[1] Polybius says that in his time there was a fatal decline in the population of Greece: 'All Greece was visited by a dearth of children and generally a decay of population, owing to which the cities were denuded of inhabitants, and a failure of productiveness resulted, though there were no long-continued wars or serious pestilences amongst us. . . . This evil grew rapidly, and without attracting attention, by our men becoming perverted to a passion for show and money and the pleasures of an idle life, and accordingly either not marrying at all, or, if they did marry, refusing to rear the children that were born, or at most one or two out of a great number, for the sake of leaving them well off or bringing them up in extravagant luxury.' But without statistics (and we have none) we do not know the value of this. It may be true; but it has a familiar ring. It may be true only of a few rich, or of only a short period, or of only part of Greece; or not true at all.

to adapt Greece to Italy, and there was not sufficient depth of culture in Rome to resist (Polybius noted the absence of general education there). The new ideas, the scepticism and criticism learnt from Greece, were mixed with the grossest and most rustic superstition; and it was not till the next century that the Romans made out of the mixture something which is properly to be called their own.

Further, the conquest made it natural that once Christianity was being preached in the Greek east, its apostles should seek to spread its doctrines in the west; that its philosophy should be the joint work of Greeks and Latins; that Christendom should soon be coterminous with the Roman rule. First the conquests of Alexander, then those of Rome, have, more than anything else, determined the history of Europe.

THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS

THE story of the last century of the republic is an extra-ordinary one. It begins with an economic crisis, which causes at once, at the first touch, a break-down in the much-lauded constitution. This is followed by the revolt of Italy, within the Italian federation but excluded from Roman citizen-ship. The growing power of the generals of the republic, dis-loyal, if not always willingly disloyal, to the constitution, leads to the frightful series of civil wars which end only with the establishment of the principate. Yet through it all Roman power abroad was not weakened, but on the contrary consolidated and extended; after all the chaos of the civil wars the Mediterranean world emerged as dominantly Roman as before (much as throughout the destructive wars of the Hellenistic monarchs, the hellenization of the east went on). Moreover, the last half-century of the republic saw the first bloom (which was destined to be so brief) of classical Roman literature; and throughout these hundred years Roman law and its administration, and Roman jurisprudence were developing. All these different strands of Roman history are inextricably interwoven; but in a brief outline such as this, for the sake of clearness, they must be kept separate.

I. THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE BREAK-DOWN OF THE CONSTITUTION (SECOND CENTURY B.C.)

The continuous successes of Rome abroad in the first half of the second century were not accompanied by peaceful progress at home, but by increasing difficulties. We are unfortunately most inadequately informed as to the nature of this social and economic crisis. It was mainly concerned with the land; at least the remedies which it was hoped would end it were all applied to the land. One principal cause of the difficulties was the war with Hannibal. For fifteen years the normal

cultivation of the land of Italy had been interrupted or stopped: the vast majority of cultivators, both citizen and ally (every Roman army consisted of citizen troops, in the legions, and *socii*, in about equal numbers), were serving as soldiers, year in, year out; and large tracts of country were continually ravaged by the march and countermarch of the contending forces. The very habit of cultivation must to a large extent have been lost; and the iron necessity of the time made men used to the idea of relying on corn imported from abroad (at first mainly from Sicily and Sardinia, which paid the greater part of their taxes, it will be remembered, by sending corn to Rome).[1] In a healthy society, however, the country should have recovered in the succeeding half-century; for though Rome was constantly at war, yet the fighting was done abroad, and the armies were comparatively small, and consisted now, in the main, of professional soldiers, men who made the army their career. And the wealth of Italy, and the numbers of the population were recovering from the setback caused by the Punic invasion, and rapidly increasing.[2] Yet agriculture did not recover; and its place was not taken by any great growth of manufacture; neither Rome itself, nor Italy as a whole, developed an important manufacture, became, as we say, industrialized. What manufacture there was, was for the home market, not for export; and Ostia, the port of Rome, remained an unimportant place till the Gracchi developed it. Italy still depended, for its productiveness, on agri-

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[1] This corn did not compete with the products of the farmers near Rome, who now grew chiefly olives and vines (above, p. 86); but it did with the corn of central Italy.

[2] The census figures of the population (whether of all males over 17, or only those with property, is uncertain) are:

234 B.C.	.	.	.	.	.	*c.* 270,000
225	.	.	.	.	.	. 291,000
209	.	.	.	.	.	. 137,000
204	.	.	.	.	.	. 214,000
194	.	.	.	.	.	. 143,000
189	.	.	.	.	.	. 258,000.

(The figures for 209 and 194 are clearly wrong: either there is manuscript error—for 237,000 and 243,000—or, as some suppose, the census was incomplete owing to the absence of large armies abroad; we are told expressly that in 204 steps were taken to count all citizen soldiers.) Cf. below, p. 115, n. 1.

culture; and it was the failure in this industry which caused the crisis of the second half of the second century.

The Roman policy of confiscating land from her defeated enemies, declaring it *ager publicus*, while it had often been the means of setting poor and landless men on their feet again (though at the same time driving other men off the land, and probably to Rome, when the confiscated land was in Italy), was as often a means to enable the rich and powerful to get more rich and more powerful by taking more than their proper share. In the third century a law had been carried—by plebiscitum, so presumably against the senate—restricting the right of senators to trade. Its object is obscure—perhaps simply a natural but naïve desire to divorce politics from money-making. But its effect was, at least in one respect, disastrous. Because senators held office for life, it prevented a whole class of men from engaging in trade, and thus helped to divide rather than unite the different elements in the state; and it narrowed the senators' interests to land and increased their greed there. Moreover, it was discovered by the large landowners that (partly owing to the ruin caused by the Punic war) it was more profitable to run their estates mainly as pasture-land than for the growing of crops, and with slave-labour than with the help of free peasants; for with Rome's military successes, both in Italy and abroad, slaves were now abundant and cheap, and corn could be easily imported to feed the masses in Rome; and it was discovered how profitable it could be to rear slave-children on the land—a true plantation system. The peasants of Italy were finding it more and more difficult alike to keep or acquire land, and to make what they had profitable. Still with the employment of many men in the army, and the continued planting of new colonies, in Cisalpine Gaul (at Bononia, Parma, and Mutina: 200-192 B.C. agricultural colonies at first, but later developing into the first towns in the district since the Gauls had driven out the Etruscans in the fifth century), at Luca and Luna among the Ligures, 181-177 and at Aquileia in Venetia (to guard now the eastern Alpine 181 passes), and in Spain, where the first settlement of war-veterans was made, by Scipio at Seville, and other colonies, mainly of 207

soldiers who settled there and intermarried with the Spaniards,
established at Algeciras, Cordova, and Valencia, and because
men could still drift from the country into Rome and find a
living there: with all this no acute distress was felt till the second
half of the century.

Meanwhile at Rome a new and highly prosperous class of
financiers had appeared. The state had, as in Greece, always
farmed out its taxes; with the extension of Roman rule the
business of tax-collecting became both important and profit-
able. Companies were formed to manage it; others undertook
all the public works of the state. Already during the Punic war
the capitalists had undertaken the supply of the armies in
Spain, on condition that they were themselves relieved of mili-
tary service (and that the state bore the risks of the sea-voyage,
which led, we are told, to the scuttling of many ships). More-
over, the city of Rome was increasing rapidly in population and
by the middle of the second century rivalled, if it had not
already surpassed, Alexandria and Antioch, the greatest cities
of the Greek world: and, as has been said, not through the de-
velopment of industry, but as the capital and centre of an ever
larger world; with a great increase in the numbers of slaves and
dependents of rich men; and all those who were driven out of
an unprosperous agriculture or were attracted by the opportu-
nities and amenities of town-life came to Rome. Rome was
taking on the aspect of a Greek city, its streets being widened,
its *fora* enlarged, arcades and handsome temples built; marble
was taking the place of stone and terracotta; Greek sculptors,
painters, and mosaic-workers were introduced, and as well
writers and lecturers, and a Roman literature itself was form-
ing. New gods were introduced, both Greek and Carthaginian.
Voices were raised against the growing luxury and the danger
to Roman virtue, most loudly by the elder Cato, who at the
same time stoutly upheld the senatorial *latifundia*, the large
stock-breeding estates run by slave-labour; sumptuary laws were
passed, and the Greek lecturers (who put ideas into men's heads)
expelled. But as wealth increased, from the silver-mines of
Spain that the Carthaginians had hoped would enable them to

conquer Italy, and from the taxes of her subjects, men kept on coming to Rome from all parts. The great city had to be fed and clothed; the importing of necessities, and the banking and other commercial work connected with it, was an immense business in the hands of the capitalists who were also the *publicani*, tax-gatherers and contractors of public works; the food was paid for, not by industry, but by the tribute from the provinces; and it was sold to the masses at a price with which Italian farmers could not compete. The population of Rome, to a less extent that of all Italy, was becoming, except for the energy of her soldiers, parasitic on the rest of the empire. Roman citizens were, in 168 B.C., made exempt from taxes; beyond Italy competitive industries, such as the mines of Macedonia or the vineyards of Gaul, were stopped or restricted, by decree of the senate; and Roman traders (that is, all who belonged to the Italian federation, citizens or allies—particularly therefore the Greeks of south Italy, born traders) were granted exemption from all customs duties imposed by the subject cities. Moreover, owing to a primitive administrative system and a standard of honesty lower even than is commonly found as between citizen and state, a handsome share of the taxes went not as revenue to the treasury, but as profit to the financiers.

These financiers, being among the richest men in Rome, belonged to the class of *equites*, knights (the highest class in the comitia centuriata).[1] Since senators were debarred from trading, and later removed from the ranks of the equites in the 129 B.C. comitia, and, as we shall see, senatorial families were successfully developing a policy of closing their ranks, of preventing 'new men' from being elected to offices which led later to membership of the senate, there was a division within the state between two sets of wealthy men[2]—the politically all-powerful senators, who were also the great landowners, and the financially powerful equites. For long the two groups were friendly: for the capitalists, in return for privileges granted them by the

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[1] See above, p. 47.

[2] There was always a tendency in Rome to mark the division between classes: so that there were separate seats in the theatre for senators, later, in 67 B.C., for equites as well.

senate, through the influence of individual senators, would give their friends there a share in their enormous profits.[1] But there was always a chance of a rift, if troubles arose (for one thing, some men were honest); and troubles were likely from any of three other classes, from the proletariat in Rome, from the ruined farmers of Italy, even from the exploited slaves.

First: the old distinction between the patricians and plebeians had long disappeared; the senate was more than half plebeian, and the tribunes of the plebs had ceased to be the organs of a class, or even protectors of the individual, but, sharers in state secrets and destined after their year of office to enter the senate, worked with the senate. Individual senators were powerful because of the number of men attached to them as clientes, who would vote as they wished them to. But since there will always be disputes between rich and poor, between the privileged and the excluded, there grew up a new party (if a body so little organized can be called a party), the *populares*, consisting of the dispossessed peasants (and such of the country population as could exercise any influence at Rome), and the urban poor, whose number was now largely increased by freedmen (since 169 B.C. all enrolled in a single city tribe, to diminish their influence). Had the comitia been bodies of greater authority, and not at the mercy of the presiding magistrates, the populares might have made their influence felt, in a constitutional manner, at the elections, and through these on the senate; even as it was, they fitfully showed their power, as in their discontent with the 149, 134 failure of the senatorial generals in Spain,[2] and even carried a
B.C.
measure that, with a different sort of popular assembly, would have been of great effect—the introduction of voting by secret 139, 131 ballot at the comitia, first at the elective, then at the legislative meetings. In these activities the tribunes, or rather some of them, were true popular leaders, as their predecessors in past centuries had been. It seemed that there was once more a chance that

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[1] The Roman system of finance was still elementary, far more so than that of the Greek cities had been; but the financiers were the people whom the governors of provinces were chiefly concerned to protect. Even the elaborate and careful arrangements of Hiero in Sicily, which had been adopted by the Romans, though never abrogated, had broken down by the time of Verres.   [2] See below, p. 128.

public opinion would exert a greater influence; and the power of the populares might at any time increase by alliance with the rich equites, if the latter had a quarrel with the Senate.

Secondly: The ruin of the Italian farming population is seen best by the census figures; for the increase in the number of citizens after the end of the Carthaginian war came to an end before the middle of the century, when the number began to decline, in spite of the inclusion of large numbers of freedmen.[1]

But it was among the slaves that the first active revolts began. To have had even the power to revolt, their numbers must have been very great, both in Sicily and Italy; further, outside of the Greek cities, almost all had been recently imported from the Greek east; or at least their leaders would be of Greek speech, familiar with the doctrines of communism and the natural equality of all men that had been spread (with an attempt or two at practice) in the east for two or three generations past. The first unrest showed itself in Latium; there was a serious 143, 141 B.C rising in Sicily which lasted five years, in which the slaves 137-132 seized several cities, and held out against consular armies. It was finally crushed; but this, the first servile war in history, was symptomatic of the times, that men could be driven by oppression to a hopeless struggle.[2]

The agrarian problem at Rome, however, was more important; but more for its political than for its economic results. The episode of the Gracchi is a remarkable one. During the first

[1] See above, p. 110, n. 2. The figures for this period are:

Census of 189 b.c.	.	.	.	.	.	c. 258,000
,,	179	.	.	.	.	259,000
,,	174	.	.	.	.	269,000
,,	169	.	.	.	.	312,000
,,	164	.	.	.	.	337,000
,,	159	.	.	.	.	328,000
,,	154	.	.	.	.	324,000
,,	147	.	.	.	.	322,000
,,	142	.	.	.	.	327,000
,,	136	.	.	.	.	318,000

See further below p. 117, n. 1.

[2] In 131 b.c. there occurred also the first slave rising at the Laurium mines in Attica (incited by the fighting at Pergamon—above, p. 104); there was another during the years 104–100, when there were further troubles in Sicily.

half of the second century the senate, receiving all the laurels of the victory over Hannibal, had not only been at the height of its power in Rome, but had won the admiration of subject peoples; yet now, at the first difficulty, faced by a not very complex problem, they could only meet it by violence. Tiberius Gracchus, intimate with some Greek theorists of social reform, allied through his mother, a daughter of Scipio Africanus, with the Cornelii (whose principal representative at this time was Scipio Aemilianus, a popular hero elected to finish the war in Spain, a friend of Polybius and head of the cultured set in Rome), and with the Claudii by his own marriage (Appius Claudius, his father-in-law, had been censor in 135 and was now *princeps senatus*), and by friendship with the lawyer Mucius Scaevola, head of a party opposed to the Scipios in the senate: was, under these happy auspices, at the age of 28, elected to the tribunate for 133 B.C. with a programme of agrarian reform. He resuscitated an old law which limited the amount that any one family could hold of the *ager publicus*, and proposed to put it once more into force, with certain modifications and with compensation to existing occupiers for improvements made. On the land thus freed from the big landowners, landless men were to be settled, with initial capital supplied by the state. (Just at this time Attalus of Pergamon died, leaving his personal fortune to Rome,[1] and Tiberius proposed the use of it for his new settlers, thus taking it out of the hands of the senate.) In addition the old proprietors were to employ a certain proportion of free labour on their estates. There were naturally difficulties in discovering the limits of public land that had been in private occupation for many generations; and apparently Latins and allies had certain claims which Tiberius ignored. The opposition was fierce;[2] a colleague of Tiberius on the tribunate, himself the possessor of large tracts of public land, interposed his veto. Tiberius tried to buy him off, but in vain; in turn he vetoed all

[1] Above, p. 104.

[2] Our accounts of the Gracchi are conventional (mostly from later writers of the second century A.D.): one makes them selfless patriots, whose sole desire is a happy Italy, another dangerous demagogues inciting the poor to hatred. But the main facts of the constitutional story are certain, though not easily explained.

public acts of all magistrates till the passing of his law, and
closed the public treasury with his seal. Finally he secured the
deposition of his colleague by the comitia, an action of a kind
familiar and easy enough in Greek states, where direct govern-
ment of the masses was usual, but without precedent in Rome,
where the sanctity and power of the magistracy was a vital
principle. He got his law passed in this way, and three com-
missioners appointed to discover and delimit the land, and allot
the new settlers. The commissioners were himself, his father-in-
law, and his younger brother, Gaius.

It was a violent enough procedure, and turned both his level-
headed and his timid friends against him. He followed it up by
standing again as a candidate for the tribunate, which was if
not illegal at least opposed to custom. The senate in alarm
offered Scaevola exceptional powers to deal with the danger.
He refused; but one of the Scipios, the *pontifex maximus*, led a
body of senators to a meeting being addressed by Tiberius. The
tribune called out that his life was in danger; others cried that
he was aiming at tyranny, at the royal power. His own par-
tisans fled, and he was assassinated by the senatorial band. His
friends were executed by consular order in the following year; 132 B.C.
and the cultured Scipio Aemilianus, the friend of Polybius, who
had done so much to make clear to the Greek the superiority,
the greater stability, of the Roman system, came back from
Spain and approved of the murder of his kinsman the tribune.

Nevertheless the agrarian commission, with a new member
in place of Tiberius, began its immense labours. It had full
powers to settle all disputes, and for three years carried on with 132, 131
its task—the opposition tried to secure the dictatorship for   130
Aemilianus, who in 129 got the powers of the commission to
settle disputes transferred to the consuls: as the consuls for the
year were abroad this meant that the work of the commission was
practically stopped.[1] The design of Aemilianus as benevolent

[1] The census figures (cf. above, p. 115, n. 1) show the amount of work done:

136 B.C.	.	.	.	.	.	.	. *c.* 318,000
131	.	.	.	.	.	.	. 319,000
125	.	.	.	.	.	.	. 395,000

See further below, p. 121, n. 1.

autocrat to rebuild the state was cut short by his sudden death;
the reformers tried to overcome the opposition of the Latins and
the allies to the agrarian law by an extension of citizen rights.
· But this the senate frustrated. Fregellae, an old Latin colony,
revolted from Rome, and was destroyed.

    Ten years after Tiberius, the younger Gracchus, Gaius, was
123-122 elected tribune. During his two years of office (he was re-
elected for 122, a law having previously been passed making
this legal, but failed in his candidature for 121), he attempted
a mass legislation, some of which was honestly intended and
well designed, some dictated by the political necessity, forced
on him by the opposition of the senate, of finding friends where
he could. He re-enacted Tiberius' agrarian law, and the com-
missioners were set to work again; to secure its passage he
combined with it two other measures: the first transferred from
individual senators to the state the distribution of corn in Rome
at a low price—this, it was hoped, would both free the clientes
from dependence on the great and engage the support of the
poor; the second, to win over the equites, declared that juries
in future could be drawn from the ranks of the equites as well as
from the three hundred senators. But the equites wanted a
higher price for their knightly support; an opportunity was
given by some recent scandalous acquittals by the senate of men
accused of corruption and oppression in the provinces, and a
law passed enacting that the juries in these cases were to be
selected from the equites alone.[1] Since they were, though not
the governors, yet the tax-gatherers and exploiters of the pro-
vinces, this meant handing the interests of the provincials over
to the least scrupulous and least-controlled class in the state. It
is, moreover, of interest to see how fond men were in republican
Rome of settling difficulties by separating the activities of
classes.

    There was much else that Gaius attempted. The senate were
henceforth to designate the consular provinces before the con-
sular elections, and the tribunes were not to exercise their veto

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[1] A law of 149 (also following a scandalous acquittal) had established a per-
manent commission, of senators only, for the hearing of such charges.

on the decision (both sane enough proposals). He proposed to reorganize the comitia to lessen the influence of the rich; he improved the state-budget and the corn-supply by a new system of ports, roads, and granaries; he changed the recruiting methods of the army, and the taxes paid by the subject peoples of Asia (to the advantage of the tax-gatherers, where only subjects were involved); he planned new colonies, at Tarentum, Corinth, and Carthage, three old cities that were to be refounded. Finally he proposed to give all 'Latins' citizen rights, and all allies Latin rights. This project failed; it was not so popular with the masses at Rome. Gaius' own popularity waxed and waned; the opposition of the senate did not waver. During his absence in Carth- ^{122 B.C.} age to organize the new colony, the tribune Drusus outbid him by proposing twelve more colonies, all in Italy, for which the colonists need have no capital (as in Gaius' plan), and to abolish the rent-tax paid by the new settlers on public land. To meet the expense of this democratic legislation, the currency was debased—the well-known device of inflation.[1] Gaius failed in his candidature for the tribunate the next year. He was accused of aiming at being both tribune and consul at the same time (as Augustus became later). On his return from Carthage there was trouble and fighting in the streets of Rome. The senate, by a *senatusconsultum ultimum*, called on the consul to see to the safety ¹²¹ of the state; that is, abrogated for the time all constitutional safeguards. Senators and equites were ordered to arm themselves and two servants each; Cretan archers were employed to goad Gaius into armed opposition. He was beaten, and committed suicide.

There had been a genuine, if partial and capricious, movement of public opinion, and a sincere attempt by the Gracchi at reform of grave abuses, to meet a patent economic danger, however much mixed up the attempt might be with political intrigue. But the only method known to the Roman constitution to fight the matter out was an extravagant use of the tribunician veto, and then violence; and this neither the comitia,

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[1] It is not certain that this device was tried on this occasion; it may belong to the tribunate of the younger Drusus, 91 B.C.

in their lack of authority, nor the better elements in the senate were able to prevent.

II. THE REVOLT AGAINST ROME (103–71 B.C.)

Naturally, with both a constitution and a society so divided and so ill balanced, the use of violence did not end with the death of the younger Gracchus. In the next few years it was common, especially at elections (at the beginning of Marius' career), and twenty years after the Gracchi further attempts at agrarian and constitutional reform were made by the democrats (under the leadership of men who may have been nothing but the mischievous demagogues they were said to be by oligarchic writers of the next generation), and crushed by armed force and assassination; and the problem of reform was not solved before the overthrow of the republic. Meanwhile other dangers threatened from without the citizen body. There were further slave revolts in Campania and Sicily, begun this time through the action of the Roman publicani in Asia who sold thousands of men as slaves for non-payment of intolerable taxes, and shipped them to the west. Again the slaves in Sicily held out, and the insurrection was only ended after three campaigns.

But more serious than this was the revolt of all outside the citizen body against Rome—the Italian allies, as well as the provincials of Asia, Gaul, and Spain. Outside of Italy, allies and citizens shared the same privileges and the same unpopularity: all alike were Italians to the provincials. But within Italy the differences were keenly felt; apart from their exclusive political privileges citizens alone benefited from the agrarian reforms, from the corn-distribution, from the improvement in the conditions in the army; citizens were relieved from taxes; and in practice many an allied city was treated by the Roman commanders with as little consideration as if it had been in a subject province. There had been no large extension of the citizen body for nearly a century and a half. The inferiority of position was the more galling that all cultural distinction was rapidly disappearing; the Romanization of Italy was nearly complete. The conflict was begun by the senate, who got a

103–99 B.C.

103–101

95

law passed expelling from Rome allies domiciled there, on the ground of their illegal influence over elections. Four years later 91 B.C. a tribune, Drusus (son of the man who had out-demagogued Gaius Gracchus), introduced a law granting the citizenship to all the allies (combined, as usual, with a number of other laws, increasing the senate by the introduction of equites and handing back the juries to it, improving the distribution of corn, and agrarian laws). He was opposed by the majority of the senate, and by remnants of the democratic party; but he had the support of a number of eminent men. His laws were voted, but declared invalid on a technical point by the senate. He made an alliance with the Italians, but violence broke out once more in Rome, and he was assassinated.

The Italians took to arms; most of central and south Italy rose. A new state was formed with its capital at Corfinium (renamed Italica), a senate of 500, and two armies, each with its consul at the head and six praetors under him. The Romans met the danger first by seeking to divide their enemies; the 90–89 citizenship was granted to such of the allies as remained faithful, and individually to any ally fighting in their ranks or who inscribed his name within 60 days;[1] Cisalpine Gaul was given Latin rights; while the friends of Drusus in Rome were ruthlessly persecuted for treason. Secondly, they summoned all their forces from Italy, Gaul, and Spain. The Italians gained some early successes; but they were ill organized and unprepared, both materially and in their minds; for many a man high up in the Roman armies was of Italian origin. This was the principal cause of the Roman victory; which was decisive by the year 88, though the struggle lingered on, especially in Lucania, supported by subsidies from Mithridates, till 80 B.C.; and Italians joined in the civil war which will be the subject of a later section. We are told that 300,000 men lost their lives in this war.

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[1] They were all enrolled in eight of the old tribes, to diminish the political importance of the change. But the political importance of citizenship was anyhow not great. The result of this grant of citizenship was to increase the citizen population (in spite of the wars) from 395,000 in 125 B.C. (above, p. 117, n. 1) to 910,000 in 70 B.C. (the last regular census of the Republic).

This Mithridates was the king of Pontus in Asia Minor, in
outward appearance a Hellenistic king with Greek methods of
administration, at heart an Oriental monarch, attempting ·to
fuse Greece and Iran. The Parthians were now in definite
possession of Mesopotamia, and even invading Syria, and Mith-
ridates turned his attention westward, invading Cappadocia and
Bithynia who were allies of Rome. The Romans, occupied with
91 b.c. the Social War in Italy, could send no reinforcements, and their
89 forces in Asia were soon defeated. This was the signal for a
general rising of the Greeks of Asia against the oppressor;
80,000 Italians (but of what value are such figures?) are said to
have been massacred. Mithridates relieved all the cities of taxes
for five years, and his fleet appeared in the Aegean. At first the
Romans had been, or had intended to be, mild rulers in Asia;
they had adopted the system of the Greek monarchs with little
change: tributary land, on a kind of feudal basis, continued to
pay the same taxes; the royal domain was made *ager publicus*;
the Greek cities at first left free. But, as in Sicily, an equitable
system had broken down, because there was no effective check
on the men who worked it; the Roman tax-gatherer was at large.

Greece proper was, as usual when great powers contended,
divided. Things were much as they had been in the days of
Antiochus: Romans were still foreigners and present oppressors,
while Mithridates spoke Greek and promised liberation; but
Romans were Europeans and republicans, Mithridates an
Oriental despot, a successor to Xerxes. At Athens, prosperous
now through her close connexion with Delos, a free port and
the central market for all the Aegean trade, an oligarchy of rich
merchants, in power since the suppression of the slave-rising a
dozen years before, was overthrown by the democrats at the
instigation of the wretched philosopher Athenion, who was
88 elected stratêgos; and the city threw in its lot with the east.
Boeotia, Sparta, Achaea joined her. But Rome was by now
relieved of immediate danger in Italy, and Sulla with his vic-
torious army landed in Greece. Boeotia was reoccupied, Athens
87-86 besieged. There was much suffering and but little dignity in
this, the last fight Athens made in classic times. Mithridates'

fleet, though it commanded the Aegean, did nothing; his army
was still in Macedonia. Athens was starved into surrender. It March 86
B.C.
was her further misfortune that the enemy commander was
Sulla, so hard a man that to the Athenian ambassadors who
came to his camp to plead for mercy in a long speech on the
great past of their city, he could make the just retort (which it
still, after 2,000 years, pains to record), that he was there not to
learn ancient history but to punish rebels. He contemptuously
granted the citizens their lives, but the city was plundered, and
the Piraeus occupied and destroyed.

Then at last Mithridates' army arrived, and got through
Thermopylae. But the Romans, though almost cut off from
supplies and half starved, defeated the more numerous Asiatics
in two battles in Boeotia. Finally (after much quarrelling at 86
Rome) another army was sent, and a fleet collected; the Romans
crossed over into Asia, made a peace with Mithridates, leaving 85
him his old territories, and imposed all arrears of taxes and an
indemnity as well on the province and the subject cities, who
could only borrow from the tax-gatherers to pay them. Much
land was in this way mortgaged to Italians, who later foreclosed
and thus became landlords of property in Asia. The Greeks
paid dearly for putting their trust in that incompetent and
barbaric king.

The third great insurrection against Rome took place in the
west, spasmodically in southern Gaul, more seriously in Spain
under the guidance of the Roman Sertorius, one of the few
romantic figures in Roman history. He had a distinguished
record as an officer both abroad and in the Italian war; he was
a democrat, but, disgusted by the excesses of his party during
their brief hour of triumph,[1] he retired to Spain, where he was 87-84
appointed proconsul of the hither province. There by the
peculiar intelligence and humanity of his rule he won the hearts 83-81
of the Spaniards, embittered before his arrival by heavy taxation
and the misdeeds of the Roman soldiery. After the overthrow
of the democrats in Italy by Sulla, a new governor was sent to 81
succeed him in Spain, and he retired to Africa, and took part

[1] See below, p. 139.

in native quarrels. There, as an independent chief, he nego-
tiated with the Cilician pirates, who throughout these disturbed
times, from their base in Cilicia, ravaged the whole of the Medi-
terranean as far as Gibraltar and, but for the occasional appear-
ance of a Roman fleet, ruled the seas. The Spaniards begged
80 B.C. him to return; he crossed the straits again (defeating a Roman
fleet and then the army of Andalusia), and established himself
in Spain. He organized an army of Spaniards, Africans, and
Romans of Spain; built up a new state, with its own senate;
negotiated with Mithridates; he was in fact at war with Rome.
He was helped by further insurrections in Gaul. Armies and
proconsuls were sent against him from Italy, but he held his
own; finally Metellus and Pompey, with special powers, and
fresh forces, were sent to Spain; but after several battles with
75 varying fortunes, both were forced back to the Pyrenees.

Sertorius was astonishingly skilful in adapting himself to
Spanish methods of warfare and in attaching the people to his
own person; and again in adapting those methods to meet the
attack of Roman legions. At the same time he was helping to
Romanize Spain (it was as a Roman that he negotiated with
Mithridates, conceding to him Bithynia and Cappadocia, but
refusing him the province of Asia; this in return for the promise
of a fleet). He was, in his way, a true precursor of Caesar;
supreme in his own province, he was preparing to impose him-
self on Italy (so Pompey wrote to the senate after the campaign
of 75, emphasizing the danger). But he was a smaller man; he
had not Caesar's universal outlook, not his courage in wrong-
doing. He was too gentle; it was his moderation and good sense,
his love of justice, which first drove him to Spain, then forced
him into opposition to Roman armies, into negotiation with
pirates and the eastern enemies of Rome; he was always attempt-
ing to come to terms with Pompey, to end the warfare, that he
might himself return to Italy. He depended also too much on
Spain alone, and on men's affections; you cannot command the
affections of the whole world.

Further reinforcements were sent to Pompey in 74. Gradu-
ally he wore down the resistance of the Spaniards. Difficulties

and dissensions broke out in Sertorius' own camp. At last Ser-
torius was murdered by his legate, Perpenna (a man who had 72 b.c.
originally come to Spain to fight him and had been forced by
his soldiers to put himself under his orders). Perpenna was next
year defeated, and executed by Pompey, and the struggle in
Spain was over. Pompey triumphed and put up a boastful 71
monument in the pass over the Pyrenees.

The victory of Rome over the rebels—Italian allies, Greeks,
Gauls, and Spaniards—was complete. The different revolts had
not been co-ordinated; there was talk between Mithridates and
the Italians, between him and Sertorius; and the pirates were in
capricious touch with all. But there was no concerted action,
and Rome was able to defeat her enemies singly. The victory
was won by the senate; and it resulted as well in the final defeat
of the populares of Rome, and of all hope under the republic of
any reform in Italy of the kind first promoted by the Gracchi.

III. FURTHER EXTENSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF ROMAN POWER ABROAD (149–63 B.C.)

As has already been said, during all these conflicts and the
still more serious civil wars to be described in the next section,
Roman power abroad was extended and strengthened, and the
Romanization of the west unceasingly continued. Her methods
were generally the same, though not always consciously intended:
to make alliance with a people or prince and support them
against a neighbour, then to keep both ally and enemy weak,
and finally to absorb both.

After the war with Hannibal Rome had further trouble with
the Cisalpine Gauls, and with the Ligurians of the north-west. 200–192
Both peoples were subdued and their territory annexed (large 189–73
numbers of Ligurians were transported to Samnium—the first
instance of such a policy that we know of in Roman history);
strong colonies were planted,[1] and roads built through the land.
The urban development of north Italy (interrupted since the
defeat of the Etruscans in the fifth century) began anew—till

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[1] See above, p. 111.

then the Gauls had contented themselves with their corn, vines
and cattle (Polybius notes the prodigious wealth of the Po valley
in these, and their extreme cheapness); with this came the
Latinization of the district, and the realization in Rome that
the Alps, not the Apennines, formed the true boundary of Italy.
181 B.C. The colony at Aquileia, among the friendly Veneti, not to over-
awe a defeated people, but to guard the eastern passes against
possible danger from barbarians beyond (as well as against
pirates of the Adriatic), is significant of this new policy. Over
129-115 these passes, two generations later, Roman armies marched into
Noricum, Carinthia, and Dalmatia, to impose their will and
secure the rich gold-mines that were being worked there.

Beyond Italy, about the time when the senate was trying
finally to settle the affairs of Greece and Macedonia, it was
giving part of its attention to Africa as well. Carthage was
slowly recovering and endeavouring to reorganize after her
heavy defeat; her traders were active again, her agriculture
153 improving, enough after fifty years, when Cato went there,
to cause distress to Romans. But a new enemy was growing
in power on her borders, Numidia, which under her energetic
king Massinissa (c. 206-148) was changing from a country of
nomads and raiders to one of settled agriculture, and which
extended in a wide circle from Morocco to Cyrenaica. Massi-
nissa, in his youth a successful leader of his Numidian cavalry
against the Romans in Spain, then won over by Scipio in 208
and fighting with Rome against Carthage in 204-202, was now
doing everything to civilize as well as to strengthen his kingdom,
and adopting, like all other princes on the borders of Greek
lands, the trappings of a Hellenistic monarch. He sent a gift of
corn to Delos, his son to Athens, where he won a race at the
Panathenaic games; he encouraged Greeks to settle in Numidia.
His successor (148-118) surrounded himself with Greek men
of letters. Friction between Massinissa, free to develop as he
wished, and Carthage, hemmed in by the terms of the treaty
with Rome, forbidden even to arm her own citizens, was in the
circumstances to be expected. Rome supported the Numidian
when he occupied disputed territory and refused to arbitrate.

Carthage began to arm, and Rome seized the pretext for war. Carthage was frightened and made humiliating concessions; but nothing would now stop Rome, and war was declared. An army was sent to Africa, Massinissa sent troops in aid, and the city was besieged. It held out for three years, but then sur- 149-146 B.C. rendered and was destroyed. All her territory was declared *ager publicus*, and rented to Africans and Roman settlers. A colony was established (the first in Africa), and the old land of Carthage made into a Roman province. An elaborate survey of the land was made, and roads built; a cynical and unjustifiable war was followed by civilizing work.[1]

Numidia survived for a generation longer. Dynastic quarrels broke out, and a senatorial commission divided the land into 118 three parts. Jugurtha, one of the three princes (who had already as a young man won friends among the leading Romans), was ambitious to rule the whole. He turned out his cousins, and in the course of this fighting a body of Italian traders settled in Africa was massacred, and Rome declared war. The war is 112 more memorable for the light it threw on the corruption of Roman politics than for its battles or its inevitable result. Jugurtha's comment that 'everything was for sale at Rome' was superficially true; but the corruption only delayed the end, it did not stay Rome's advance. Not only were mutual accusations made by senators and popular leaders, and the war at first grossly mismanaged by Roman commanders, who were 112-110 more interested in the elections at home than success in the

[1] Another most interesting piece of work carried out in connexion with this war was an exploration of the west African coast (long known to the Carthaginians) ordered by Scipio Aemilianus, in which his two Greek friends, the historian Polybius and the philosopher Panaetius (the leading Stoic of his age, and who more than any other helped to spread Stoic doctrines among the Romans), took part. But exploration for its own sake was not a thing the Romans delighted in, and this expedition had no successor. It was on land, and through her soldiers, that Rome extended somewhat the bounds of geographical knowledge. Contrast the Greeks, whose traders were, just about this time, opening up the sea route from Egypt, round India, to the Malay Peninsula and China. (This was the only contact of the Western world with China. The Chinese had recently been advancing westwards overland, through Turkestan; but the destruction, at the end of the second century, of the Greek kingdoms of Bactria and Iran by nomad Sacae, Huns, and Tocharians prevented them from coming into contact in that direction with the Greeks.)

109-107
B.C.
field; but later Metellus, after a series of successes, made peace with Jugurtha because he was jealous of his legatus, Marius, who had just been elected consul and given Africa as his province; Marius had been intriguing as well with Numidian chiefs against
106-105
Metellus. Marius, however, in a bold campaign continued the war, and Jugurtha at last surrendered. He was brought to Rome and died of starvation in prison.

In Spain the story in the second century is one of organization, revolt, mismanagement and failures of Roman commanders, final success of the Romans, and reorganization. The two provinces of the Ebro and Andalusia (Hither and Further Spain) dated from 206, when they were at last wrested from the Carthaginians by Scipio Africanus in the second Punic war. The native inhabitants, living in tribes, and unused to city life except on the south coast, which had long ago traded with Greece and been subject to Carthage, were gradually civilized. The mountain districts of central Spain were invaded, colonies planted, and the rich silver-mines near Cartagena and the
154
copper of Andalusia exploited. But inland tribes overran the provinces, and found ready support from Roman subjects distressed by the exactions, legal and illegal, of the tax-gatherers.
152-150
150-139
They were defeated, and revolted again, and had many successes; but were finally subdued. Roman power was extended
144
to the Atlantic. Then the tribes around Numantia revolted, and inflicted a signal defeat and disgrace on Roman arms; so that at
134
last another Scipio, Aemilianus, was given special powers and sent to end the war. He reformed the army, and established discipline; and shut up the Spaniards in Numantia and besieged it, with a regular circumvallation as in Greek warfare of the fifth century; 8,000 defenders held out for nine months against an army of 60,000, and were starved into surrender. They were sold as slaves, all but 50; who graced Scipio's triumph in Rome and were executed. The provinces were reorganized, and large numbers of Italians settled there; though trouble and disorder continued till the coming of Sertorius.

Soon after the conquest of Numantia, Massilia, the old Greek colony that had for so long traded and flourished, and intro-

duced civilization to the Gauls (on both sides of the Alps: it was
not till the beginning of the second century that Roman in-
fluence overcame the Greek in Cisalpina), and had been always
the ally of Rome, called for her help first against Ligurians,
then against the neighbouring Gauls. The Romans responded, 125-121
and southern Gaul was invaded and conquered, and made into ᴮ·ᶜ·
a province to make safe the land-route between Italy and Spain;
a citizen colony was planted at Narbonne. From this time 118
Roman influence tended to oust that of Massilia throughout the
whole of Gaul, and Massilia itself too to become Latin. But
with the new territory scarcely won, the Romans were faced
with a new and terrible danger. Hordes of semi-nomad tribes,
Cimbri and Teutones they were called (whether in the main of
Celtic or Teutonic stock is uncertain), after defeating the
Romans in Noricum, marched across central Europe, in one of
those great upheavals to which for a thousand years the con-
tinent was subject. They invaded Gaul, defeated some tribes,
joined up with others, including some in the new province who
revolted. They then descended the Rhone valley, and in a great
battle at Arausio (Orange) decisively defeated the Roman 105
legions (in part because the two commanders quarrelled). The
great danger of barbarian invasion alarmed Rome once more.
Marius, the popular conqueror of Jugurtha, was elected consul
again in 105 and for every year (against the law) till 101. The
enemy were indeed planning an invasion of Italy; but Marius,
after reorganizing the Roman forces, intercepted them and de-
feated the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence). The 102
Cimbri marched east again, and invaded Italy by the Trentino
and reached the Po valley; but in a second battle Marius and
his colleague Catulus defeated and dispersed them; and the 101
danger to Italy was over.

In the east Rome had already, before the revolt in Asia which
led to the first war with Mithridates, had much trouble with
and but tardy success over the restless tribes who dwelt in the 141-100
mountainous regions to the north of Macedonia and who re-
peatedly invaded that province (as they had been doing since
the dawn of history); and, with the help of Rhodes, who still

102-100 with difficulty maintained her navy, had gained some partial
B.C. success against the Cilician pirates; and an ordinance was pro-
claimed, of which a mutilated copy has been found at Delos,
forbidding the cities to receive any pirate ship in future. (It
was with Delos, then the centre of the flourishing slave-trade,
that the pirates had had most commerce.) But it was on land
that Rome first sought to advance her power, now apparently
aiming deliberately at conquest, but stirred thereto both by the
restlessness of Mithridates of Pontus and the individual ambi-
tions of her own generals. Owing to a temporary eclipse of the
Parthians whose land had been overrun by Mongol invaders
from central Asia, a new, semi-Greek power had arisen in
Armenia, whose king Tigranes, son-in-law of Mithridates, had
extended his territory in Mesopotamia and Syria (there the
wretched princelings were still fighting over the few square
miles·left to them, and an Egyptian princess marrying each one
in turn and claiming the whole ancient empires both of Seleucids
and the Ptolemies for her children). The king of Bithynia, the
74 client state of Rome, died, and Rome claimed his heritage.
Mithridates, allied with Tigranes, intervened, but after some
initial success, was defeated by the Romans under Lucullus,
72-71 who invaded Pontus and drove him into Armenia. Lucullus
69 then invaded Armenia, and captured the new capital Tigrano-
certa. But when, after another victorious campaign, he wanted
68 to march farther east, his troops revolted. He had attempted to
relieve Asia of the enormous debts imposed by Sulla; his enemies
in Rome were now joined by the equites, who saw their profits
in danger, and got him deprived of his command and encour-
aged indiscipline among the troops. The fruits of his victorious
labours were to fall into the more fortunate hands of Pompey,
who gained the support of the equites by promising to restore
the old system and to extend it to Bithynia, Pontus, and Syria.

The successes against the pirates had been short-lived.
M. Antonius, father of the triumvir, was given supreme com-
mand against them; but not only by his exactions was he more
feared by the cities of the east than any pirate, but he was
74-71 defeated by them and died their prisoner in Crete. Their activi-

ties increased everywhere; they ravaged the Aegean, Crete, Syracuse, even Ostia, the port of Rome. But at last Rome was roused to action. War was declared on Crete, the principal lair of the pirates west of Cilicia, and the island was, slowly, sub- 68-63 B.C. dued; and by a special law Pompey was given consular command against them. · He made straight for their homes in Cilicia, and his success was immediate (thus revealing the in- 67 competence of his predecessors); they were extirpated, and the seas were free for commerce once more.

But this was not enough for Pompey's ambitions. His friends in Rome secured for him exceptional powers, by sea and land, for all military operations, and hence for all administration, in the east. He took over Lucullus' command, the soldiers joining him willingly. He defeated Mithridates on the upper Euphrates, 66-65 and marched to the Caspian; Mithridates fled to the old Greco-Scythian territory of the Crimea, and a Roman fleet sailed through the length of the Black Sea. In Pontus, Pompey founded 64 cities of the Hellenistic type, on the great road connecting the Halys and the Euphrates, in true succession to the Seleucids (one was called Pompeiopolis; this is characteristic, partly because it hints at royal honours for the founder, partly because it is among the first of those Greco-Latin names of places and persons, which were to be so common in the east in future). He then reorganized Asia Minor, installing princelings in some districts, making Cilicia a province; he marched into Syria, wintered in Antioch, and created another province. The Jews 64-63 in Palestine had for some time been independent of Syria, but were now at civil war, and one party called in Pompey, who besieged and took Jerusalem. He returned to Asia Minor, 63 settled various difficulties according to his whim, and finally returned to Italy, where he was four times saluted *imperator* and 62 given a triumph *de orbe universo*.

The east as far as the Euphrates was now at Rome's feet. By easy intrigues among rival Ptolemies, she assumed control of 65-56 Cyrenaica, Cyprus, and Egypt; a Roman army of occupation was placed in Alexandria. There were further troubles in Judaea, and Roman interference, and some fighting with the

57-56 b.c. one-quarter hellenized Arabs of Petra. There was no power left in the Greek east to oppose her. But at the same time she had, by allowing the self-destruction of Syria, assumed on her own shoulders the duty of defending the Greek world from the eastern peoples, Parthians or Persians or Arabs, beyond the Euphrates and the boundaries of Syria. She was not at first
53 conscious of this. The disaster at Carrhae, brought on by the ambition of Crassus to shine as Pompey and Caesar shone, was her rude awakening. The Parthians, however, were not able
52-1 to follow up their victory; they did indeed invade Syria, but Cassius, who had escaped from Carrhae with a small body of cavalry, was able, with the ordinary garrison of the province, to drive them back. The defeat was not fatal; but it made it clear that the Euphrates was to be the limit hereafter of Greek culture and of Roman power.

IV. THE SENATE AND THE GENERALS

(a) *Marius and Sulla* (106-70 b.c.)

If the reader will keep in mind the dates of the principal events referred to (rather than narrated) in the last three sections, he will see how close was their connexion with each other and with those that are now to be related. We are come to the story of the failure, first of the senate, after a desperate struggle, to retain its power, secondly of Rome as a whole to preserve any form of constitutional government.

The years of the second Punic war and the first half of the second century were the great age of senatorial government. By the practice of admitting into its ranks, for life, all who had filled the important magistracies, and by its own dignity and constancy of purpose, as also by the weakness, already explained, of the popular assemblies, the senate had, without written enactment, assumed authority; it had undertaken the burden of public policy, and borne the burden well. The magistrates, mostly the sons of men already in the senate, about to become members themselves, and holding their offices for a year only, respected that authority. The tribunes of the plebs, no longer

opposed to the senate now that the latter was more than
half plebeian, became the instruments of the senate's policy,
especially when, during the prolonged fighting, the consuls
were abroad; the veto of one was sufficient to stop any danger-
ous move in the assembly; it became customary for ex-tribunes
equally to be admitted to the senate. In the second century
there was a gradual strengthening of custom by law. In 180
the *ordo honorum* was regulated: there must be an interval of two
years between the holding of any two curule[1] magistracies, and
a man must be quaestor before he can be elected praetor, and
praetor before consul; as candidates for these magistracies must
have served ten years with the legions, it meant a minimum of
28 years of age for a quaestor, 31 for a praetor, 34 for a consul
(the ages were later raised to 40 for a praetor, 43 for a consul).
This would preclude the sudden election of popular favourites
like Scipio,[2] and demanded a sensible amount of experience in
the holders of the highest office. A man could not hold the
consulship a second time except after an interval of ten years;
after 151 re-election was altogether abolished. The dictatorship
was abolished (the last instance of its use was in 201). In 149
it was laid down by law that all ex-tribunes were eligible for
the senate. The imperium of magistrates was not, as such,
altered; but their powers over the comitia (to dismiss them on
an unfavourable sign) were regulated; and abroad, though they
were on paper supreme, the senate supervised them by itself
appointing their legati, by granting them troops, and by assum-
ing to itself the right to prolong office (by appointment as pro-
consuls or propraetors).[3] Moreover, the trial of governors of
provinces for maladministration was taken (as the result of a
scandalous acquittal, we are told) from the popular juries and
transferred to a permanent commission composed only of

[1] That is, magistracies entitling the holder to subsequent election to the senate.
[2] Above, p. 81. This interval of two years served a second important purpose.
At Rome (again in characteristic opposition to Greece) a magistrate could not be
prosecuted during his term of office. If his office were prolonged by a promagis-
tracy—a praetor, for example, made propraetor and governor of a province—there
were two years during which he was free from prosecution. But he could not be
elected to the consulship for another year, and during this interval he was liable.
[3] Above, p. 85.

senators. The *auctoritas patrum*, the sanction of the senate to action by the comitia, which must be given before the meeting,[1] now became, through its influence over the magistrates who controlled the assemblies, important once more, by giving it the initiative in legislation.

The senate thus seemed destined for a long reign. It had strengthened its powers as against both the assemblies and the magistrates; it had had those privileges which it had usurped confirmed by law; it commanded the respect of all citizens, the respect or the fear of all subjects. It controlled policy, and, through the magistrates, largely controlled administration; and with a people so little given to a political life as the mass of the Romans, there seemed little to oppose it. Yet most of the new laws, so carefully prepared, were almost immediately broken; and within a very few years the senate was floundering in a morass, through its inability not only to manage, except by violence, the reform movement of the Gracchi and their successors, but to control those very magistrates which it had apparently so successfully brought under its influence. In 148 Scipio Aemilianus was elected consul, though not yet of age, and given the province of Africa by popular vote, against the law which had been passed enacting that provinces were to be assigned by lot. In 134 he was again elected consul (contrary to the law against re-election), and given the province of Hither Spain by the senate. Marius was elected consul five years in succession (105–101) to deal with the peril in Gaul. The failure of the senate to preserve order during the struggle over the agrarian reforms has already been described. The system apparently so successfully established broke down; and the new laws by which the senate had thought to confirm it would not work.

One cause of the difficulty was the increasing exclusiveness of the families which ruled Rome. Ever willing to follow the customs of their ancestors, the citizens had been ready enough to elect to office members of well-known families already in the senate; and the new *nobilitas* became, in the course of the second

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[1] Above, p. 62.

century, as jealous and as frightened of new-comers, *novi homines*, men whose fathers had not held senatorial office, as ever had been the old patricians. All the weaknesses of a narrow oligarchy became apparent; like most men used to administering affairs, they could genuinely believe that, if they surrendered office to others, disaster would result, though it was becoming increasingly clear that they had not enough able and honest men for the growing complexity of business; inefficiency and corruption (in addition to the greed for land and for privilege common to aristocracies) became common and obvious to all; yet they felt bound to defend the most inefficient or corrupt of their own number against demagogic attack. So fearful were they of admitting new men to the governing body, that it has been suggested, with some reason, that at any rate one of the reasons why the senate hesitated so long before creating a province in Macedonia, and then again more provinces in Asia and Gaul, was that a new province meant a new praetor, an increase in the number of offices in Rome, the holders of which were eligible for the senate.[1] Already by 146—the date of the province of Macedonia—three praetors were required for judicial work in Rome; after this date the device of pro-magistracy was more regularly used for the governance of the provinces. This, however, increased the power of the magistrates, and oligarchies are usually jealous of any pre-eminent man even of their own rank (Scipio Africanus had been thus hampered), and noble families mutually quarrelsome. Thus Rome, in spite of its 'well-mixed' constitution, was in fact divided against itself: the masses excluded from both wealth and power, would have been content enough in quiet and prosperous times, but were dangerous, from their very ignorance and dependent condition, in a crisis; the peasants and farmers were threatened with ruin by the greed for land of the senators and the new methods of farming;[2] the equites were rich enough, but politically excluded, and ambitious and able men from their ranks regarded with unalterable hostility by the nobles. It is not surprising that,

[1] See Marsh, *Founding of the Roman Empire*.
[2] Above, p. 111.

when opportunity offered, as in the mismanagement by the senate of the wars in Spain and in Africa, and in the struggle for agrarian reform, a confused conflict between these classes broke out. In a healthy society the difficulties would have been overcome; the constitution, after all, allowed the election of new men, and therefore the infusion of new blood in the senate without armed resistance; that the Gracchan legislation did in fact result, in spite of the constitutional *débâcle*, in the settlement of some of the agrarian difficulties, shows that economic reform was possible. But the short-sighted narrowness of the senate and the corruption of politics put the constitution at once in danger, when it was attacked anew. Polybius (blinded by his admiration for Rome and his desire to read a lesson to his countrymen) was impressed not only by the abilities of Romans, but by their honesty: unlike Carthage, bribery at elections was unknown at Rome; unlike the Greeks, no Roman official ever put his hand in the public purse, none could be bribed; his oath was his bond. Within a very few years (and before Polybius' death) the famous constitution had broken down; the cement binding the different parts of society had cracked; not only bribery but violence was common at elections; the senate was repudiating any agreement made by a Roman officer that it thought fit; all classes, and most individuals, were enriching themselves at the public expense, or preferably at the expense of the provinces; and C. Gracchus could say, when the senate was discussing a dispute between Mithridates of Pontus and Nicomedes of Bithynia: 'the senators who defend the motion have been bought by Mithridates, those who oppose by Nicomedes; those who are silent take money from both'.

The new attack came from the power and influence of individual magistrates. The problem of what to do with veteran soldiers on the conclusion of a long war has often troubled states; marked injustice to them has been common in most ages, and they have naturally looked to their late commanders for support (Scipio Africanus was the first Roman to show the power of the individual general, by establishing a colony of his veterans at Italica, Seville, in 207); but in a strong society this

has not led to revolt. In Rome, by the turn of the second and
first centuries, the senatorial government, weakened by the evils
just briefly related—the division of society, inefficiency and
corruption in the magistrates, the exclusiveness of the governing
body, and above all its failure to preserve either the constitu-
tion or internal peace when faced with difficulties—did not
command the loyalty either of the great commanders or of
their troops. The difficulty was made greater by the reform
of the army—entirely justified on military grounds—effected
by Marius. The old consular or praetorian armies, with their
annual levy of troops, citizen and ally, and their distinction
between the regiments (roughly cavalry, heavy-armed—the
legionaries—and light-armed) based on property (as in the
Greek citizen armies), were become doubly antiquated: the
prolonged wars necessitated that a man should adopt the army
as a career (or, for a few, as a stepping-stone to senatorial
office), and had therefore nothing to look forward to when the
age came for retirement; and the difference of armament was
no longer of military value. Marius, a *novus homo*, tribune of
the plebs in 119, and elected to the consulate in 107 on a wave
of popular indignation and contempt at the mismanagement
by the senate of the war with Jugurtha (and by promising the
poor the spoils of the rich nobles), instituted a new system:
henceforth service was to be voluntary, recruitment was to be
from the *proletarii* (the poor of the cities) as much as from the
peasant farmers, and all infantry were to be armed alike. The
senate had no settled policy of dealing with the proletarian
soldiers, who had no property to return to at the end of a cam-
paign or of their service; who therefore turned to their com-
manders rather than to the government for support.[1] Marius
succeeded in ending the Jugurthine war, and was at once called 107-105
upon to command in the Cimbrian war,[2] to make good the 105-101
disaster at Arausio caused again by a senatorial general; who,

B.C.

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[1] The difficulty was parallel to that felt by England till quite recent times in
combining a standing army with constitutional government. A standing army was
the tool of an autocrat (Cromwell or Stuart). So in Greece there were no standing
armies except of tyrants and of Hellenistic kings.

[2] Above, p. 129.

by plebiscite, was deprived of the consulate, and Marius elected
in his place, and re-elected every year for five years. The reform
of the army was from a military point of view a complete
success; but, in the circumstances of the first century B.C., it was
fatal to republican government. It had been the essence of the
Roman system to give wide powers to the senior magistrates,
especially when abroad—including power of finance, and of
recruitment (hence mercenary as well as regular troops were
raised without any reference to the central government), and
of relations with foreign powers; geographical distance in any
case made it difficult to control a magistrate on a campaign.
At the same time the civil magistracy at home (the censors and
judicial praetors) had been weakened in authority by the
senate's own action during the second century. This and
Marius' reforms resulted in the legions becoming almost the
private armies of popular commanders.

Marius was as incompetent a politician as he was able in the
field. His immense popularity was made use of by others. On
101 B.C. his return from Gaul he was the natural ally of the democrats,
and was re-elected consul for the next year, to aid in the passing
of a new agrarian law[1] and a colonial law by which land was
granted to his veterans in Cisalpine Gaul, Sardinia and Corsica,
Africa, Macedonia, and Greece. But the agrarian law aroused
further trouble; there was fighting in the streets (through a
praetor of the democratic party wishing to stand, illegally, as
consul for the next year), and proper elections could not be
held; one candidate was killed at a meeting of the comitia.
Marius was won over by the senate; the equites also joined the
'constitutional' party, and in a battle in the forum the demo-
crats were defeated, and their leaders killed or captured. Those
who were captured were not spared.

The next eight years were comparatively quiet. Then the
Spring 88 revolt of the Italian allies took place.[2] In the midst of it, Sulpi-
cius, a tribune of the popular party, proposed a law, familiar
from the history of Greece, to relieve debtors, and recall the
banished; he secured the help of the new Italian citizens by

[1] Above, p. 120.   [2] Above, p. 121.

proposing the creation of new tribes for them,[1] and that of Marius by offering him the command against Mithridates, which had already been allotted to Sulla, then consul. The consuls declared all days to be *nefasti*, on which no comitia could be held; there was violence, and the other consul fled and was deprived of his office. Sulla left Rome to take command of his army in Campania, which had defeated the revolted Italians. The democrats got their laws passed; but when Marius sent two officers to take over command of the legions, Sulla marched on Rome with them and encamped in the forum. Marius tried to arm the slaves. Sulla called a meeting of the senate; the popular leaders, including Sulpicius and Marius, were declared enemies of the republic. Sulpicius was caught and killed; Marius escaped to Africa, and was banished for life.

Sulla in turn caused new laws to be passed, giving sole initiative of legislation to the senate, and reorganizing the elective comitia; but even so, he could not prevent the election of a democrat as one of the consuls for next year. His colleague was 87 B.C. assassinated when he tried to take over the command of the second Roman army in the north. Sulla thereupon left Italy to face Mithridates.

While he was fighting in Asia, the democrats wreaked their 87-84 revenge. Senators were massacred, thrown like criminals from the Tarpeian rock; the consul of the senatorial party was killed and his head stuck up in the forum. Marius returned, but died soon after, drunk and half-mad; Sulla in his turn was declared an enemy of the state. But in 83 he was back in Italy, with some of his army; he was joined by the young Pompey and saluted *imperator*. The two democratic consuls prepared to oppose him by force; but one of them was killed by his troops, the other, after the loss of Cisalpine Gaul, deserted his army and left Italy. Sulla marched on Rome, but could not enter; and he was compelled to turn and fight the Samnites and Picentes, who had 82 suddenly joined the democrats and attacked Rome. They were defeated with the aid of Crassus. In Rome itself the senate

[1] Above, p. 121, n. 1.

proclaimed an *interregnum*, with the *princeps Senatus* as *interrex*, a
revival of a long-disused institution of the regal period. The
81-80 B.C. interrex nominated Sulla dictator. During the next two years
the civil war slowly ended; the democrats were proscribed.

What is important in Sulla's dictatorship is the form it took
and his reorganization of Italy. His attempts at constitutional
reform in Rome were short-lived and uninteresting. He was
appointed without limit of time, unlike the old dictators;[1] he
was given power of life or death over citizens, to dispose of
conquered territory, to destroy enemy cities, to send colonies
and divide the state land; and granted a bill of indemnity for
all his past acts. It was the first example of a law for the
delegation of the imperium to one man for an unlimited period,
the basis therefore of the later principate.

In Italy he devised a more uniform and sensible system of
administration. Henceforth all citizens of colonies and of the
Italian *municipia* were to be citizens of Rome; and the govern-
ment of municipia was put on a uniform basis, with regular
magistrates in each and an increase of their power—an act
which both increased the dignity of local affairs in Italy and
lightened the judicial and administrative duties of the praetors
in Rome. Abroad he regularized what had become the com-
mon practice (except where violently interrupted): all pro-
vinces were to be governed by pro-magistrates, who go each to
his province after a year of office at home (and the allotment
of provinces, as by Gracchus' law, was to take place before the
elections). There were ten provinces in all: Sicily, Sardinia, the
two Spains, Macedonia, Africa, Asia, Narbonnensis, Cilicia,
and Gallia Cisalpina; and the number of praetors was raised to
eight, so that, with the consuls, they would provide the requisite
number of promagistrates as governors. The consuls and
praetors were given civil power only, with no military command,
and were to remain in Italy during their year of office—a
remarkable and, as it turned out, momentous change. The
senate was to consist of those who had held these magistracies
and the tribunate; it was raised therefore to 600 in number, by

[1] Above, p. 50.

the addition of a number of equites. So far he may be thought a wise reformer. But what steps did he take to secure that his reforms should be lasting, or even given a trial? He thought of nothing but restoring the senate to its old position as master of the commonwealth, and the destruction of his enemies. The senate was to be the active governing body, with the sole initiative in legislation, not merely a council which the magistrates must consult. The power of the magistrates was weakened: of the consuls, as already described; of the censors, because ex-magistrates were now sufficient in number to fill the senate; while the tribunes of the plebs were still to be, or were to be once more, the protectors of the individual citizen, but their power of veto was limited, and their initiative weakened; for though they still presided at concilia and could prepare legislation, they must first get the consent of the senate. In addition juries were to be composed of senators only; and the permanent jury-courts were reorganized.

Had Sulla at the same time radically reformed the method of election to office (and so, indirectly, to the senate) so as to secure the necessary representation of public opinion, and not only of Rome, but of Italy, such a constitution might have worked; though there would always have been the chance of conflict between the masses and a body whose members were chosen for life. But he made no change in this; the comitia were left as they were, unmanageable, unrepresentative even of the residents of Rome, without authority. There was no true popular party, though the name was often enough misused. The proletariat was little more than a city rabble, playing a part in the rhetoric of the day, but without power except as a disorderly element that was not kept quiet and therefore could easily be used by unscrupulous men, men who in their turn were used by others in the ceaseless strife, by the senate or by its opponents, by the respectable and the revolutionary, Pompey and Caesar, indifferently. It is true that the rottenness of the comitia tended to make most well-meaning men (like Cicero) supporters of the senate; but this did not increase its power. For the new senate of Sulla was but the old twice the size, that

had first begun, and then been the helpless spectator of, civil
strife. While Sulla was abroad, it had been powerless, without
influence or authority; he thought that, by his own *fiat*, backed
by his soldiers, he could make such a body the fit ruler of an
empire merely by packing it with his partisans. But as it was
in no sense based on public opinion, nor recruited in any
proper way, it commanded no more respect after Sulla's death
than before. And, as though to make certain that his work
would quickly be undone, he indulged in a savage persecution
of his opponents. Five thousand of them were proscribed, that
is, executed or rewards offered for their heads; their property
was confiscated and given to Sulla's partisans, their sons and
grandsons excluded from holding office. At the same time
cities in Etruria and Campania were punished for the part
played in the struggle; much of their land confiscated and given
to some 120,000 of his veterans. A war of revenge was inevitable.
There is this contradiction in Sulla's work: his reforms made a
unification of Italy possible, his restoration of the senate and
his atrocities deferred and almost destroyed the chance of it.
The world had to wait for thirty years and more before Caesar
could show, for a brief moment, the wisdom of moderation in
the use of power.

Sulla died some two years after his dictatorship. Lepidus,
consul and a 'democrat', promised cheaper corn to the Roman
mob, and to return to the peasants the land given to Sulla's
veterans. At once, some of them rose and seized their land for
themselves. The two consuls were ordered to put down the
rising; but Lepidus took the side of the insurgents. A *senatus-
consultum ultimum* was passed, and special powers given his col-
77 B.C. league. Lepidus was beaten in two battles, and died in Sardinia;
his legate took the remains of his army to Spain, where it joined
76-73 Sertorius.[1] During the following years, when the Cilician pirates
were at their most active, and Lucullus was fighting Mithridates
in Asia, the tribunes tried to recover all their old power of veto;
there was an economic crisis owing to scarcity and high prices
73-71 in Italy, followed by the fiercest of all the slave-risings, that

[1] Above, pp. 123 ff.

under Spartacus. Immense difficulties were found in over-
coming them; Crassus, with all the odds in his favour, finally
succeeded, and 5,000 slaves were crucified on the Appian Way. 71 B.C.
Pompey on his return from Spain met the remnants of the
insurgents and dispersed them. He and Crassus met outside
Rome, with their armies, each demanding the consulship; they
nearly came to blows, but refrained and were elected together.
Nothing remained of Sulla's constitution; and next year, under 70
the auspices of the two consuls, who had once been his sup-
porters, the powers of the tribunate were formally restored. As
Sulla had himself shown, a general with an army at his com-
mand, could be checked only by another general with his army.
There was no loyalty to the constitution.

(b) *Pompey, Caesar, Octavian* (70–31 B.C.)

The new constitution so carefully devised by Sulla was dead
from birth. He had sought to give full powers to a senate, on
paper constitutionally elected, intended to be the stronghold of
constitutional government, that could command neither respect
nor obedience. Notwithstanding its enlargement by Sulla, the
senatorial families remained as exclusive as ever (Cicero, elected
in 63, was the first *novus homo* to be consul for over thirty years),
the narrowest of oligarchies, as greedy as ever of their enormous
wealth in land; while such public opinion as could express itself
in the absurd and antiquated system of elections was not that
of the mass of citizens, now spread over all Italy, but only of the
populace of Rome which was become an unruly mob kept quiet
as occasion required by largesses of corn. This populace could
with justice reject the idea that the senate represented the state;
the senate with equal justice despised the mob as in no way
representative of the mass of citizens. There had been no such
reform of procedure as might have restored some life to the
constitution; outworn and contradictory rules, the magistrate's
veto which could bring everything to a standstill, the methods
of business in the comitia, the abuse of auguries, all were still
in force to make the constitution unworkable; they had long

ceased to be respectable, and did not deceive a clear-sighted man like Caesar, though respectable self-deceivers such as Cicero and Cato would cling to them as the only bulwarks 70 b.c. against autocracy. The restoration of the tribunician veto and the power of initiative of the comitia by Pompey and Crassus was perhaps a sop to the mob; on the other hand, the senate retained and sought to use extreme powers, to ignore laws and suspend magistrates, and by the *senatusconsultum ultimum* to declare a state of siege, that is the suspension of the constitution; yet in effect both comitia and senate were powerless, and in the struggle each could only use the same disorderly weapons as its opponents. The ordinary powers of the civil administration (weakened originally by the senate itself in the second century) were gone, its place taken by a series of special commissions continually appointed to end gross scandals—the corn supply, the roads, or piracy.

The attempt made by Sulla to regularize the government of provinces (by the increase in the number of praetors and the enactment that in their second year of office they and the consuls, as propraetors and proconsuls, were to be the governors) broke down through the necessity of giving special commands to individuals, extensive both in time and place, to deal with some particular problem, as the Asiatic and the pirate wars. Pompey (who had already, under Sulla in the social war, and against Sertorius in Spain, exercised the imperium before ever he had been elected to a magistracy), when he was appointed to the command against the pirates, by the popular vote, was given 'imperium aequum in omnibus provinciis cum proconsulibus usque ad quinquagesimum miliarium a mari'; and it was expressly enacted that he might nominate his own legati.[1] In the next year, by a second law, his command was extended over all Asia, to end the Mithridatic war and reorganize the whole area of Roman rule. The imperium of the promagistrates abroad had always been extensive, even when the senate had appointed legati to control them; in particular their powers both of recruitment and of requisitioning (of goods and of money), as the

[1] See above, p. 133.

geographical distances, made them largely independent of the home government during their tenure of office. While their tenure was for a year only, their power, excessive and frightening enough to the provincials, was not too great for the senate. But when a man held such command for a long period, and over a wide area, when, as has been explained, his numerous army, recruited largely from the provinces which he had governed, looked to him for reward and could be relied on to support him against political opposition, then the senate and the whole constitution, not commanding respect or loyalty from him or his soldiers, was at their mercy. The career of Marius had suggested this danger, that of Sulla himself had been a plain proof of it; and nothing that Sulla did for the constitution in any way lessened the likelihood of its repetition.

During Pompey's absence in Asia, Crassus (his colleague in the 66-62 B.C. consulship in 70 and already fabulously rich with the wealth of those proscribed by Sulla), jealous of his influence, was intriguing to secure power for himself against his return; he tried to provoke disorders (including the murder of the two consuls) in order that he should be appointed dictator. This particular attempt failed. Among his supporters were Catiline and Caesar, both aristocrats of ruined fortune, ready for desperate courses to retrieve wealth and secure power, yet as different in character as in fate. Caesar inspired a comprehensive agrarian law, intro- 64 duced by a tribune, for the creation of new colonies in Italy by the division of the public land, on which among others the poor of Rome were to be settled; but one of its effects would have been to forestall the granting of land to Pompey's veterans. Cicero, consul-designate for 63, opposed it, in the interests of Pompey, with all the arts of the orator and demagogue (he called on the mob not to let itself be driven from Rome), and it was not passed. Catiline proclaimed himself 'general of the poor' of Rome; proposed the division of land and the abolition of debts; and had his following among all the unruly and desperate elements in the city. He failed in his candidature for the consulship of 62; and Summer then took to the hills and organized bands in Etruria. Fellow 63 conspirators remained in Rome, and their correspondence was

seized. A state of siege was declared; Cicero in the senate
secured their condemnation to death without trial, and was
acclaimed and acclaimed himself the saviour of Rome. Cati-
line was next year defeated and killed in Etruria; Caesar, who
saw their folly, had in time detached himself from his dangerous
allies, and indeed, as praetor for 62, intrigued with one of Pom-
pey's legates who had been sent back from Asia. Pompey at last
returned, and was accorded his triumph; he disbanded his army,
with ostentatious loyalty; but the senate was slow to confirm his
acta in Asia, and to reward his veterans; and he remained dis-
gruntled at the want of appreciation both of his loyalty and his
61 victories. Caesar went to Spain as propraetor, and there showed
his true quality; a series of able military and political measures,
combined with his *mansuetudo*, his *suavitas* and *humanitas* (like the
ὑγρότης and φιλανθρωπία of Alexander, but less impulsive) secured
him at once authority and popularity; and when he returned to
Rome, the ruined aristocrat, the reckless gambler and friend of
Catiline and Clodius, was already as powerful as Pompey.

Senatorial government held out, on paper, a few years longer
because there was more than one powerful and ambitious man;
not till one of these had survived the others did it finally end. In
60 there were Crassus and Pompey, old rivals, and Caesar;
Crassus' power was based on his wealth, Pompey's on his many
military successes, Caesar's on his courage and intelligence.
Caesar was elected consul for 59; the senate, opposed to him
anyhow for his old association with the democrats, managed it
that an obstinate and foolish conservative, Bibulus, was elected
as his colleague. Caesar won over Pompey by new agrarian
proposals which were intended at once as another solution of
the never-ending agrarian trouble (Campania was to be resettled
by the distribution of the public land there) and to provide land
for Pompey's veterans. Then Pompey married Caesar's daughter
—a dynastic marriage recalling those of Hellenistic princes—and
the alliance of the three men, Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, was
known to all. The triumvirate[1] was fiercely denounced as a
tyranny.

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[1] It should be remembered that 'triumvirate' and the like were technical terms

When the agrarian law was voted in comitia (largely through the presence of Pompey's soldiers), Bibulus declared the sky unfavourable, and all the remaining days of his consulate (not more than a quarter of which had yet run) *nefasti*, so annulling in advance all Caesar's acts, and indeed preventing all legislative or administrative action for the year. It was a ludicrous spectacle, and now of little effect. Caesar got his law passed, and another valuable measure defining the powers of provincial governors, limiting their rights of requisition and aiming at some control over their accounts. He started an official *Journal*, for the regular and punctual publication of laws and decrees. At the same time to win the support of the equites, he indulged in ordinary political intrigue and dishonest manœuvres, giving them back control of finances in Asia, and arranging that his and Pompey's friends should succeed him in the consulate.

But the most important event of his consulate was a law, proposed by a friendly tribune, giving him (as against the senate's original allocation) two provinces, Cisalpine Gaul and Noricum, for five years from 58 (and the right to nominate his legati). The opposition of Cato in the senate was so persistent that Caesar had him imprisoned; and later in the year his command was extended to include Narbonnensis. He went to Gaul next year, 58 B.C. leaving behind him in Rome Clodius, the degenerate debauchee, of patrician family, who had got himself adopted into a plebeian family to be elected a tribune and serve as Caesar's tool. He organized a gang of roughs with which he paraded the city; against him was arrayed another gang under Milo, of no better quality, serving the opposite party of the senate. For the time Clodius was supreme, and secured the banishment of Cicero.

In 58 Caesar began the last (except for Britain) and most important of Roman conquests in the west. For the last fifty and more years there had been constant movements in eastern and central Europe, passing north of the barrier of the Alps, sometimes penetrating it. The Romans in Illyria and Dalmatia

under the Roman constitution, applied to special commissions—the *duoviri* for the navy (in the third century), the *tresviri* for carrying out the agrarian laws of the Gracchi, the *decemviri* of the fifth century for the codification of the law, &c. What was meant therefore was a self-appointed commission to rule the state.

had been in contact with these new-comers or with the Celts
driven out by them; and in 75 the first Roman army reached
the Danube. The Celtic Helveti, driven out from their homes,
invaded the valley of the Rhône; German tribes on the Rhine
were threatening northern Gaul. Rome's own interests, political
and commercial, in the Narbonnensis, called for defence; and
the Gauls added their prayers. Caesar first defeated the Hel-
veti and then, with large numbers of the Gauls as allies, moved
58 b.c. north and defeated the Germans in Alsace; and a Roman army
reached the Rhine for the first time. Next year, still with the
57 help of many Gauls, he conquered the Belgian Gauls of the
north-east; Normandy and Brittany submitted; he wintered in
56 central France, and conquered Aquitaine and the Atlantic coast-
lands, and built a fleet. Sufficiently sure of Gaul, he made short
55-54 raids into Britain and across the Rhine. He held conferences
with the kings and princes, deposed some and enthroned others.
53 There were revolts in the north-east, which were put down. In
53–52 Caesar wintered in Cisalpina, as had been his wont for
the administration of justice in the province, and where the
civil troubles of Italy called him; his command had been speci-
ally prolonged. In his absence the Gallic tribes rose in revolt,
under the gallant Vercingetorix, chosen general of them all;
in such numbers that it could almost be described as a national
movement. Another conference of chiefs was held, this time
without Caesar; they would sink their differences, and all com-
bine under the chosen captain against the common enemy.
But they were not sufficiently organized, not compact enough to
withstand the resources of Rome in the hands of a general of
genius. They won some notable successes, and Caesar had to
beat a retreat; but he defeated a rash cavalry attack, turned
suddenly and shut up Vercingetorix in Alesia, and in a great
52 battle defeated the armies which came to relieve the town. Two
more years were spent in the pacification and organization of
the country, many tribes being severely punished. In the course
58-50 of eight years, Gaul had been completely won, and its administra-
tion organized.

Caesar's conquest of Gaul is the most remarkable of the many

instances of this century proving the power and energy of Rome at a time when the central government had broken down. It was a brilliant achievement in itself—Caesar's gifts as a soldier and administrator, his untiring activity, were shown to be second to none. It proved to be one of the most enduring and solid of Roman conquests. At the moment of their intervention, Gaul was threatened with ruin by the barbarous tribes that were pushing and being pushed westwards across the Rhine; these were stayed by Caesar's victories, and behind the Roman barrier civilization could progress and flourish. At the same time the conquest was an indispensable instrument to Caesar's personal ambition. It brought him not only renown equal to Pompey's, but an army recruited, trained, and organized by him and now devoted to his interests—six legions in 58, eleven at the end of the war, mostly recruited in Cisalpina, some even in Gaul beyond the Alps. So much were these armies at the disposal of their commanders that in 54 Caesar had sent Gallic cavalry to reinforce Crassus in his eastern campaign; in 53 Pompey lent him one of *his* legions, which he returned later. Moreover, Pompey had under his special protection, as the result of his campaigns, peoples and states in Spain, Africa, and Asia—as his *clientes*, in an almost feudal relationship, just as Sertorius had done in Spain; and herein lay most of his strength. Caesar now had Gaul to support him.

The situation in Rome had not improved for the friends of the constitution. A crisis in the food supply led to Pompey again being vested with exceptional powers, the *cura annonae* for five 57 B.C years, with imperium over the whole empire superior to that of the governors. The armed bands of Milo and Clodius ruled the streets, and disturbed the comitia. The elections for 56 had to be postponed for six months and an interrex appointed. The senate again exasperated Pompey by threatening to revoke Caesar's law which gave lands to his veterans, and in the winter of 56–55 he and Crassus went to meet Caesar at Lucca; two hundred senators too were anxious to wait on him. The agreement between the three men was renewed; Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls for 55, and after that the former was to have the

province of Spain, Crassus that of Asia, for five years; Caesar's command in Gaul was to be prolonged for another like period (that is, till 1st March 49). There was some difficulty over the consular elections (which had been again postponed), but Caesar sent some of his soldiers to settle the question. Once elected, the consuls carried the laws relating to their own and Caesar's commands. But the disorders continued; they were at their height in 53 (for which year no consuls were elected till July); Milo appeared as a candidate for the consulate of 52, Clodius for the praetorship. Then news came of Crassus' defeat and death in Syria. The tribunes proposed a dictatorship for Pompey; by the beginning of 52 no consuls had been elected, and not even an interrex, the tribunes vetoing all proceedings of the senate. Clodius was killed in a fight with Milo's band. At last the senate met and a proposal was made that Pompey be sole consul (with the right to nominate a colleague later), and with power to recruit in Italy and Cisalpina (Caesar's province). Pompey's wife (the daughter of Caesar) had died the year before, and with the death of Crassus the triumvirate was at an end; Pompey, who never quite made up his mind, was now prepared to side with the senate. He was elected sole consul (and so possessed of both consular and proconsular powers at the same time, for he was proconsul of Spain); and filled the forum with his troops, for the trial and banishment of Milo. .

Then amidst all these storms there began in Rome a debate, among men who had committed or condoned every sort of illegality, that displayed a passion for the letter of the law, for the very minutiae of constitutionalism, that would have done credit to a state that had had centuries of unbroken peace. The senate, in consenting to the prolongation of Caesar's command in Gaul, had agreed not to discuss the nomination of his successor before a certain date, probably the 1st March 50. The date on which his command came to an end was debated; but most agreed it was the 1st March 49. By the law of C. Gracchus (confirmed by Sulla), the senate must allot the consular provinces before the elections to the consulate; and at the same time, by a law of Sulla, no magistrate could enter upon his office

as governor of a province till after his year of office at home. Therefore, after March 50, the senate could discuss only the provinces to be allotted to the consuls of 49, who would take their provinces in January 48 (those of the consuls of 50 being already allotted); before that date no successor to Caesar could be appointed. At the same time Caesar announced his own candidature for the consulate of 48 (in strict conformity with the law that laid down a ten years' interval between two tenures of the consulate—he was last consul in 59); there would thus be no interval between his proconsular and his new consular office (his success in the election was assumed by all parties); and he could not therefore be prosecuted for any of his acts. Yet only a short time before a special law had been passed enabling him 52 B.C. to stand for the consulate without returning to Rome; for the elections for the year 48 would take place in the summer of 49. When the discussion started in the senate, a tribune vetoed it; Pompey was, hesitatingly, in favour of an interval between Caesar's magistracies. In fact Caesar seems not to have wished for a conflict; what he did was to offer (as though neither was a servant of the republic) to lay down his power, if Pompey would do the same. Pompey refused. After further discussions and vetoes by tribunes, the senate threatened a *senatusconsultum ultimum*, and Caesar's friends fled from Rome; Caesar crossed the Jan. 49 Rubicon with his army, that is, left his province, Gallia Cisalpina (of which the little River Rubicon was the southern limit on the Adriatic), and illegally entered Italy with armed forces.

The issue was now to be decided. Men like Cicero, though with but little hope or confidence in the present senate or in Pompey (*uterque regnare vult*, 'each wants to be *a king*', he wrote in despair of Pompey and Caesar), yet could see no chance for the constitution, for government by discussion as against an autocrat's orders, for law against arbitrary power, for all, as they supposed, that Greece and Rome had stood for alike against the monarchies of the east and against barbarism, except in the senate; for the comitia no one cared. So, forgetting that some kind of government is better than none, they joined Pompey when he professed allegiance to the senate. Pompey's main strength was in Spain

and the east, Caesar's in Cisalpina; Pompey also commanded the sea. He decided to leave Italy for Greece, and called upon the senate to go with him. He planned to starve Italy into submission. His troops outnumbered Caesar's; who moreover after occupying Rome (and showing unexpected clemency) felt it necessary first to secure Spain. This he did, while Pompey hesi-

April–Dec. tated and did nothing to aid his legions in the west.[1] During his
49 B.C. absence Caesar had been elected dictator in Rome, and consul for 48. In a few hurried days on his return from Spain he passed measures to meet the financial crisis, by a partial and moderate relief to debtors, proclaimed an amnesty, and resigned the dictatorship; and then crossed the Adriatic to Apollonia. Pompey was in Thessalonica, surrounded by a flattering senate to whom he paid elaborate respect; he was elected to the supreme command, but pretended to treat the other proconsuls as his equals. He had with him not only the legions from Asia, but princes of Asia and Thrace and their native troops; this irritated the Italians. It in some measure presaged the ultimate division of the empire into eastern and western halves (as did also the conduct of their operations by Brutus and Cassius, and still more Antony's in his war with Octavian). Caesar was in difficulties in provisioning his troops, as Pompey held the sea; but he succeeded in

Aug .48 forcing a battle at Pharsala, and won the victory. Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was assassinated by a Roman centurion; his head was thrown at Caesar's feet, when he followed there.

The single battle was decisive, though between Pharsala and his death less than four years later, Caesar was to spend much of his time fighting abroad, and though the Pompeians held out for years, in Spain, Africa, and Sicily, and caused untold loss and misery in the western Mediterranean without advancing their cause. When the news reached Rome, on the motion of Antony Caesar was given the dictatorship for a year, the consulship for five, the right of nomination of propraetors to their provinces, and the power of war and peace. After much cam-

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[1] In the course of this campaign Massilia declared for Pompey, but after a long siege was captured by Caesar's army. This marked the end for a long time of the influence and wealth of this old Greek city which for so long had been the ally of Rome.

paigning and reorganization of the provinces in Egypt, Asia, and Africa, and a last victory in Spain, with two brief visits to Italy, during which he had to curb the demagogic zeal of some of his representatives, he returned finally in the autumn of 45. He had received at the hands of the senate not only all the highest offices, but extravagant honours, royal, and almost divine. He refused many of the offices, such as the consulship for ten years, but accepted the honours; all his acts were to be valid; he could wear the purple of the triumph always, and the title Imperator was given him for life and to his descendants;[1] he had a special throne in the senate; two statues of him were to be set up in the forum (where he restored that of Pompey) and one each in every municipium; a month in the year (in the calendar which he had just revised), and a tribe of the citizens were to be named after him; there was to be a priest of Jupiter Julius: in all respects like a Hellenistic monarch. He gained nothing by all this but envy and hatred as for a tyrant; men had to bow and scrape; and Caesar took no trouble in this respect to conciliate. Though

[1] The development in the use of this title is interesting. Originally meaning nothing but the holder of imperium, it was narrowed to the military imperium, and then further to one saluted imperator by his soldiers; it was essential that a consul or praetor could not use the title till after success and acclamation, and the acclamation must be by his soldiers; though the senate claimed, in Cicero's time, the right to withhold the title or even to confer it. The origin of the soldiers' salutation as imperator, 'commander' not 'victor', is uncertain. Its use in this sense was perhaps as old as Scipio Africanus; certainly Aemilius Paullus in 190 is called imperator on a monument, and Mummius in 146.

It became especially associated with victories abroad. Pompey was so acclaimed three times, and in honorary inscriptions we find the title sometimes alone (*imp. iter.* or *ter*) sometimes with others (as *imp. ter cos.*), but always first. Hence to its use as a permanent title by Caesar was an easy step: he used both imperator and dictator, the former first; and he omitted *iterum*, though several times acclaimed, as though a permanent victor. It became as it were a second cognomen, like Africanus, &c., and therefore heritable. The senate in giving him this title was doing something new; but the title is decorative and does not show any legal power, as does dictator or consul. Octavian was acclaimed in 43, after Mutina; he also inherited the title from Caesar, and in 40 he altered the order of his name to Imperator Caesar, giving up Gaius as a praenomen (just as we have Magnus Pompeius Magni filius, for Sextus Pompey), and thus making it clear that it was an inherited title and used as cognomen. Sometimes he used it twice in its two different senses, as *Imp. Caes. div. f. Imp. V*.

The title was also granted by Caesar, Antony, and Octavian, often enough to subordinate generals for their victories, though strictly of course it could only be held by one possessed of the imperium.

he refused a lifelong imperium, he controlled the elections.
Like Sulla he increased the number of praetors to meet the
increased number of provinces, to 16, and of quaestors to 40
(all eligible for the senate); this meant not only that he must
control the election of praetors and consuls—and in fact he
nominated them in advance—but a dilution of the aristocratic
element in the senate, which the nobles resented. In the few
months that he spent at Rome, he carried through or initiated
an astonishing number of measures; he reorganized the finances
of Rome, issued a gold coinage and reduced the number of
recipients of free bread in Rome by one half; the government
of the provinces was reformed, the army enlarged and its train-
ing improved; he reformed the calendar, took measures to stay
the depopulation of Italy, and prepared a new code of law;
he carried out great public works in Rome and Italy, built
temples and a new forum, and planned a port at Ostia, the drain-
ing of the Pomptine marshes, a canal at Corinth. He sent colonies
all over the Roman world, established three new provinces and
organized anew the government of Asia Minor and of Egypt. In
Mar. 44 the midst, or rather at the beginning of his work, he was assassi-
B.C. nated by a group of conspirators, most of them enemies whom he
had pardoned or discontented officers of his own armies.

The result was a renewal of the civil war, of proscriptions,
punitive measures, and hideous revenges; Pompey's son con-
tinued his guerrilla warfare in the west, and piracy raised its head
again. The conspirators, who had no plans, were frightened
even of their immediate success, and soon fled from Rome before
Antony and C. Octavius, that strange, inhuman boy of eighteen,
whom Caesar, his great uncle, had adopted and declared to be
his heir. There was confused fighting in Italy; Antony made at
least a pretence of legality in getting a command of Gaul for
six years passed by plebiscitum (in the presence of an armed
guard); Octavian (as he was called after adoption) made none
in raising an army from Caesar's veterans, for he held no office
—he was acting in accordance with his adoptive father's will,
succeeding to office on a hereditary principle. Neither did the
republicans on their side; Brutus took the governorship of Mace-

donia, Cassius that of Syria with no legal sanction. They went there because the east was still the richest and best developed part of the Empire, and they both knew it well—Cassius had been a successful soldier as legatus in Syria, Brutus was known as one among the most usurious even of Romans in the east; they now increased the taxes tenfold, and ruined states like Rhodes that would remain neutral. But in Italy Antony and Octavian came to an agreement, and with Lepidus formed the second and more regular triumvirate—*tresviri reipublicae constituendae*; 300 senators (among them Cicero) and 2,000 equites were proscribed, and a heavy price put on their heads. There was no mercy either in Antony, who was cruel, or in Octavian, who was cold. Then at Philippi in Macedonia the republicans were decisively defeated and dispersed. The two powerful 42 B.C. triumvirs divided the Roman world between them: by the remarkable pact of Brundisium, Antony was to be master of the east, Octavian of the west, Italy to be neutral; Lepidus could have Africa. To seal the pact Antony married Octavian's sister; and together they entered Rome in triumph, and designated the consuls for the next four years. But Antony was already under the spell of Cleopatra of Egypt; there he went, intending to take up Caesar's grandiose scheme of war against the Parthians. His campaign, with the largest Roman army ever collected, was a miserable failure; and he returned to Cleopatra. He was becoming a true Hellenistic prince of the later type, half Oriental, like Cleopatra herself, for all their Roman and Greek blood. In the result, when he came to dispute the mastery of the world with Octavian, he represented only the east; his Italian and Gallic legions distrusted him; and the Greeks themselves had no cause to love him. At the final battle of Actium, Cleopatra fled and 31 Antony with her; his troops deserted, and Octavian, heir to Caesar, was left in sole control of the Empire.

Thus ended this last century of the Republic. It has already been remarked, and it must be emphasized, that the long series of internal wars left the Romans not only as dominant as before, but the empire extended, better organized, consolidated; some of the most notable work done for Rome, as by Pompey in Asia

and by Caesar in Gaul, was also part and parcel of the struggle
of individuals for power. Only once or twice in Africa and then
in Asia, where after Philippi the Parthians, who had been called
42-40 in by Brutus and Cassius as allies, overran all Syria and Asia
B.C. till driven out by one of Antony's legates, was the Empire in
danger from outside. In the general disorganization an excep-
tional number of able and energetic, if not very intelligent,
soldiers appeared, just as in the hundred years following Alex-
ander's invasion of Asia. But there, there had been no common
centre—for Alexander's own universal monarchy was of the most
recent growth and though it might have commanded the respect
of Persians as the successor to the Achaemenid, there was no
reason why Greeks should regard it with any affection. So wars
resulted only in dismemberment. In Rome, for all their quarrels,
with one another and with the senate, the generals had a common
centre, and Caesar and Octavian had no difficulty, after the de-
feat of any particular rival, in preserving the unity of the whole.

Though the generals, Sulla, Pompey, Crassus, Caesar, Antony,
Octavian, and many smaller men, showed little or no loyalty to
the established and lawful government nor to the constitution,
yet all—with the possible exception of Antony—were loyal to
the commonwealth, and all aided in the work for which Rome
seemed destined by the gods. His personal enemies might be
angry at Pompey's securing the command against Mithridates;
conservatives might be nervous of the extensive power put into
his hands; but all could be glad of the breathing-space his pre-
occupation with the east would give them, for all knew he would
not, for his personal ambition, betray the state by giving up
the war against a foreign enemy. Indeed by the singular good
fortune which attended Rome, work for the state and for the fur-
therance of illegal ambitions was, in such men, the same. As a
contrast to the position in Greece, in classic time, we may take an
incident unimportant in itself but symbolic. In 62 when Caesar
was praetor, information was laid that some time before Clodius
(the aristocratic gang-leader) had profaned the mysteries of
the Bona Dea in the house of Caesar, who was then pontifex
maximus. So three hundred and fifty years earlier, Alcibiades

had been accused of taking part in a blasphemous caricature of the mysteries of Eleusis.[1] Alcibiades was recalled from Sicily to stand his trial for that and for his alleged responsibility for the mutilation of the Hermae. In spite of the wild excitement which naturally enough followed the mutilation, and the charges and countercharges made by mutual enemies, on the whole the proceedings were orderly and civilized (just as, one feels sure, the Greek parody of the mysteries was witty, the Roman vulgar). In Rome Caesar was attacked, but not prosecuted; Clodius was tried, but thanks to money supplied by Crassus, acquitted—the very mockery of law and justice. But note the sequel: Caesar went off to Spain to lay the foundation of his own career by strengthening Roman rule and culture in that province; Alcibiades fled rather than face a jury whom he could not bribe, and then did his best to ruin Athens.

But there is more to be said even than this. Just as the work of Hellenization in Asia went on during the three centuries after the death of Alexander, when dynastic wars were endemic, so in the last hundred years of the Republic a Roman literature and art were formed, and Roman law developed. The Latin language was moulded into the perfect prose of Cicero, hammered into the Greek metres of Catullus, Lucretius, and Virgil. There was an outburst of literature, the best that Rome produced. Greek influence spread among the educated, and was now absorbed rather than imposed; many Romans went as young men to Athens for their education. In art (principally sculpture) and architecture the same development was seen; there was great acitivity, and a new style, based on Greek, but a Roman version of Greek. The grand structure of Roman law (in which again much was learned from Greece) was being built. As early as 242 B.C. the first *praetor peregrinus* was appointed to deal with cases in which foreigners were involved; from this there was a contact with foreign law, from which arose the system of the *ius gentium*, the law applicable to all peoples. The praetors in general were developing a complex law by the publication of edicts, which established precedents (something quite

[1] See vol. i, pp. 1173–4.

unknown in Greece) and by the end of the second century, not only was a new judicial procedure regularized, chiefly by the institution of the *quaestiones perpetuae* which gave to the advocates their opportunity for professional advance, but it became first the custom and then statutory for the praetor in all trials to announce first the point of law involved and leave the jury to establish the facts only; and a greater freedom was allowed him in the modification of archaic laws. By the turn of the century some of the greatest figures in Roman public life are jurists, not only magistrates but men learned in the law; a thing not only significant in itself, and peculiarly Roman, but indicating a greater specialization of function. The imperium continued to involve military, administrative, and judicial duties; and every governor of a province was not only the supreme judge, but also the interpreter of the law. But in Rome itself the study of the law was being specialized, to its permanent advantage.

In everything, in fact, except the very elements of law and order, Rome became, in this century, a civilized state, and ready therefore to take advantage of the order established by Augustus. Perhaps we exaggerate the destructiveness, at least the immediate destructiveness, of war—at any rate in the ancient world. Certainly in Greece the great triumphs of the intellect were contemporary with the innumerable small triumphs and disasters of arms; and not because the Greeks were a pugnacious people who loved a border raid; they hated war and were never driven to take up arms but to right a wrong—the neighbouring state had for twenty years held territory which all reasonable persons agreed to be rightly yours; you had been unjustly driven from the country you loved and your property confiscated by unscrupulous men who were making private gain out of public ruin. (Memory and the love of justice are as great enemies of peace as greed and ambition.) Certainly the Hellenistic age, with all its foolish wars, was fruitful in the work it was doing for mankind. Certainly the Roman spirit, its contribution to human progress, was as active during these last hundred years as at any other period; and Augustus and his helpers were able to build a stable and a prosperous state on the ruins of the republic.
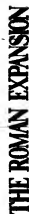
THE ROMAN EXPANSION
III–I CENTURY B.C.
English Miles

The Italian Peninsula
Administered by Rome by the end of the III century
"   "   "   " 50 B.C.
Nominally independent states

Longitude 0° East of Greenwich

THE ROMAN EXPANSION

ACHAIA	B.2
AFRICA	C.3, B.3
ASIA	E.2
ATHENAE	D.2, F.2
BITHYNIA	E.1
CILICIA	E.2, F.2
CORSICA	C.1
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THE PREHISTORIC ERA IN THE WEST

By R. E. M. WHEELER

CONTENTS

THE CELTS

IN the year 390 B.C. all Rome save the Capitol itself lay in the
hands of an invading horde of Celts from the northern hills.
Nearly five centuries later, about A.D. 84, a Roman governor
of Britain halted his legions on the banks of the Scottish Tay,
and all but a small fringe of 'Celtic' Europe lay within the
jurisdiction of the Emperor and the Senate of Rome. During
those five centuries the Roman armies had slowly struggled
westwards and northwards against a great number of hard-
fighting nations who, in varying ways and degrees, possessed
some attribute or other which has been described as 'Celtic'.
To understand something of these Celtic elements, and of the
diverse local environments in which they manifested them-
selves, is therefore a necessary preliminary to any study of 'our
heritage' in the West. Incidentally it will be necessary to
glance at the Teutonic peoples who, in historic times, were the
neighbours of the Celts and were by classical writers not infre-
quently confounded with them.

The wide diffusion of the 'Celtic' peoples over most of western
Europe during the last few centuries B.C. is the most striking
feature of late prehistoric or early historic Europe north of
Rome. Enthusiastic modern Gauls have attached to the
whole zone of Celtic influence the sobriquet 'Empire'—a title
to which, of course, the decentralized Celtic world could lay no
serious claim. But in a figurative sense it may be said that the
nebulous Celtic 'Empire' was the shadow which preceded the
Roman Empire in the West; and it is, as we shall see, a notable
fact that, on the whole, the principal boundaries of Celtic
influence in central and western Europe became also the
frontier-line of Roman dominion in that region. In the Celtic
world, therefore, we are on the main threshold of historic
Europe.

Who were these Celts? The question has been answered (or
approached) in a multitude of ways. But our historical approach

is necessarily that of the classical peoples upon whom they impinged, and like Déchelette, de Navarro, and others before us,[1] we must begin by considering what the word Celtic implied to ancient Greece and Rome. Later, the problem must be viewed from other aspects.

[1] For a select bibliography see below, p. 278.

ANCIENT WRITERS AND THE CELTS

THE Homeric word for tin, *kassiteros*, has been claimed as Celtic. If this claim be correct, it implies that, as early as the ninth or tenth century B.C., the valuable metal was being exploited by a Celtic-speaking people; and, in this connexion, attention has been drawn to the references in Diodorus Siculus (first century B.C.) and other classical writers to certain tin-producing islands known as the Kassìterides. The geographical position of these islands is uncertain, but they *may*, at any rate by some ancient writers, have been identified with the tin-producing British Isles, which were in early historic times one of the strongholds of the Celtic peoples. The matter need not, however, be discussed further here, since there is good reason to doubt the Celtic origin of *kassiteros*, and to argue from a single doubtful premise is unprofitable.

It is not until three or four centuries later that the Celts definitely enter history. Writing at the end of the first century B.C. from authorities of varying value, the Roman historian Livy records that in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, about 600 B.C., the two nephews of a king of the Bituriges, a Celtic tribe which, in historical times, occupied east-central Gaul, undertook respectively the conquest of Italy and of the Rhine and upper Danube region. This calculated scheme of conquest pretty clearly reflects the centralized policy of a later age; and, although the story may preserve the memory of early movements of a Celtic tribe or tribes towards the east and south, it cannot be taken as valid evidence for an early manifestation of a concerted Celtic imperialism.

Of better worth are the brief references of the Greek historian Hecataeus, of Miletus, to a 'Celtica' as it was known (or thought) to exist in his own day, about 500 B.C. He refers first to a certain 'Nyrax, a Celtic city'; unfortunately the whereabouts of Nyrax is unknown, and the suggested identification with Noricum is too uncertain for use. Later he describes

Marseilles as 'a town of Ligystica, in the neighbourhood of
Celtica'. Ligystica was probably Liguria, the districts flanking
the lower Rhône. This somewhat vague location of the land
of the Celts is both amplified and complicated by the Greek
Herodotus who, a generation after Hecataeus, also refers to the
Celts. The Ister or Danube, he states on two occasions, 'rises
in the midst of the Celts, near the town of Pyrene. It traverses
the centre of Europe. The Celts dwell beyond the Pillars of
Hercules and are neighbours of the Cynetes, who are the
westernmost people of Europe.'

Here, as often, we are confronted with the inadequacy of
ancient geography. It is clear that in the time of Herodotus
there were Celts at the source of the Danube, in northern
Switzerland, and around the fringes of the Black Forest. To the
west the Celts reached or approached the Atlantic, although to
infer, as is sometimes done, that Herodotus implies the presence
of the Celts at this period in some part of the Spanish peninsula
is to go beyond his words. It has been assumed that his 'town
of Pyrene' is a mistake for 'the mountains of the Pyrenees', and
that he placed the sources of the Danube too far west. This
assumption is supported by Aristotle's statement that the Danube
rose in the mountains of the Pyrenees, a confusion which (unless
it arises merely from an early attempt to amend Herodotus)
may well have originated in an identity of population in the
two regions. Traders in contact with the head-waters of the
Danube, either from the Adriatic or from the Black Sea, were,
we may imagine, accustomed to find a Celtic people there.
Other traders, using the maritime route via the Straits of
Gibraltar, came ultimately to the western fringe of a Celtic
population in the neighbourhood perhaps of Navarre. The two
reports, in the absence of adequate maps, were telescoped and
simplified, and neither Herodotus nor his audiences gave the
matter another thought. This, the view of Déchelette, seems to
be on the whole a rational and acceptable solution of the
difficulty. At the same time it falls short of certainty; we cannot
altogether dismiss the view of Piroutet that the geographical
information of Herodotus, derived from the much-travelled

Ionians, should be accepted, and that there was in fact a now-forgotten town named Pyrene somewhere near the sources of the Danube. Fortunately the question does not seriously affect the general meaning of the Greek historian's statements.

It thus appears from Hecataeus and Herodotus that, by 450 B.C., the Celtic zone extended from Württemberg south-westwards across the valley of the Saône, perhaps to the vicinity of the Pyrenees, but did not include the Ligurian region between Lyons and the Mediterranean.

For a century and a half after this date there is no hint in our written records of any marked change in this south-westerly distribution of the Celts. The mid fourth-century traveller's notes associated with the name of Scylax refer only to a mixed population of Ligurians and Iberians between the Rhône and the Pyrenees. We are carried perhaps a stage farther by the contemporary historian Ephorus, who informs us that the Celts already occupied the greater part of the Spanish peninsula as far as Cadiz. His statement and that of Herodotus are not amplified by the Greek historian Timaeus (about 300 B.C.), who refers to the Celts as dwelling upon the Atlantic coast but attempts no details. It is not until 218 B.C., when Hannibal, on his march from Spain to Italy through southern Gaul, encountered, as the Greek historian Polybius (second century B.C.) tells us, only Gauls or Celts in that region, that we are able to infer a further expansion of the Celtic tribes southwards through the Ligurian districts of the Rhône valley.

Meantime, two other regions demand attention. Throughout the fifth century B.C., hordes of Celts who had settled in northern Italy had carried on a guerrilla warfare with their Etruscan neighbours. In the year 391 they crossed the Apennines into Etruria and, in the following summer, advanced upon Rome itself. On the 18th July 390 B.C.—one of the most critical dates in the history of European civilization—the Roman citizens were utterly routed a few miles from Rome. But the impetuousness which time and again carried the Celtic tribesmen to victory was of the undisciplined type which prevented them from reaping systematically the benefits of success. On

the present occasion, they wasted three days in the riotous contemplation of their victory. The Romans had time to fortify their Capitol, and, although the Eternal City was sacked and the Capitol itself besieged for no less than seven months, the barbarian horde finally melted away, and Rome was saved. Two centuries later the whole of the Celtic lands south of the Alps were subject to Rome.

During the century which saw the sack of Rome came the first hint of a Celtic people in the far north-west of Europe. In the time of Alexander the Great an adventurous sailor of Marseilles named Pytheas set forth, about 325 B.C., on a voyage of exploration along the coasts of north-western Europe. Unfortunately, the account of his voyage has survived only in a fragmentary form and through the medium of later writers, notably Polybius and Strabo, both of whom were prejudiced against him. Here we are not concerned with the details of his voyage save that he appears to have referred to Britain as the *Pretanic Isles*, and the form of the word *Pretanic* almost certainly implies that it was used by a Celtic-speaking people. It is scarcely straining the evidence to infer from this that there were Celts in Britain by about the year 325 B.C.

Whilst certain sections of the Celtic peoples were thus penetrating to the farthest promontories of western Europe, others were seeking an outlet towards the south-east. With this region we are not immediately concerned. It will suffice to note that, in the year 279 B.C., a horde of Celts had violated the hallowed precinct of Delphi and were pillaging Greece; and in 241 B.C. they had invaded Asia Minor where, after unequal contests with the kings of Pergamon, they were allowed to settle in the territory thereafter known as Galatia and where, as St. Jerome gives us to understand, they still preserved their Celtic language at the end of the fourth century A.D.

By the year 240 B.C. the tide of Celtic conquest was at its height. The whole of Europe west of the Rhine was interpenetrated by Celtic-speaking tribes, whilst from the upper valley of the Danube, south-eastwards across the Hellespont, stretched a long, thin line of partial Celtic conquest and settlement. To

the north lay the Teutonic peoples who had as yet scarcely entered history. To the south the ambitions of Carthage and of Rome were a cloud no bigger than a man's hand upon the horizon.

It was not long before the first thunders of the storm were heard. Between the years 238 and 219 Spain was overrun by the Carthaginian armies. By 201 Carthage had been ousted by Rome. Ten years later the last of the independent districts of northern Italy had passed into the possession of the Republic. Two years later again Galatia was ravaged by Roman legions, although it was not reduced to a Roman province until 25 B.C. In 120 B.C. southern Gaul, as Gallia Narbonensis, was a province of Rome. By 50 B.C. Julius Caesar had completed the conquest of Gaul, and, by the end of the first century A.D., Roman troops had built their forts in Scotland, and on the eastern fringes of the Black Forest. The Celtic world had become a suburb of Rome.

If, on a conservative basis, we now reduce our historical data to the dimensions of a time-table for convenience of reference, we obtain the following probable result:

B.C.

c. 500–450. Celtica stretches from the head-waters of the Danube possibly to the western end of the Pyrenees, but does not include the Rhône valley. It is uncertain how far the Celtic peoples had penetrated Spain or northern Gaul, but it is clear that Celtica formed the northern horizon of the classical world.

390. Celtic tribes overrun northern Italy and sack Rome.

c. 350. Celts have already overrun the greater part of Spain.

c. 325. Celts already in Britain.

279. Celts in Greece: sack of Delphi.

241. Celtic state of Galatia established in Asia Minor.

238–219. Spain overrun by Carthaginian armies.

218. Celts already established in the Rhône valley.

201. Spain under the dominion of Rome.

191. Completion of the Roman conquest of Cisalpine Gaul.

129. Illyria conquered by Rome.

120. Establishment of the Roman province of Gallia Nar-
bonensis.
50. Conquest of central and northern Gaul by Julius Caesar.
16. Roman conquest of Noricum.

A.D.

43. Roman invasion of Britain.
84. Maximum Roman conquest of Britain.

WHAT IS MEANT BY THE TERM 'CELTIC'?

So far the terms 'Celtica', 'Celt', 'Gaul', 'Galatian' have been used vaguely and variously. Before proceeding, it is desirable to ascertain how far these terms may be regarded as synonymous, and what meaning attaches, in particular, to the epithet Celtic.

It cannot be doubted that to classical writers a Celtic tribe was one which spoke a Celtic language. Distinctions of dialect, race, and culture which must (as we shall see) have subsisted amongst the various tribes were for the greater part ignored. Very rarely some such distinction seems to be hinted at, though even in these exceptional cases the implication in detail is not made clear. Thus Julius Caesar makes a brave attempt at precision. True he likewise commonly applies the name Galli indiscriminately to all the 'Celtic' inhabitants of Gaul; but he also indicates that, of the three peoples who divided un-Romanized Gaul between them—the Aquitani, the Gauls proper, and the Belgae—the Gauls, whose domain extended from the Garonne to the Seine, were Celts in a specially accurate sense. The basis of this distinction is obscure. Presumably the Celtic language and the characteristics of race and culture with which it was most clearly associated in the Roman mind were markedly modified in the north by the German affinities of the Belgae, and in the south by pre-Celtic elements which may be supposed to have survived extensively amongst the Aquitani. It is possible, indeed, that the actual words *Celtae* and *Galli* may be closely akin, but it is unnecessary here to discuss either this suggestion or the alternative view of those writers who regard the two names as indicative originally of two distinct peoples who had been merged before Caesar's time by conquest.

Again, Diodorus Siculus, writing about 50 B.C., is at pains to distinguish on the one hand the Celts, whom he regards as the inhabitants of a long tract of country lying north of Marseilles

and extending from the Alps to the Pyrenees; and on the other
hand the Galates who lay to the north of the Celts, between the
Atlantic on the west and Scythia on the east. He adds that the
Romans include both these peoples under the name Galates,
and, for the most part, he himself conforms with this usage. In
this respect he resembles Polybius, who, writing a century
earlier, seems to have ascribed a sort of priority to the Galatians
in the Celtic complex. Thus, in their official relations with
Rome, he refers to the Celtic peoples of northern Italy in the
fourth century B.C. as Galatians rather than as Celts or Gauls.
Moreover he seems to prefer the term Galatians when warlike
prowess is in question. It is fair to infer from these usages that,
in the first and second centuries B.C., there were minor, if often
ignored, distinctions between Celts and Galates, and the general
trend of these distinctions may perhaps be deduced from the
fact that amongst the Galates Diodorus includes the Cimbri and
other German tribes. Whether in origin the name Galates was
distinctively applied to a Germano-Celtic group is doubtful,
although it is probable enough that German-speaking and
Celtic-speaking tribes began to mingle at a very early date. We
may, moreover, recall St. Jerome's statement that the Galatians
of Asia Minor spoke the same language as the Treviri (the
inhabitants of the district round Trèves), which was a Celtic
dialect with, perhaps, a German tinge. But during the period
of the Roman Empire, at any rate, there was much fusion and
confusion between Celtic and German elements, and later
Imperial writers such as Arrian made no effective attempt to
discriminate between them. Even comparatively early evi-
dence, such as that of Diodorus, is far too late in date and
uncertain in implication to establish any specific difference
between the Galatians and the Gauls. It is not, indeed, un-
likely that the two words are, in origin, the same; and we shall
assume that the peoples designated by them were also, in effect,
identical.

Generally, therefore, it may be supposed that under the
various names by which ancient writers knew the Celtic-speak-
ing peoples of Europe lay numerous differences of dialect,

culture, and race; but that these differences, in the later classical
times to which the relevant records belong, were subordinate to
a substantial unity of language and tradition. Gaul, Galatian,
Belgian, Aquitanian, and Celt were equally 'Celts' to the man-
in-the-street of Rome, just as English, Scottish, Welsh, and
Irish are equally 'les Anglais' to the modern Parisian. And for
our present purpose we shall define a 'Celtic' people as a *Celtic-
speaking* people, without any implication as to race or culture.

Language is thus, ultimately, our main criterion in the
various problems relating to the Celtic peoples. But it is obvious
at the outset that a literal adherence to this criterion would
render further research all but impossible. An extensive in-
vestigation of the place-names of Europe, on a scale which has
not yet been attempted, would help to indicate those territories
which have, at one time or another, been occupied by Celts;
but, though it is at once significant that the names 'Danube'
and 'Rhine' are both Celtic, the well-known fact that river-
and mountain-names continually survive unchanged or little
changed from an early language into an intruding one would
rob this inquiry of any claim to historical completeness. It re-
mains, therefore, to seek other avenues of approach; to consider
how far we may expect to find the movements of language
reflected in the movements of trade, migration, or conquest.
All these three phenomena are likely to yield evidence to the
archaeologist and, in a smaller degree, to the anthropologist;
and if we can in any way define the general relationship be-
tween this material evidence and the linguistic and historical
data, we may, by process of induction, arrive eventually at a
fuller understanding of the Celtic Problem.

It may be stated as an axiom that, whereas stray loan-
words are transmitted by trade, *languages* are only transplanted
by conquest or immigration in force. Where, therefore, our
archaeological evidence suggests any considerable movement
of population we may then—and then only—infer an equivalent
movement of language. Even here the path is not entirely
clear. Conquest or domination may fail to naturalize a language
in the conquered country; the failure of Norman-French to take

root in England during the early Middle Ages is a sufficient
example. In the present context therefore it will be inadvisable,
without supporting evidence, to equate cultural movements on
the fringe of the Celtic areas too closely with the spread of a
dominant Celtic language. The best result that we can expect
from our archaeological evidence is a general impression of the
movements of culture and population which preceded and
accompanied the growth of the Celtic 'Empire' and may be
assumed to have contributed to it or at least to have come into
contact with it.

More serious even than the difficulties inherent in the identi-
fication of a language with a culture are those which arise
in the equation of language and race. Nowadays the terms
'race' and 'nation' have entered inseparably into the structure
of our political thought. We speak, for example, of the English
'race' or of the Welsh or Irish 'nation', and when we use those
terms we mean (or think we mean) something quite definite
and tangible and capable, therefore, of scientific interpretation.
But to the anthropologist, the term 'race' has quite another
meaning. To him, 'race' is a matter of skeletal measurements,
of the colouring of the skin, eyes, and hair, or even of the more
obscure differentiae of blood-composition, and a racial unit is
a group of individuals of similar physical type or possessed of
similar proportions of blood-group genes. Here, therefore, the
anthropologist parts company with the modern newspaper-
reader. In the interests, accordingly, of clear thinking—
whether scientific or political—it is desirable at once to establish
this important difference between the popular and scientific
connotation of the word 'race'.

It is clear at once that in the modern political sense the term
'race' can have little meaning in the region and period with
which we are dealing. In central and western Europe the
complex of language, tradition, and environment which consti-
tutes a nation is essentially a growth of the Middle Ages. At the
dawn of history, on the other hand, the population of the
region is presented to us as a restless mass of more or less mobile
tribes either independent of one another or coalescing from

time to time in uncertain political relationships with a frank opportunism which contained little more than the germ of modern international diplomacy. Under these circumstances, to speak of 'race' in the modern sense is an obvious anachronism.

On the other hand, it has long been customary for anthropologists to recognize in ancient Europe certain well-defined racial types. These types are three in number: a small, dark long-headed, Mediterranean type; a medium-sized, strongly built and broad-headed Alpine type, probably with brown hair; and a tall, loose-limbed, long-headed, and fair-haired Nordic type. Unfortunately the postulation of these three types has tended amongst archaeologists and philologists to give rise to the notion that in later prehistoric Europe it was still easy to isolate comparatively pure-blooded racial groups; with the further temptation to identify these groups with individual cultures, languages, and virtues.

Thus a well-known English authority in 1905 had no compunction in stating that 'the true Celt was of medium stature, with a short head and a round, prominent forehead, contracting towards the temples: the nose almost straight, the chin rounded, and the eyes and hair dark brown or black'. This circumstantial description presumably implies that the tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed Celts described by classical writers were really Germans in disguise. The truth of the matter is that neither view has any inherent validity. By the sixth century B.C., when the Celts make their first appearance in literature, Europe had for upwards of six millennia been the hunting-ground of various ethnic types and sub-types. We must assume that the Celtic language was evolved amongst a people which was already of mixed origin. The extent, therefore, to which we may speak of a Celtic 'race' is very limited—so limited indeed as to be practically useless. The mere existence of diverse languages implies that these languages were at one time or another developed among comparatively isolated groups; and we may suspect that these groups were each of them dominated by a prevalent though not exclusive ethnic type. If, therefore, we may speak of a Celtic race at all, we must confine our application

of the term to the dominant racial type in the area in which
the Celtic language may be thought to have evolved. It may
at once be admitted that the evidence at present available on
this point is insufficient to support any dogmatic conclusions.

To summarize this section, we may in the first place re-state
the primary independence of language, culture, and race. An
Ethiopian may wear a top-hat or sing 'God save the King'
without changing his skin. At the same time, a full appreciation
of this initial separateness need not imply any under-estimation
of the vital influence exercised by each one of the three elements
upon the others. Thus a common language will tend to mould
the mentality of diverse racial elements upon a common model.
A common culture, by satisfying or creating needs in certain
uniform ways, will tend to standardize inherently different
human faculties; witness the romanization of the Roman
provinces. Not least, the influence of geographical features
will tend to stimulate certain faculties and to narcotize others
amongst the inhabitants of some given zone; just as the parochial
patriotism of the small city states of the Greeks was bred largely
by the hill-divided country in which they flourished. The
geographical distribution of ancient cultures may therefore be
expected to bear some reference to that of political and linguistic
systems. And in the present instance some such contact is
eminently worth seeking. To the Greeks and Romans, the
Celts were the principal pre-classical inhabitants of central and
western Europe. If we are content to begin our history of
civilization in the Celtic west merely with the scanty references
which have survived for us from a few comparatively late clas-
sical travellers and historians, our picture will be sadly lacking
in many essential details. For a time, therefore, we will leave
the literary record on one side and see to what conclusions the
material records of archaeology and anthropology will inde-
pendently lead us. Whether or no it be ultimately possible to
effect a partial union between our various groups of evidence,
we shall at least know something more of the 'barbarian'
environment which has contributed not a little to our heritage.

THE BEGINNING OF THE AGE OF METAL
IN THE WEST

Amongst the various hazardous identifications of a Celtic or proto-Celtic culture, that which takes us farthest back in time relates to the opening centuries of the second millennium B.C. It is desirable, therefore, by way of preface to say something about the general state of Europe at that time.

The beginning of the second millennium B.C. was in many respects one of change. There is some evidence that amongst the changes should be included one of climate, which seems, about this time, to have induced the formation of peat-bogs and a partial deforestation of considerable regions. A fairly rapid physiographical modification of this kind would in itself tend to affect the distribution of a primitive population; but it is not necessary to look only to environmental causes such as this for the folk-movements and trade-movements which now began to manifest themselves. The period was, above all, one of *economic* change. The knowledge and exploitation of metals was for the first time pervading western Europe; a new source of wealth had risen up from the soil, and metalliferous areas, hitherto insignificant, began for the first time to dominate, and to give a new stimulus and direction to, European commerce.

Let us not, indeed, exaggerate the significance of this innovation. From a purely military point of view the new materials were for some time of little or no importance. A four-inch copper blade was far less offensive as a weapon than was a heavy, keen-edged axe of polished stone. Not for some centuries after 2000 B.C. did metal weapons really exceed in efficiency those of stone or flint. Nor did the exploitation of tin- or copper-bearing areas bring immediate dominion to each one of the favoured regions. Then, as now, the middle-man, often far from the centre of production, seems to have scratched a modest reward for his toil. And in one notable instance—in Scandinavia—a high standard of prosperity was based for more

than five centuries after the year 2000 on mediums of wealth
other than that of metal-production. It cannot be said there-
fore that at this period a new Europe was stamped out in
copper, tin, and gold. But the 'discovery' of these three
materials, easy to work and to handle and at the same time
limited in origin to a comparatively few well-defined areas,
gave both a new impetus and a new orderliness and regularity
to trade. The custom of interchanging commodities is doubtless
as ancient as man, but European commerce, worthy to be so
called, dates only from the beginning of the age of metals. In
this restricted but none the less real sense, we may say that the
economic history of central and western Europe began at the
beginning of the second millennium B.C.

At that period Europe presented two separate fronts to the
attacks of intruding civilization. The first of these fronts was
the long sea-coast, extending from the Bosporus to the Straits
of Gibraltar and thence northwards to the British Isles and the
Baltic. The second lay inland, from the shores of the Black Sea,
along the Danube valley towards the watershed of the Rhine.
The former of these fronts we shall call, for simplicity, the
'Atlantic' front, and the latter the 'trans-continental' front
Both of them converged upon the eastern margin of the Mediter-
ranean and thus upon one or other of the great civilizations
which fringed the Aegean. But along both fronts the influences
of the highly developed cultures of Egypt and of Crete were
supplemented by other influences of humbler origin, and these
various influences, in their varying local settings, must first
claim our attention.

(a) THE 'MEGALITHIC CULTURE'

Let us glance first at the Atlantic front. There the dominant
factor during the centuries immediately preceding and following
2000 B.C. was the so-called 'megalithic culture'. The character-
istic feature of this culture was the custom of interring the dead
within tomb-chambers constructed of large, rough slabs of
stone, concealed to a greater or less extent within a mound

of earth or rubble. This general feature comprehends a multitude of differences in size and form which do not, in detail, concern us here. In Scandinavia, Montelius long ago claimed to define a chronological sequence of type, beginning with tomb-chambers consisting of a simple 'dolmen', or structure walled with upright stones and roofed with a horizontal slab. One side of these dolmens was left open or at least accessible for subsequent burials, which were often very numerous. Later, the approach to these tomb-chambers was extended and flanked and roofed with slabs; and with the growth of the entrance-passage the importance and size of the chamber itself tended to diminish, until the so-called 'passage grave' was evolved, in which the structural differentiation of the chamber was no longer present. Later again, the passage diminished in size, until access from the end was no longer feasible, and secondary burials were inserted by raising the cover-stones. These graves are known as 'long cists', to distinguish them from the 'short cists' which finally replaced them. The short cist was merely a small stone box, rarely more than three feet square, in which a single body only was inserted.

According to the latest chronology (Gordon Childe), based upon indirect contacts with datable remains in the Aegean area, the Scandinavian dolmens were in use about 2200 B.C.; Scandinavian passage graves were in vogue about two centuries later; whilst the Scandinavian short cists began, perhaps, about 1600 B.C. To what extent the first two of these three dates may be applied to the adjacent countries is not yet clear, but it is at least certain that in other parts of Europe the short cist was already in use considerably before 1600 B.C. For example, in Britain it was introduced by the 'Beaker folk', who arrived about 1900 B.C. and will be discussed below. The Scandinavian chronology is a very insecure basis for that of western Europe as a whole; and, in spite of its simple and logical sequence, the evolutionary process claimed by Montelius for the Scandinavian megalithic tombs probably requires modification in Scandinavia itself, and is at any rate not literally applicable to other regions.

These questions of chronology and 'typology' may, at first

sight, appear to the non-archaeological reader somewhat technical and even pedantic. In reality, upon their correct answers rests the proper interpretation of one of the most striking phases in the prehistory of Europe. It is well known that megalithic tombs, such as those described above, are found not merely in Scandinavia and the British Isles, but in northern Germany, France, Portugal, south-eastern Spain, northern Africa, Corsica, Sardinia, south-western Italy, Syria, the Caucasus, and India. They stretch across the map like a girdle, and a notable feature of their distribution is that, with rare exceptions, they occur within fairly easy reach of the sea (see map, Fig. 1). Few archaeologists now dispute the inference that they represent the coastwise diffusion of a single idea which, in some unknown place and period, flowered and cast its seed upon the seas.

Where lay the original home of this megalithic culture is a hotly disputed problem. Scandinavia, southern France and the Spanish peninsula, Egypt, Sumeria, have all found advocates. The problem is at present insoluble. It is wholly and absolutely one of chronology. The area which can show the earliest megalithic tomb has the best claim to be regarded as the original home of the 'megalithic culture'; and, until that distant date when all the principal megalithic groups throughout the world have been adequately explored, and their evidence reduced to terms of a standard chronology, no certain solution can be expected.

In the meantime certain facts emerge from the existing evidence and throw a little light upon this great array of gaunt stones which lines our Atlantic coasts. Perhaps the most significant and at the same time the most surprising is this; that with the erection of these stone tombs the individuality of the megalithic culture ends abruptly. There is no 'international' type of megalithic pottery, implement, or ornament. In France and the Channel Islands the pottery found more frequently than any other single type in megalithic tombs is the bell-beaker, which, as we shall see, originated in a part of Spain where megaliths do not exist. In Britain the pottery most characteristic of our megalithic tombs is derived from regions adjoining
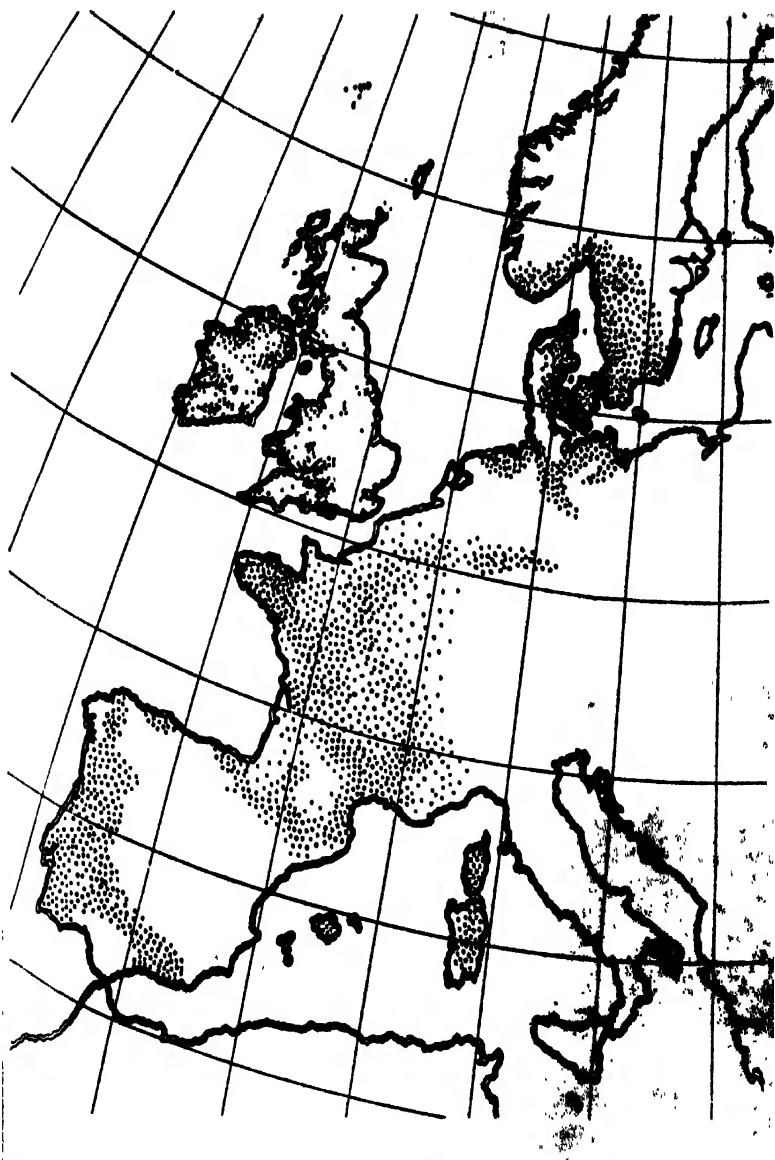
FIG. 1. DISTRIBUTION OF MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS IN WESTERN EUROPE

(From Cyril Fox, *The Personality of Britain*)

the Baltic and the White Sea, whither, again, the megalithic idea did not penetrate. It is difficult, at first sight, to dispute the verdict of Professor Gordon Childe in his summary of the place of the megalithic culture in the history of civilization. 'Its authors', he writes, 'were skilled in a rude sort of engineering and could transport enormous blocks over considerable distances and set them up to form mighty tombs. But superstition absorbed all their energies; the cult of the dead overshadowed all other activities. Its votaries, preoccupied with their gloomy ritual and fettered by sacerdotal conservatism, originated nothing.'

Nevertheless, to infer from this judgement that the so-called megalithic culture was merely the architectural expression of an otherwise unproductive race of religious fanatics would be to do both the megalithic culture and, incidentally, Professor Childe less than justice. Part at least of this seeming unproductiveness may be due to the circumstances under which the megalithic tradition was imparted rather than to an initial absence of an associated culture. If one thing is clearer than another from the evidence of the megalithic tombs of western Europe, it is the general lack of orderly sequence in their development from region to region. To take a single example: in Portugal simple dolmen-tombs are abundant, whereas not far away, in the south of Spain, they are completely absent and other, more elaborate, types of megalithic tomb take their place. The two groups of monuments appear to have been approximately contemporary with each other; and it is only possible to suppose that the megalithic tradition was already a complex when it reached one or both of these neighbouring regions, and that different elements took root in, and were variously modified by, the two diverse environments.

Indeed, it is at present almost impossible to isolate a real 'megalithic tradition', and it may be that in a few years' time the phrase will have dropped out of archaeological parlance. Except in their secondary and admittedly later forms, the one universal element in the megalithic structures with which we have been dealing is their utilization as burial-vaults on an

extensive scale. With them, therefore, we may group the
natural caves and artificial grottoes which were long used for a
similar purpose and often bear a close resemblance to them. In
Portugal, in the Balearic Islands, in Provence, in the Marne
valley and elsewhere, a whole series of grottoes was cut for
purposes of burial at about the period with which we are deal-
ing, and it is but a step from these to the natural grottoes used
for group-burials in palaeolithic and epipalaeolithic times in
many parts of Europe. The essential factor is not so much that
of megalithic construction as that of *communal burial*, i.e. the
provision of a large tomb for the continuous use of a family or
tribe. Within this general category the 'megalithic tradition'
takes its place as a subordinate unit, a mere structural substitute
for the natural or artificial cave. Thus regarded, the megalithic
idea, its diffusion and, above all, its remarkable detachment
from any uniform cultural equipment become more easily in-
telligible. To postulate the diffusion of an entirely new religious
concept over unprepared ground would involve the postulation
of a folk-movement on a considerable scale; mere trade-rela-
tionship is not enough, for commercial travellers are not evange-
lists. But if we once assume that the megalithic tomb represents
no new religious concept, then the difficulties both of its
diffusion and of its cultural isolation vanish. If we once suppose
a pre-existing community of religious ideas over a wide area,
then progressive modification of these ideas is likely enough to
arise out of the comparatively casual contacts of commerce
without any extensive movements either of peoples or of cultures.
The hypothetical inventor of the dolmen-tomb was no revolu-
tionary. He was merely facilitating the expression of a long and
widely accepted concept. He invented the mass-production of
caves; and we may imagine that his patent tomb-architecture
would spread—though doubtless spasmodically and deviously—
as an incident to the ordinary coastwise relationships of those
extensive regions where the fundamental concept of communal
cave-burial was already traditional. (See Fig. 2.)

Essentially, then, the fundamental *religious concept* was the
only really important factor. To us, the only important—
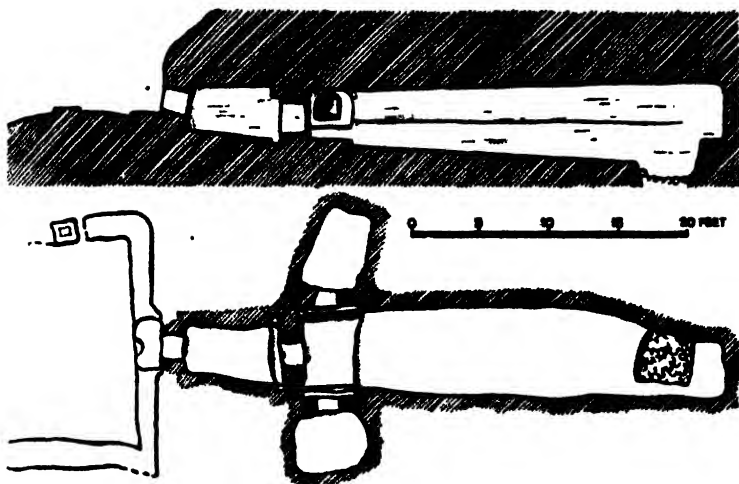
1. SEPULCHRAL OR HABITATION CAVE, MALLORCA
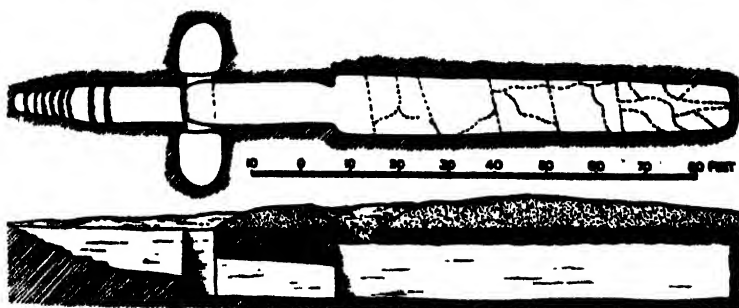
2. ROCK-CUT TOMB WITH SLABBED ROOF, ARLES

3. BUILT GALLERY-TOMB, SOMERSET

FIG. 2. 1, A ROCK-CUT TOMB; 2, A ROCK-CUT TOMB WITH
BUILT ROOF; 3, A BUILT TOMB

because the only surviving—factor is the *form of expression* which
in various times and places that concept took. Our perspective
is therefore liable to be distorted, and we are prone to exagger-
ate the intrinsic importance of the 'megalithic tradition'. We
allow the dolmen to dominate our historical horizon, and forget
the whole range of ideas of which the dolmen was only one
expression. Indeed, the 'preoccupation with gloomy ritual' is
perhaps rather the vice of the modern archaeologist than of the
actual builders of the dolmen-tombs.

Before leaving this much-discussed subject, let us take an
analogy. Between the fourth and eleventh centuries A.D. Chris-
tianity was developing throughout Europe on substantially uni-
form principles which, nevertheless, presented very considerable
local differences in detail. Architecturally the Christian ritual
demanded certain simple features which occur therefore univer-
sally wherever Christianity obtained. But outside these primary
elements, the variety of architectural expression was immense,
and the interrelationship of the various architectural forms
(recently expounded by Mr. A. W. Clapham) both complicated
and, to all appearances, erratic. Thus in Wales and Ireland the
Christian churches were small oblong structures almost devoid
of architectural features. In Gaul there may have been in the
sixth and seventh centuries a preference for long, oblong
churches with square-ended chancels. In Africa and the Near
East the chancels were apsidal, and in Syria a peculiar form
of chancel, semicircular internally and polygonal externally,
seems to have been evolved. A series of Syrian bishops at
Ravenna combined with other causes to transplant the Syrian
type of apse to Italy. In A.D. 600 Augustine, sent from Italy
to reintroduce Christianity into England, took with him the
Syrio-Italic form of apse into Kent. Shortly afterwards a series
of enterprising bishops in the north of England, importing a few
craftsmen from Gaul, introduced with them the square-ended
Gallic plan into Northumbria. Later, again, in the ninth and
tenth centuries German modifications of Italian plans and
details were introduced into Britain, and, in the eleventh
century, a wholly new set of Franco-Italian motives found

their way across the channel about the time of the Norman
Conquest.

Here, then, in the historical period we have a great complex
of architectural expression, a kaleidoscopic fusion and re-fusion
of ideas of varying origin and history, but all delimited by the
same initial religious concepts.

Rarely, as in the case of the Norman Conquest, was the dis-
persal of these ideas assisted by any considerable folk-movement.
More often was it the result of more or less accidental contact
on a comparatively small scale. We have no reason to expect
any considerable reflection of Syrian culture in seventh-century
Kent' merely because an architectural feature, seemingly of
Syrian origin, took root there. And yet, if we may imagine the
whole process, as outlined above, deprived of its historical back-
ground, we should find ourselves confronted in early Christian
Europe with a very similar archaeological problem to that which
faces us in relation to 'megalithic' Europe. It is not to be sup-
posed that in detail the two phases have anything closely in
common; but the historical example does help us a little to
understand the general range and perspective of the prehistoric
problem. To dismiss the 'votaries' of the megalithic culture as
merely 'preoccupied with their gloomy ritual' and therefore
originating nothing, may, after all, be to throw the whole
problem out of focus. We might as well dismiss early Christian
Europe as being morbidly preoccupied with the building of
churches, forgetful of the varied and active secular life of which
that was but the counterpart.

We may now summarize our position in the matter. We
have assumed, in the absence of evidence for any consistent
alternative burial-rite in central or western Europe during the
earlier neolithic period, that the habit of utilizing a communal
burying-place, normally a cave, persisted throughout. Rare
local exceptions, such as more or less casual burial in kitchen-
middens, are insufficient to affect this generalization. Towards
the end of the neolithic period, and in the period of transition
to the Copper or Bronze Age, an increasing population, stimu-
lated by an increasing regularity of coastwise intercommunica-

tion, led to the invention and adoption of various artificial
alternatives to the natural cave for purposes of interment. These
alternatives included hewn grottoes, dolmen-tombs with flat or
with corbelled roofs, with or without entrance-passages, and so
forth. Like early Christian church-plans, these various types
travelled deviously and often in a manner which to us, deprived
as we are of the historical background, must seem irrational
and accidental. Here and there, as in Scandinavia, something
approaching a consistent local evolutionary sequence seems to
emerge. In other places, as in England and Wales, it is only by
a purely arbitrary selection that we can produce such a sequence,
and it is possible, therefore, that we are confronted rather with
a complex of imported forms than with any regular home-
development. Somewhere, each of these forms must have been
invented for the first time. But it is not necessary to look to any
single spot for the origin of a 'megalithic tradition', with the
inference that that tradition was diffused by a 'megalithic race',
any more than it is necessary to look for the origin of early
Christian churches to a 'church-building race'. Each of the
main types of megalithic monument was probably evolved in
some single spot—though certain similar varieties may well have
originated in various spots independently of one another. And,
once invented, they were borne to and fro on the tide of coast-
wise traffic until, here or there, they were cast ashore and seized
upon by the local populace.

Inferentially two postulates are rejected in the present view.
The first of these is the postulate of a 'megalithic race'. There
was no megalithic race. In a great majority of the megalithic
regions the remains found in the megalithic tombs are of a
long-headed race or races which may be equated alternatively
with the Mediterranean or the Nordic categories of the con-
ventional classification (above, p. 175). Occasionally, as in the
Lozère of central France, a broad-headed 'Alpine' race used
these tombs. Not long ago in Britain, where, incidentally,
the skulls of the megalithic tombs are invariably of the long-
headed type, an attempt was made to regard a broad-headed
race of 'prospectors' as the megalithic race *par excellence*. In

the absence of supporting evidence, this theory need not be discussed.

The term 'prospectors' leads us to the second of our rejected postulates. An elaborate theory, now dead but much discussed a decade ago, sought to equate the diffusion of the 'megalithic culture' with the progressive exploitation of metals. The mega-lith-builders, it was thought, were prospectors who, at the begin-ning of the age of metal, set forth from an Egyptian environ-ment to exploit the metals of the world. Hence, incidentally, the megaliths of the Spanish peninsula (tin and copper), France (copper), Britain (tin and copper), Ireland (gold), and so forth. In detail the theory at once broke down. In order to maintain the 'prospector' theory in regions where these metals were lack-ing, it was necessary to presume that other materials were the goal of these enterprising folk. Thus amber in Scandinavia (where there is no native metal), lead in Derbyshire, iron-oxide in Oxfordshire, flint in Wiltshire, fresh-water or salt-water pearls in non-metalliferous regions of Wales and the borders—in short, anything that lay to hand was dragged in to support the theory, which on this and other grounds need not here detain us.

(b) CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

From the 'Atlantic' countries in the third millennium B.C. we turn to central Europe. There, although the development of a complete Bronze Age culture was considerably more reluctant than in more southerly regions, metal was known at a com-paratively early period. When it is recalled that the Metal Age in Crete began before 3000 B.C., this fact is less surprising than is the scarcity of bronze to the north and north-west of the Aegean throughout the third millennium. Even districts actually bordering upon the Aegean, such as Phocis, Boeotia, and Thes-saly, seem to have remained in the neolithic or chalcolithic phase throughout the first and second Bronze Ages of Crete.

Whatever the causes of this paradox, the fact remains that the earliest civilizations known to us in central Europe, after the 'epipalaeolithic' period, are essentially in a late neolithic stage

of culture though with a slight knowledge of metal, principally for the manufacture of ornaments. Their initial date is still uncertain, but they were already flourishing before 2500 B.C.

The first of these civilizations that need concern us in the present context lay in Transylvania, to the south-west of the Carpathian Mountains, upon an expanse of black, fertile soil which is there superimposed upon the equally fertile *loess* or wind-blown sand. The earliest neolithic population at present known in this region was already in a comparatively advanced phase. Its houses were rectangular and of wattle-and-daub, and its villages were protected by ramparts and ditches. The inhabitants kept herds of oxen and swine and flocks of sheep, and they tilled the soil with the help of polished flat stone hoes which, from their form, have been nicknamed the 'shoe-last celt' (Fig. 3, 4). Weapons of offence are rare, and it is clear that these neolithic (or 'chalcolithic', for they sometimes used copper bracelets and awls) Transylvanians were a peaceful agricultural folk.

Their most remarkable product was their pottery. This is fine ware, well-baked to a reddish colour, and is decorated with polychrome patterns in which white and black are contrasted with the red of the fabric. The designs are bold and varied; they are based upon the spiral and the maeander, and the variety of combinations and permutations is surprising. A similar and approximately contemporary pottery is characteristic of the so-called Tripolje culture of the Ukraine and neighbouring districts in east-central Europe (see Fig. 3, 1). The general affinities of this distinctive ware are Eastern, and Dr. J. Andersson's researches in Manchuria suggest that it may ultimately be possible to establish a trans-Asiatic zone for painted pottery of this type. In the meantime, it is mentioned here primarily because its characteristic motif, the spiral, occurs also to the north-west of Transylvania, in a region which comes more immediately within our scope and must now claim our attention.

The earliest known neolithic civilization of the middle and upper Danube flourished, in part at least, contemporaneously with the Transylvanian culture just described. It seems to have centred in Moravia and to have spread, with varying local

modifications, over Thuringia, Galicia, Silesia, Saxony, and into the Rhineland. Like the Transylvanians, these Danubian peoples kept domestic animals (barbary sheep, short-horned cattle, pig, goat, and possibly horse), and cultivated the soil with shoe-last hoes. For grinding their corn they used the simple saddle-quern characteristic of primitive agriculturists in many parts of the world. That they indulged occasionally in trade is indicated by their use of Mediterranean shells (*Spondylus*) as ornaments. But, as in the case of their neighbours, their distinctive product was their pottery, which showed at once an affinity to and a difference from the pottery of the Transylvanians (Fig. 3, 2). Its typical forms were a semicircular, round-bottomed bowl, and gourd-like bottles with small lug-handles. It was normally grey in colour, and was decorated, not in polychrome, but with incised patterns of which the commonest was the spiral. The motif was doubtless borrowed from Transylvanian or other eastern sources; but the technique was native to the Danubian region, and indicated that the Danubians formed an essentially independent cultural group in neolithic Europe. We may say, in brief, that at the most distant moment to which we can at present trace a more or less continuous civilization in central Europe, there already existed in that region a folk who were at the same time in contact with their neighbours and possessed of a well-developed individuality of their own; an apparently peaceful folk who, with their flocks and herds, their agriculture and their rudimentary trade, had already acquired almost all the primary elements of civilization.

For some three or four centuries—until 2200 B.C. or a little later—these Danubians maintained for the most part their cultural independence in central Europe. But a comparatively peaceful existence, varied only by a gradual and intermittent pervasion of adjacent districts, encourages the upgrowth of local types and variants; and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that between 2400 and 2200 B.C. (the 'Danubian II' of the archaeologists) our evidence from central Europe becomes increasingly complex and difficult to disentangle in detail. The old spiral ornament had given place to a rectilinear zigzag or
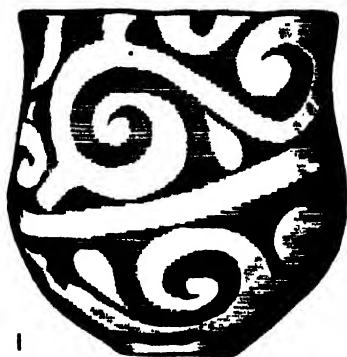
1 PAINTED WARE, CUCUTENI
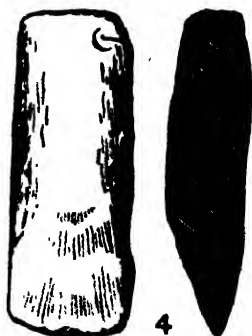
4 DANUBIAN SHOE-LAST CELT

2 DANUBIAN I, INCISED WARE
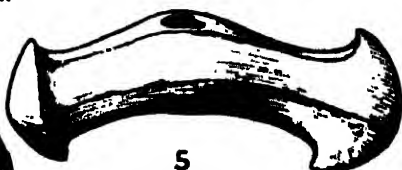
5 "NORDIC" POLYGONAL STONE BATTLE-AXE
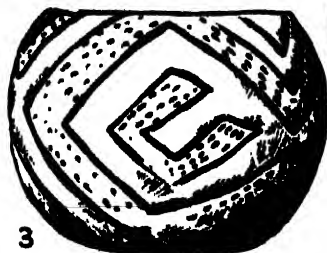
3 DANUBIAN II BOWL

6 "NORDIC" COLLARED AMPHORA

FIG. 3. (See pp. 187, 188, and 191)

maeander pattern, and this was in turn superseded by a number
of new motifs and methods, such as the elongated triangle or
lozenge variegated with strokes and punctuated lines, or the
application of plastic mouldings in the form of spirals or of
simple bosses. Most of these and similar changes represent the
gradual modification of the Danubian culture in its different
environments, which now extended from Belgrade on the one
hand to the Rhineland and Belgium on the other. At many
points, particularly on the fringes of this zone, it is not easy at
present to estimate the significance of this wide spread of an
essentially coherent culture with pronounced local idiosyncrasies.

The prevailing view is that the Danubians, ever seeking for
fresh agricultural land, spread across their watershed into the
Rhine valley, where in the Palatinate and as far north as
Cologne, shoe-last hoes and variants of their spiral-pottery have
been found. Thence they are traced to the valley of the Meuse
and into Belgium, whither they are thought to have brought
for the first time both agriculture and domestic cattle. 'The
introduction of the neolithic arts into Western Europe there-
fore . . . was due', as Professor Childe says, 'to the gradual ex-
pansion of early agriculturalists in obedience to perfectly natural
laws, and every step of their progress from the Danube valley
can be traced with perfect accuracy in the implements, vases,
and ornaments they have left behind them.' Here, as often, it
is of course easy to over-simplify the processes whereby a given
culture spread from place to place in prehistoric times. Later
we shall see examples of the sudden transplantation of a com-
plete culture from one area to another in such a manner as to
imply with certainty an equivalent movement of population.
But in the case of the spread of the Danubian culture, both east
and west of its central home, the pronounced local differences
are more readily explained if we assume that the spread was
due at least as much to contact as to actual folk-movement. It
is otherwise with certain other intrusions to which we must now
turn.

Between about 2200 and 2000 B.C. there was a new, or at least
accelerated, movement of various peoples and cultures into

central Europe. These movements cut across the old transverse
arterial line of the Danube valley, and may be said to have
swung the main axis of Europe from an east-and-west to a
north-and-south position. The reasons for this change were in
part physiographical. There is evidence that at this period the
climate was becoming warmer and drier, and the results were
twofold. On the one hand the great forests of the German plain,
which had hitherto flourished in a humid atmosphere, were now
becoming more open and traversable; on the other hand, the
Alpine passes were now less continuously ice-blocked and were
thus less formidable to traffic. Both to the north and to the
south of the Danubian zone new avenues of approach were thus
provided, and along each of these new avenues fresh influences
found their way into central Europe.

We turn first to the German plain.

(c) PEOPLES FROM THE NORTH-EAST

Towards the end of the third millennium B.C., three main
elements are discernible in the civilization or civilizations of
southern Scandinavia. The first of these is the so-called mega-
lithic culture, of which something has already been said. The
second is represented by small separate graves, each, unlike the
megalithic tombs, intended for the burial only of a single per-
son; the graves are normally surrounded by a ring of stones and
covered by a mound. Thirdly, to the north of the megalithic
and separate-grave area, the primitive population of Norway
and Sweden continued to subsist in a very low and barbarous
condition, and does not here concern us.

Both the people who used megalithic tombs and those who
buried in separate graves—the former on the coasts of Denmark
and Sweden, and the latter principally in the interior of Jutland
but also in southern Sweden- possessed domesticated animals
and cultivated wheat, barley, and flax. Their culture, which
flourished during the two centuries before and after 2000 B.C.,
thus marks the beginning of civilization in southern Scandinavia,
just as the Danubian culture, some four or five centuries earlier,

had marked the beginning of civilization in central Europe. It is accordingly of interest to inquire whence the principal elements of·their culture had been derived.

The practice of building megalithic communal tombs had undoubtedly reached Scandinavia from the west, along the Atlantic coast.[1] This is shown by the fact that early or primitive forms occur along that route, whereas the megalithic graves to the south and south-east, towards the middle Elbe and the Oder, are clearly of derivative types. On the other hand, none of the pottery found either in the megalithic or in the separate graves of the Scandinavian region is known along the Atlantic route. This pottery includes two particularly characteristic forms: a flask with a projecting band or collar on a cylindrical neck, known as the 'collared flask'; and a globular vessel with more or less cylindrical neck, two handles and, normally, a rounded base, a type known as the 'globular amphora'. The decoration of these amphorae consists of straight lines and triangles and is confined to the neck and shoulder; it probably represents, in origin, a basket-work neck affixed to a gourd-body. The type is thus not one which we should expect to have originated in the north, and its southern aspect lends an additional significance to its special association with the 'separate' graves (Fig. 3, 6).

Now these separate graves, capped by mounds, occur widely not only in southern Scandinavia but also in central and south-eastern Europe. In addition to the pottery, they characteristically include elaborate stone battle-axes, with a more or less central piercing for the haft and often with a facetted surface (Fig. 3, 5). We thus have a coherent culture, extending from Scandinavia to Poland, Silesia, Galicia, Moravia, the Black Sea, and the Caucasus, and marked by mound-burial, double-handled or collared vessels, and battle-axes. Normally the

[1] Incidentally, the practice must have travelled via the western and northern coasts of Britain, rather than by the English Channel, which, as Dr. Cyril Fox and Dr. F. G. North have recently suggested (see Fox, *Personality of Britain*, p. 23), scarcely existed at this period. If there was not still a continuous land-bridge on the site of the Straits of Dover, there can only have been at most a narrow, tide-swept and almost unnavigable channel.

vessels are of earthenware and the axes of stone, but in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus the latter, derived (it has been suspected though not proved) from Mesopotamian prototypes, are of copper and the former also occasionally of metal. The question arises, here as often, whether this culture-zone represents an easterly or westerly trend of civilization, and, as usual, alternative answers have been given.

The answer here adopted is that put forward provisionally by Professor Childe: the general trend of this 'battle-axe' culture was from south-east to north-west. It was that of a people who were, in some cases at any rate, tall and long-headed and of 'Nordic' type. The universal presence of the battle-axe suggests that they were a fighting folk, in contradistinction to the peaceful Danubians whom we have already considered. Whatever their origin—possibly a nomadic steppe-folk—they were capable of settling down, in Jutland and elsewhere, amidst an agricultural environment and probably themselves assisted in the northerly diffusion of agriculture. But the apparently haphazard ramifications of their culture, which are only in part indicated by the abbreviated geographical list given above, suggest perhaps an opportunist instinct, which may have been a survival from their nomadic ancestry. And even though future evidence confirm Childe's theory of a south-eastern origin, it is tolerably clear that, as they approached northern Germany and Scandinavia, some of them diverged in a southerly or south-westerly direction towards the fringes of the 'Danubian' province.

It was thus, as it seems, by a series of flanking or even reverse movements that the battle-axe culture of the south Russia-Scandinavia zone penetrated into central Europe. Its most characteristic element, the polygonal battle-axe, has been traced from Silesia and Galicia into Bohemia and Bavaria. Thence it may have worked its way northward through Saxony down the valley of the Elbe; or, more probably, a parallel movement from the east across the German plain struck the Elbe somewhere about Magdeburg and then spread southwards along the Elbe valley into Saxony. Possibly both these routes—and others—

were used. The important fact for our present purpose is that, at the end of the third millennium B.C., the peaceful agricultural peoples of the middle and upper Danubian regions were being leavened by a well-armed and active folk, apparently of a predominantly Nordic type, who had already bestridden Europe from the Black Sea to the Baltic. We may suspect that the composite but essentially martial character of the peoples who were later to emerge as 'Celts' from the same and adjacent regions was already in the making. Professor Childe would go farther still. He regards these battle-axe invaders as the first speakers, in central Europe, of an early Aryan language, as the bearers of a language directly ancestral to that of the Celtic of the historic period.

Meantime, through the opening passes of the Alps small groups of determined settlers of another kind were descending into the vales and lowlands of the Danubian province. They were to loom large for a time in the prehistory of Europe, and we must pause for a moment to glance at the character and origin of the culture for which they stand.

(d) THE BEAKER-FOLK

In central and southern Spain flourishes a grass of great toughness which has for many centuries been used for making baskets, mats, and ropes. It is possible that the grass, known as *esparto*, was already used extensively for this purpose in the neolithic period, and there is much to be said for the view that a distinctive type of pottery-vessel which evolved in this region about the year 2000 B.C. owed its shape and characteristic decoration to esparto prototypes. Be that as it may, this type of vessel, known to archaeologists as the 'bell-beaker', became the most characteristic product of its inventors. (See Fig. 5.)

The bell-beaker is a squat, cup-like vessel with a rounded or slightly flattened base and an S-shaped profile. It is of fine red or black clay with a polished surface, and its decoration, which consists normally of narrow horizontal bands, alternately plain and patterned, is produced either by a pointed instrument or by

a toothed stamp. The ornamentation is restricted to simple geometrical motives, principally the vertical or oblique line and the chevron; and the alternation of plain and decorated stripes is thought to be a reminiscence of the basket-prototype.

The people who made these bell-beakers lived in round huts, from 10 to 16 feet in diameter, and may have practised agriculture on a small scale. They are thought to have used sickles of wood or bone, set with flint flakes to form a saw-like edge. They occasionally used small, tanged knives and awls of copper, but their knowledge of metal was rudimentary. They also possessed barbed and tanged arrow-heads of flint, buttons with a V-shaped perforation for attachment, and small oblong guards of bone or stone to shield their wrists from the recoil of the bowstring. Their dead were buried generally in separate graves without mounds and were, with rare exceptions, uncremated; and—a point of special importance—the skulls in these burials are of a broad or brachycephalic type which contrasts markedly with most of the surviving skulls of the central European peoples whom we have thus far described.

From Spain the bell-beaker culture spread widely in two directions. Northwards, it found its way along the Atlantic coasts to Brittany and the Channel Islands, where it occurs frequently (with other types of pottery) in the passage-graves. From the Channel Islands there was a more hesitant spread of this culture into western Britain and, occasionally, into Ireland; in both of these regions beakers with regular zonal decoration and rather widely spreading rim represent its ultimate diffusion in this direction. Eastwards, it made its way to Sardinia, Sicily, and Lombardy whence it crossed the Alps, probably by the Brenner Pass, and penetrated into central Europe. There the graves of this people are found as far east as Breslau, in Silesia, as far north as Magdeburg on the Elbe, and as far west as the upper Rhine valley. As in Spain, their graves are flat, and their bodies are inhumed in a crouched position with the knees drawn up to the chin. The skulls are invariably of the broad type. Ornaments of gold and of amber are occasionally included in the grave. (See map, Fig. 4.)
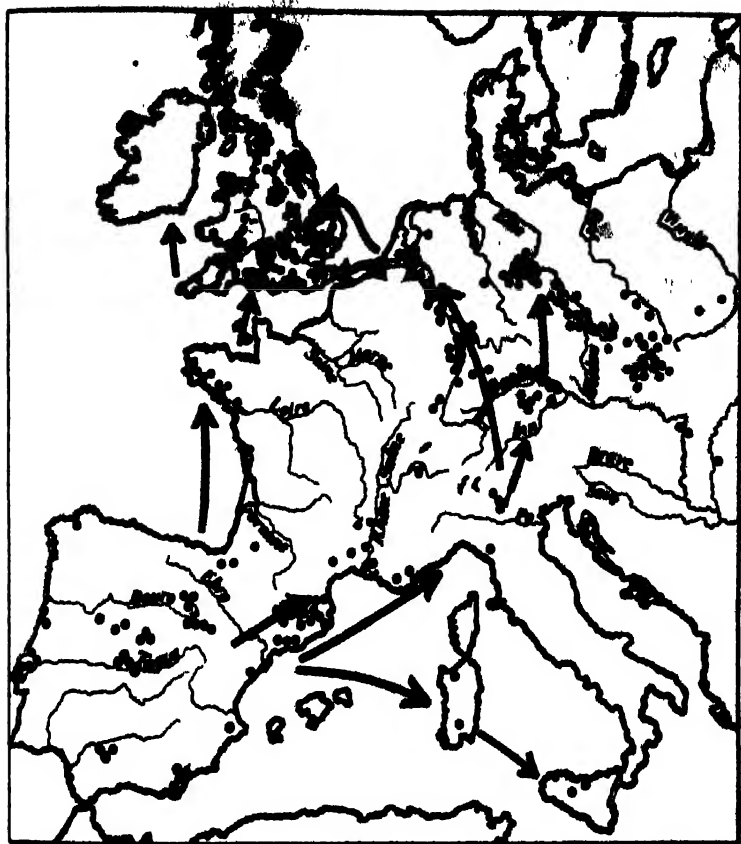
Fig. 4. DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEAKER-CULTURES
c. 2000–1600 B.C.

The burials of the bell-beaker people in central Europe are relatively few and scattered, but their uniformity in detail shows clearly that we are here confronted, not with the results of trade or other casual contact, but with actual migration. As to the nature and purpose of that migration, we can only conjecture. It has been suggested that, since the arrival of these people heralded the beginning of the Bronze Age in central Europe, they may have been responsible for the first exploitation of the tin of Bohemia, where their remains occur in some numbers. It may also be more than a coincidence that amber occurs in their graves, and that the opening up of the trans-continental amber trade-route dates approximately from their arrival on the Elbe and the Oder. It may be, therefore, that we should salute these small bands of determined settlers as the pioneers of the new era of mid-European trade. There are, however, difficulties in the way of this interpretation. For example, beakers are absent from the source of the amber-trade, i.e. Scandinavia, and the presence of gold in beaker-graves loses something of its significance when we remember that beakers are rare in Ireland and absent from Transylvania, the two great gold-producing regions of the second millennium B.C. It is clear that, if the primary mission of these Spanish wanderers was trade, their achievement was but the secondary one of the middleman.

The real importance of the beaker-folk to us is twofold. First, their arrival from upper Italy marks the opening of the Alpine passes to regular trans-continental traffic. Secondly, the precision with which their period is now known, coupled with the distinctive character both of their skulls and of their grave-goods, gives them an outstanding value as a chronological datum-point at the beginning of the European Bronze Age. Whether they have a further interest as a direct contributing factor in the formation of the Celtic peoples and cultures is a question which must be deferred to a later page.

At the moment when the bell-beaker folk reached central Europe, the 'battle-axe' people, whom we have found in a diagonal zone from Jutland to south Russia, had begun to develop upon somewhat individual and local lines in various parts of

their province. We are not concerned here in detail with the origins and growth of these local variants, but must note, in passing, one phase which was specially characteristic of Thuringia and the adjacent regions. Hither, in their south-westerly expansion, the battle-axe people had penetrated in some force, and here their potters specialized in certain forms and modes of decoration which, from the fact that the patterns are normally impressed by means of a cord, are commonly distinguished under the name of 'corded ware'.

We have already noted (above, p. 191) that the typical 'battle-axe' amphora was decorated round the neck and shoulder in such a manner as to suggest a prototype with a gourd-body and a basket-work neck. This principle is still more clearly illustrated in the Thuringian corded ware. In this ware the representative types consist first of an amphora with cord-decoration above and plain below its widest girth, and secondly of a beaker with a small plain globular body and a tall cylindrical neck closely ornamented with horizontal cord-impressions (Fig. 5). The amphora is akin to the amphorae found elsewhere throughout the 'battle-axe' area and does not further concern us; but the cord-beaker, though based upon similar principles, is a local product which now assumes a more than local significance.

The importance of these cord-beakers dates from the day when their province was invaded by the sturdy southerners whose path we have traced from Spain and the Alpine passes. The bell-beaker which these southerners brought with them, in spite of its rather squat shape and its all-over decoration, had a certain accidental affinity with the tall, gourd-like cord-beakers of the battle-axe folk. The affinity was such that the two types coalesced and produced what, from its first extended area of distribution, is known as the Rhenish beaker. From the bell-beaker the Rhenish hybrid received an 'all-over' decoration, often though not invariably in narrow zones. From the cord-beaker it acquired a taller and more slender form and a tendency (later modified) towards a rather small and globular body and a rather tall and cylindrical neck. The fusion of the two ceramic traditions was complete (Fig. 5).
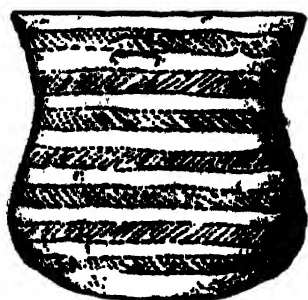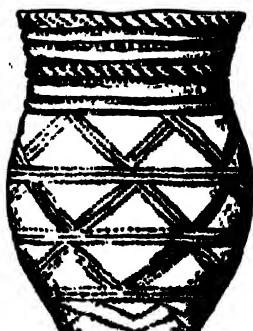
FIG. 5. 1–4, BELL-BEAKER AND OTHER WESTERN BEAKERS; 5, CENTRAL EUROPEAN CORD-BEAKER; 6, 'HYBRID' ENGLISH BEAKER. (*Scale about ⅓*)

But the process of fusion did not end there. The new Rhenish beaker-culture retained the grave-furniture of the bell-beaker people, save that, as it approached the fringes of Europe, the use of copper is less and less frequent. On the other hand, certain of the Spanish burial rites were now abandoned, and the practice of covering the small pit-grave or stone-cist with a circular mound was adopted from the battle-axe folk. The resultant culture was thus in important respects a new one; but perhaps its most remarkable feature is its association with a distinctive racial type which, though naturally presenting a multitude of variations in detail, is sufficiently definite to justify the appellation 'beaker type' which is generally attached to it.

In this human 'beaker type' the Nordic characteristics which have been detected amongst the battle-axe people are dominated by features which are, for the most part, associated with the broad-headed 'Alpine' races of anthropology. We have seen that already in Spain the bell-beaker folk were broad-heads, and it is possible that in their passage through the Alpine regions the brachycephalic tendencies of the wanderers were emphasized by admixture with the native inhabitants of the northern foot-hills in the vicinity of the Swiss lakes. Here, in villages built on piles along the shores and shallows of the lakes, dwelt throughout the later Neolithic and Bronze Ages a peaceful agricultural and pastoral people, not very important, perhaps, in the history of European civilization, but well known to us through the perfection whereby the lake-deposits have preserved their remains. How far, if at all, the broad-headed occupants of these lake-villages contributed to the racial characteristics of the Rhenish beaker-folk we cannot say; but it is at least certain that they played no other part in the formation of the Rhenish beaker-culture.

Both the parental strains—'battle-axe' and Spanish—might have been expected to bequeath to the new beaker-folk a well-developed *wanderlust*. And such was the case. Down the Rhine valley, across the Netherlands, thence across the (then narrow) Channel to the south-eastern shores of Britain, the tracks of these wanderers can be traced more clearly than those of any other

movement in the prehistory of north-western Europe. About
the year 1900 B.C. began that intensive colonization of England
and Scotland (but not Ireland) which, for two of three centuries
was to be the outstanding factor of the story of civilization in
Britain. And here, to emphasize the extent of the revolution
wrought by the new-comers, we may pause for a moment to
note the salient features of the various British cultures which
they replaced. The British province is chosen for this special
study for the reason that it has, on the whole, been more
systematically explored than any single Continental region, and
will in some sense serve to epitomize the migrations of culture
in north-western Europe at this period.

The phase which the immigrant beaker-folk brought to an
end in Britain has been called the Age of the Long-barrows.
Something has already been said (p. 178) about the great com-
munal chambered tombs which include the British long-bar-
rows, and little need now be added. It will suffice to observe
that, whilst most of the long-barrows are, as their name implies,
oval or egg-shaped or oblong on plan, others (such as Cwm
Breos in Gower, Bryn Celli Ddu in Anglesey, New Grange near
Dublin, or many in Scotland) are as circular as the round-
barrows which the beaker-folk themselves constructed; but, even
so, the pre-beaker circular barrows contained massive burial-
chambers intended, at any rate in most cases, for multiple burial,
and so differed essentially from the single short-cist interments
of the invaders. It is true that occasionally a sherd of beaker-
pottery is found in a British long-barrow (e.g. West Kennet in
Wiltshire, or St. Nicholas in Glamorgan). But that merely
shows that these tombs were in existence during the beaker-
period, and does not affect the validity of the evidence which
proves that the arrival of the beaker-folk coincided with a drastic
and important change in burial-customs in this island.

Whether the immigrants effected as notable a change in the
dwellings of the living as in those of the dead is less clear. Until
recent years, nothing of value was known as to the habitations
of neolithic man in Britain. During the past twenty years, how-
ever, excavations carried out in Wiltshire, Berkshire, Sussex,

Dorset, and Devon have thrown a new light on the problem.
We now know that, at least in southern Britain, neolithic agri-
culturists built hill-top villages of a peculiar and distinctive kind.
On Windmill Hill near Avebury, on the Trundle near Good-
wood, at Hembury Fort in Devon, and elsewhere on the chalk
downs and gravel knolls have been found, round the upper
contours of the hills, systems of ditches forming concentric or
spiral rings (sometimes three in number) and enclosing a rela-
tively small area on the summit. The most remarkable feature
of the scheme is the character of these ditches. Instead of being
cut continuously after the manner of a normal defensive ditch,
they consist of short lengths of trench interrupted by numerous
open 'causeways' of intact chalk. If their purpose was in any
sense defensive they must be regarded less as ditches than as a
series of small quarries excavated by separate gangs of workmen
whose purpose was to obtain material for a (continuous) defen-
sive bank; the latter, and not the ditch, being intended to form
the obstacle. On the other hand they may have been intended
primarily as dwelling-pits. The presence of hearths and of
food-joints in some of them supports this view, and their arrange-
ment on a circular or spiral plan may have been designed, on
the lines of a Boer laager or a Moroccan circular encampment,
to provide an enclosure for the village herds at night.

   What is the history of these remarkable ditch-systems? Their
approximate period is indicated by the fact that beaker-pottery
occurs only in the upper layers of the material filling the
trenches; i.e. these villages were in occupation before (about)
the nineteenth century B.C. It can be no accident that at the
end of the neolithic period a somewhat similar ditch-system was
in use in western Germany, Belgium, and northern France. In
all these regions, 'camps' enclosed by, or consisting of, series of
interrupted ditches were approximately contemporary with the
British group and doubtless contain the germ from which the
latter was born. Moreover, the distinctive features of the 'Wind-
mill Hill' pottery associated with the British sites—round-
bottomed bowls, derived probably from leather prototypes,
often with lug-handles and with oblique striations, reminiscent

of stitching, on the upper surface of the rim—occur in the same westerly continental area. It is sufficiently clear that the Windmill Hill culture as a whole formed a province of a well-marked West-European culture, dating from the end of the neolithic and, at present, of inadequately known extent.

In the late neolithic civilization of Britain, however, this culture formed only one of a medley of units, variously linked with diverse parts of the Continent. In addition to the megalithic tombs of the Atlantic-North Sea zone and the Western affinities of the 'Windmill Hill' group, other features suggest in turn some contact with the shores of the Baltic. The pottery referred to in connexion with Windmill Hill and other village-sites occurs abundantly in the southern and western counties of Britain but is rare along the east coast south of the Humber; for example, only two or three sherds are known from the lower Thames. Instead, the lower Thames, the Wash, and other east-coast districts have produced large quantities of heavy, hollow-rimmed, round-bottomed bowls, with decoration applied by means of cords or bird-bones; pottery of a type which is found in eastern Sweden and Finland, as far north as the White Sea. From its abundance at Mortlake and Peterborough it is commonly known as the 'Mortlake' or 'Peterborough' type. With it may perhaps be associated one or two other cultural elements from Scandinavia; notably a distinctive type of finely worked flint sickle which is found on both sides of the North Sea. But the spread of the Peterborough pottery to eastern Britain does not, it seems, represent the transplantation of a complete, coherent Baltic culture, and we can only guess at the nature of the intrusion— presumably a sporadic immigration—which added this easterly element to the kaleidoscopic culture of Britain about 2000 B.C.

Beneath the tide of the Beaker-invasion[1] all these diverse elements were, at least for some three centuries, submerged in southern Britain, and a new unity was given temporarily to the civilization of the island. And then, as suddenly as they had

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[1] This term is here used in a collective sense. There were probably, in fact, three main phases of the Beaker-invasion of Britain—one from Brittany and two from the Rhine.

come, the Beaker-folk vanished. By the sixteenth century B.C. almost all material sign of them is lost, alike in Britain and in the Rhineland.

Nevertheless, this unexpected denouement in the north-west of Europe has not deprived the Beaker-folk of all claim to a place of permanent significance in the progress of European culture. In England Lord Abercromby, in France Siret and Loth, in Germany Rademacher have all claimed either the Rhenish Beaker-folk or their Hispano-Danubian predecessors as 'proto-Celts', and therefore, in a real sense, as the forebears of pre-Roman Europe in the centre and the west. Before considering this claim, however, it is desirable to see whether any tangible archaeological link or links can be detected between the Beaker-peoples and the historic Celts. Upon the presence or absence of those links must be based our judgement upon the claim.

THE BRONZE AGE IN CENTRAL AND WESTERN EUROPE

(a) THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

ALL the phases of civilization with which we have dealt thus far have been essentially in a stone-using phase of culture. True, from the earliest known neolithic period in central Europe copper was occasionally employed for small ornaments or tools; but it is clear that neither from an economic nor from a military point of view had metal yet assumed there a position of any importance.

Towards the end of the third millennium B.C., however, as a counterpart to the stone battle-axes of which something has already been said, other battle-axes, of copper, began to appear in considerable numbers in Jugoslavia and Hungary. These axes have been traced through Transylvania and Galicia to the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, but it is also evident that the type was reproduced and modified locally in its new home. It was perhaps the extension of this copper battle-axe industry into the tin-bearing districts of Bohemia that, more than any other thing, created the earliest Bronze Age of central Europe about 1800 B.C. It is noteworthy that the type-site of this new bronze culture is situated in the midst of Bohemia, at Aunjetitz a short distance south of Prague. The earliest mid-European Bronze Age civilization is accordingly known to archaeologists as the Aunjetitz culture.

The Aunjetitz people were predominantly long-headed or Nordic in type, but, unlike the 'battle-axe' folk, they inhumed their dead (in a crouched position) in flat graves—a custom which they may have acquired from the bell-beaker immigrants. Their metal-work included small round-butted knives of Italian type, flanged axes probably also of Italian origin, ear-rings of elaborately coiled wire, and 'knot-headed' pins with their heads cast in the form of a spirally twisted wire. Their graves also contain necklaces of amber, which points to a growing trade

with the Baltic; and it was doubtless through this trade, with its southern terminus on the Adriatic, that the Italian axe-and-dagger types found their way to the Danube.

The Aunjetitz culture extended as far north as Magdeburg—that continual halting-place for Danubian cultures—and its main base-line ran from Moravia in the east to Bavaria in the west. Its influence, however, reached far beyond these limits. As Professor Childe remarks, 'Aunjetitz is the basis on which the Nordic and Hungarian bronze-age civilizations were built'; and it is now desirable to glance at each of these derivative cultures in turn.

(b) THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

Of the two derivatives from the Aunjetitz culture, the Nordic, beginning perhaps shortly before 1400 B.C., was slightly the later, but may conveniently be considered first. The earliest importation into Scandinavia both of finished bronze implements and of the raw material did not take place until the bronze industry of the Danubian zone had already passed well beyond its initial phase. Indeed, it may almost be said that the Scandinavian industry sprang into existence full grown. Its subsequent development was essentially the leisurely improvement of an already efficient instrument; and the lavish and sometimes almost baroque elaboration of its products—the intricate spiral and other ornamentation with which these are frequently and somewhat preciously encrusted—are eloquent of a detached and untroubled prosperity which has, on the whole, been the age-long inheritance of the Scandinavian peoples. At the period with which we are dealing, the abundance of the much-prized amber on their shores combined with the remoteness of their ultimate markets to bring them at once wealth and security. Throughout the prehistoric era, therefore, they stand rather to one side of the main currents of European progress, and, in spite of their individual interest and attractiveness, do not greatly concern us in a general survey of our European heritage.

With the other partial derivative from the Aunjetitz culture—the Hungarian—the case is very different. When, in the Middle

Bronze Age (about 1400 B.C.), the Aunjetitz culture began to
lose its dominant position, its place was taken by a progressive
bronze-working people who dwelt to the eastward, on the Hun-
garian plain. It is suggested that this people had been leavened
by comparatively recent immigration from the Russian steppes;
it almost certainly owed something of its vitality to earlier con-
tact with the 'battle-axe' folk, and had subsequently learned
much from northern Italy—partly, perhaps, through the neigh-
bouring Aunjetitz culture and partly through direct communica-
tion with the south. Its bronze battle-axes or axe-hammers,
often elaborately ornamented with spiral and lozenge patterns,
recall the kindred axes of Scandinavia. The broad-butted, tri-
angular knives and daggers are probably of Italian origin,
although it has recently been observed that the type in its
characteristic 'Italian' form is most abundant in Switzerland,
round the head-waters of the Rhône. Whatever the precise
origin of its various elements, however, the Hungarian bronze-
culture is essentially an individual creation. Its highest achieve-
ment, the 'leaf-shaped' sword, is one of the most notable products
of non-classical prehistoric Europe. It has been claimed by some
as a peculiarly 'Celtic' weapon; but whether that thesis be main-
tained or no, the remarkable weapon demands something more
than passing mention.

From the moment when the increasing skill of the bronze-
founder enabled him to produce something more than the small
knives that were his inheritance from the Copper Age, he had in
many parts of Europe tended to produce a narrow-bladed dirk
or rapier, fastened by terminal rivets to a separate hilt, and used
either as a dagger or as a thrusting sword. Alike in the Aegean
world and in the British Isles, this type of sword prevailed, and,
between the two extremities, most of Europe was acquainted with
the type. But the enterprising Hungarians of the Middle Bronze
Age demanded weapons of a different and superior kind. First,
the heavy daggers grew large and often, with much sharpening,
assumed an ogival profile which was subsequently copied by the
bronze-founder in his new wares. Later, the dagger was further
enlarged to the dimensions of a sword, still with its S-shaped or

ogival profile, and with the broadest part of the blade not far behind the point. Thus weighted towards the point, the leaf-shaped blade was well adopted to a heavy cutting stroke; and the great leaf-shaped swords of the later Bronze Age—some of them amongst the finest examples of the prehistoric bronze-caster's craft—finally ousted the comparatively puny rapier and became for several centuries the standard weapon throughout a great part of Europe.

This wide diffusion of a constant type at once suggests various important possibilities. Was it the action of trade? Was it gradual migration? Was it conquest on an imperial scale? Let us first glance at the nature of the evidence.

Mr. H. J. E. Peake has classified the leaf-shaped swords of Europe into seven main types, lettered A to G. A sword probably of type D found in Egypt and bearing a cartouche of Seti II (about 1205 B.C.) gives a clue to date, whilst swords of type G are characteristic of the earliest period of the Early Iron Age, about 900 to 700 B.C. On general grounds it is probable that the earliest-looking types, A and B, date from the fourteenth century B.C. or a little later.

The details of the various types do not here concern us, but a few facts as to their distribution must be noted. Types A and B are confined to Hungary, central Italy, and Germany. Types C and D occur predominantly in Hungary and the adjacent terri-tories but extend through Germany to Denmark, sparingly to France and south-eastern Britain, and more abundantly to Italy and the Aegean. In contrast to the previous types, the three latest (E, F, and G) flooded France and the British Isles, at the expense of the southern lands and even of Hungary itself, where the Hallstatt type, G, is not found at all. It is clear that the later variants were evolved outside the original home of the type.

A further point is noteworthy in connexion with these swords. They are not accompanied in their distribution by a consistent type of culture. Their diffusion in the west coincided in part with that of other types of implement, such as the bronze socketed axes, and the bronze socketed and leaf-shaped spear-head (without loops); but the association is not consistent, and,

wherever these late types of spear and axe originated (in Silesia
or elsewhere), they were certainly not a part of the Hungarian
culture with which we are primarily concerned. No special type
of pottery is attached to the swords throughout any considerable
part of the area of diffusion. These mysterious weapons stand
by themselves, and the difficulty of their interpretation is there-
by increased.

Mr. Peake regards them as the weapons of lightly equipped
Nordic adventurers, speakers of an Aryan language or languages,
who cut their way into many parts of Europe and, incidentally,
introduced a Celtic tongue for the first time into northern France
and the British Isles about the twelfth century B.C. It is not per-
haps altogether easy to see how this migration theory is to be
squared with the distribution of leaf-swords in Britain, where by
far the larger number have been found along that great pre-
historic highway, the middle and lower Thames, and so tend to
suggest persistent traffic rather than permanent settlement. It
may be urged on the other hand that, since occupation-sites of
the period are almost unknown in Britain and it was not then
customary here to bury leaf-swords with the dead, the systematic
dredging of the great river has certainly resulted in an acci-
dental over-emphasis of this line of distribution. But, as the
evidence stands, we may suspect that trade, as much as migra-
tion, was responsible for the north-westerly diffusion of the leaf-
swords; and it may not be without significance that this diffusion
reached its maximum precisely at the moment when the bronze
sword was becoming obsolete in the more progressive regions of
central Europe. It is tempting, though probably misleading, to
recall modern instances of the bartering of obsolete weapons
amongst less efficiently equipped peoples, and to think of a pro-
gressive continent, in the dawn of the Iron Age, discharging its
imposing but obsolescent swords upon the more backward island.
No emphasis, however, is here laid upon this alternative theory,
and it is perhaps, on the whole, best to assume at this period, in
addition to a quickening trade, a limited immigration into south-
eastern Britain of a folk bringing with them leaf-shaped swords
and possibly other types of Late Bronze Age weapons which were

speedily copied or adapted by the native smiths. In connexion with the Celtic problem, it will suffice, for the moment, to add Mr. Peake's claim to those which have gone before, and then pass on in our brief survey.

(c) THE LATE BRONZE AGE

The leaf-shaped swords, evolved primarily in Hungary during the Middle Bronze Age, have already cut far into the succeeding period. But while they· were still in the earlier phases of their development, other changes, which may ultimately concern us more closely, were taking place in central Europe.

In that part of Saxony and Silesia which lies to the north-east of Dresden and is known as Upper and Lower Lausitz, the Danubian Aunjetitz culture of the Early Bronze Age had taken root and had subsequently developed upon individual local lines. By about the twelfth century B.C.—some two centuries after the Aunjetitz culture itself had ceased to exist as a separate entity—its direct descendant in this area had assumed a distinctive form which, though not confined strictly to Lausitz, is known to archaeologists as the 'Lausitz culture'. The Lausitz people cremated their dead and placed the ashes in a covered urn which they buried with numerous other vessels in a communal cemetery. These cemeteries, from the numerous clusters of urns by which they are distinguished, are commonly known as 'urn-fields'. The graves were sometimes covered by a mound but more usually were 'flat'.

The Lausitz pottery is readily recognized by the conical or breast-like swellings and the semicircular or diagonal grooves or flutings with which it is frequently decorated. For the rest, the Lausitz people occupied considerable settlements of rectangular log-cabins, used querns and bronze sickles, were effective metal-workers, and may possibly have invented the socketed axe. The general character of their civilization reminds us of that of the Angles in the early history of the north-west (fifth century A.D.). The Angles, too, were well-equipped farmers, whose extensive cemeteries yield cinerary-urns with embossed

and fluted decoration somewhat similar to—and probably descended from—that of the prehistoric Lausitz pottery.

Again like the Angles, the Lausitz people seem to have spread well beyond their original confines and to have retained many elements of their native culture alongside newer elements which they acquired by contact and admixture. Far to the south-east their influence has been traced in Macedonia. To the west and south-west, they interpenetrated the lowlands of the Alpine zone and, often under the domination of local elements, helped to form the flourishing Late Bronze Age civilization of the vicinity of the Swiss lakes. The exact relationship between the peoples of the Lausitz urn-fields and those of the Alpine urn-fields is still in question; nor is it easy to determine the further relationship between the urn-field peoples and those who continued (substantially in the old tradition of the 'battle-axe' folk) to inhume their dead under burial-mounds amongst the hills of Bohemia, Württemberg, and Bavaria. But if for a moment we put on one side these important groups of mound-builders in the Rhine and Danube watershed, we may say that, at the end of the Bronze Age (about the tenth century B.C.), a composite urn-field culture, representing an active and prosperous agricultural people in a consistent stage of civilization, extended from the upper Rhine on the west to the upper Danube and its tributaries on the south and to the Oder on the east. And, although a study of place-names has suggested a basic Illyrian element in the eastern part of the urn-field zone, it may be noted that a part at least of the wider area was known as *Celtica* less than five centuries later.

EUROPEAN TRADE IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

B EFORE passing on to the diffusion of the knowledge of iron in
Europe and to the vicissitudes there of the Early Iron Age,
it is desirable to pause for a moment to review the development
of trade in the West from the end of the neolithic era to that of
the Bronze Age. In the preceding pages a summary has been
given of the dominant cultures of the period as they are at
present known from admittedly inadequate exploration. We
have seen something of the way in which civilization grew and
spread, largely through the spasmodic movement and counter-
movement of peoples. The causes of these movements are often
difficult or impossible to determine; changes of climate may often
be suspected, over-population, decadence, pressure of stronger
neighbours, mere drift, may all have played their part. To these
we must unquestionably add commercial enterprise. Although
there has perhaps been an excessive tendency in recent years to
turn prehistoric man either into a sort of commercial traveller
or into a prospector engaged in an intermittent Klondike rush,
it is likely enough that many of the movements referred to
acquired their direction, if not their primary motive, from the
tendencies of trade.

Barter is doubtless as old as mankind. But organized trade
implies a comparatively constant and settled population, and
in a primitive society, dependent upon the vagaries of the
animals of the chase, can never assume any considerable pro-
portions. Thus the discovery of Mediterranean shells in burials
dating from the Cave period (perhaps 10,000 B.C.) as far north
as the Austrian Danube or the German Neckar may be sup-
posed to indicate rather the extent of the wanderings of the
palaeolithic hunter than the enterprise of his tradesmen. In
later neolithic times, when agriculture had begun to stabilize
the population of the greater part of Europe, evidence of this

kind becomes more significant, and the upgrowth of the great Aegean civilizations brought at last a definitely commercial element into the West. (See map, Fig. 6.)

How far, in the later neolithic period of western Europe (say, 2500 B.C. and after), the comparatively local distribution of flint and stone should be regarded as the consequence of trade, it is difficult to say. For example, in the British Isles a large stone-axe factory on the coast of North Wales distributed its wares as far as Derbyshire, Glamorgan, and even Wiltshire; implements of Antrim flint are found on both sides of the Irish sea; an adze of Wiltshire chert is recorded from Breconshire, and so forth. Since agriculture in Britain may at the time have been comparatively backward, it is possible that these local distributions are still the witness of a mobile population dependent largely upon the chase. On the other hand, the celebrated flint industry of Grand-Pressigny, not far from Tours in France, was undoubtedly a centre of neolithic commerce. The distinctive yellow, butter-like flakes of this industry cover an area over seven miles in length at Pressigny itself, and are found as far afield as Brittany, Belgium, and western Switzerland—an astonishing indication of a vigorous export trade when it be remembered that, at least in Brittany and Belgium, nearer sources of flint were available. In Belgium in particular, in the neighbourhood of Mons, extensive neolithic flint-mines can still be seen, and similar mines exist at Brandon in Norfolk, Cissbury in Sussex, and elsewhere. All these mining areas must have produced great quantities of flint for more than local use, but the flint in question lacks the distinctive colouring of the Grand-Pressigny variety and implements made from it are more difficult to identify. We cannot now, therefore, determine with any certainty the extent of the trade which must have centred round these mines.

Another material used for certain western implements at this period was at one time thought to have wandered very considerably farther from its original home. In deposits dating from about 2500–2000 B.C. in many parts of Europe (particularly France and Switzerland) have been found highly finished triangular axes, perhaps for ceremonial use, of hard green jadeite,
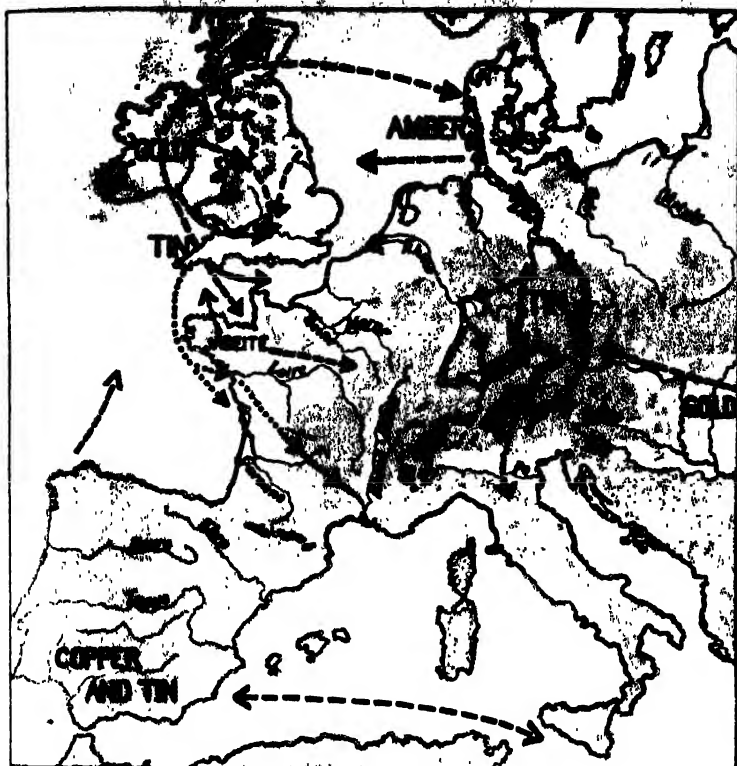
Fig. 6. EUROPEAN TRADE-ROUTES IN THE SECOND
MILLENNIUM B.C.

such as occurs abundantly in the East, notably in Indo-China.
For a time, attractive visions of Asiatic caravans bringing the
precious stone to neolithic Europe loomed on the horizon; but
more recent inquiry has led to the discovery of similar jadeite
in a natural state in Styria, Switzerland, and Brittany. It is
therefore no longer necessary to draw upon the Orient. Never-
theless, the sources of this material were certainly few and re-
stricted, and the wide distribution of it in the distinctive form
which it usually assumes—a distribution extending from the
Thames to the Danube—is a testimony to commercial enter-
prise in the late neolithic or chalcolithic period.

It was perhaps in the vicinity of the Breton deposits of jadeite
that was at one time found the mysterious turquoise-like stone
for which modern geologists have borrowed the name 'callaïs'—
the name given by Pliny the Elder to another precious green
stone, said to be of Caucasian origin. No callaïs, in its modern
sense, has yet been found in the natural state; but about 450
beads of it are known from Brittany, 114 from a megalithic
passage-grave near Arles in Provence, 244 from Portugal (mostly
from sepulchral grottoes), and scattered examples from the Loire,
from megalithic tombs near Lourdes, and from the Pyrenees.
The general period of these beads is that of the bell-beaker
(about 2000 B.C.), and their distribution indicates a north-and-
south movement, partly perhaps of trade and partly of popula-
tion, through the regions facing upon the Atlantic.

This brings us to a distinctive feature of the late neolithic
trade of Europe: its common though not invariable preference
for coastwise routes. The reasons for this preference include
the wide expanses of luxuriant forest-growth and marshland
which at this period still blocked much of the interior of the
Continent. Not that trade altogether neglected the hinterland
even at this early period. Examples to the contrary have been
noted above, and we shall see below that the greater river-
valleys of central Europe were already carrying commerce
from the Aegean before 2000 B.C. But it was not until after
the turn of the third millennium that central Europe began to
take the lead. Meantime, the Spanish peninsula, with its rich

deposits of copper and tin, was still the cynosure of the Aegean prospectors.

The primary goal of these eastern prospectors is sufficiently indicated by two facts. First, it was precisely at the nearest point of the Spanish peninsula—at the south-eastern corner—that the local use of Spanish metal, as indicated by the relative abundance of the earliest types, began. Secondly, it is along this same southern coast of Spain, from Almeria to Sevilla, that connexions with the Aegean are most abundantly forthcoming. Here copper daggers, derived from Egyptian and Aegean prototypes, were made in large numbers; and here flourished the great beehive tombs of the type which reached its highest manifestation in the famous 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenae in Greece. These tombs consist of a circular chamber set in a mound and approached by a long passage. The chamber is roofed by means of a corbel-vault, i.e. a false vault formed by the projection of each course of stone beyond the courses below it in such a way that the walls of the chamber gradually converge upon a central point, where the small final opening can be closed by a single flat stone. Opening out from the chamber are sometimes one or more 'side-chapels', used also for burials.

The 'Treasury of Atreus' is the finest example of the series. The stones of which it is built are carefully wrought and, in many cases, carved with elaborate ornament. The latest excavator of the 'Treasury' ascribes it to the fifteenth or fourteenth century B.C.; but this culminating example implies a long tradition which has not yet been fully traced. That the elaborate beehive tomb was, however, derived from a rock-cut prototype—an artificial cave—in accordance with the general principles enunciated above (p. 182) is well shown at Mycenae itself, where, in addition to the well-known beehive structures, there are many rock-cut tombs of essentially similar form. In what manner the complicated beehive type was translated to the Spanish peninsula is a more difficult problem; but the solution is presumably to be found in the comparatively slight migrations incidental to the commercial enterprise of the masterful Aegean civilization. That trade flowed freely to the peninsula from various directions

at this period is abundantly shown by evidence such as that provided by one of the beehive tombs at Alcalar in southern Portugal. This tomb contained a copper dagger, and ornaments of callaïs, amber and ivory—the callaïs probably, the amber certainly, from the north, and the ivory from Africa. And, apart from the beehive tomb, further contact with the Aegean is easy to find. Perhaps the most striking example is the diffusion of a distinctive type of grotesquely conventionalized female idol, of stone or clay, marked particularly by a somewhat owl-like delineation of the eyes and nose. These idols occur abundantly in the first and second cities of Troy on the coast of Asia Minor (about 2500–2000 B.C.), and almost identical forms, either in stone or in the shape of owl-like features on pottery, are found frequently in Spain and Portugal. It may be questioned how far these features, particularly on pottery, retained in every case their full religious significance. But, once again, the currents set up by a progressive 'international' trade seem to have carried with them something more than mere chaffering. For makers of the beehive tomb and the owl-faced idol—the latter often in association with the tombs of the dead—alike found their way northwards along the Atlantic fringe of Europe in sufficient numbers, or with sufficient prestige, to establish at least some of their religious usages as far afield as Brittany, Ireland, and Scotland.

One example, which is itself wholly convincing, will serve to illustrate the further wanderings of the beehive tomb. At New Grange near Dublin stands to-day a beehive tomb which might have been raised by those same tomb-builders who wrought at Alcalar. In every important respect the Irish and the Portuguese—and, indeed, save for its sophistication, the Mycenean tomb—are identical, one with another (Fig. 7). This kinship is the less surprising when the close relationship in other respects between Bronze Age Ireland and the peninsula is recalled. It was by no accident that the classical geographers used to place Ireland off the coast of Spain. Irish halberds, daggers, 'trunnioned celts', and other implement types were derived by Ireland from Spain; and in Irish soil are occasionally found those

incised slate plaques which, sometimes carved into the form of the owl-faced idol, are characteristic of the megalithic tombs of northern Portugal.

The idol itself achieved a wider if less distant vogue in the west. Rarely, the owl-like features reached Britain and Denmark; certain celebrated chalk-drums found in the ditch of an early Bronze-Age barrow in Yorkshire bear them, and they occur here and there on passage-grave pottery in Denmark. But in France the cult of the idol was widespread at this period, not only on pottery (in which guise it is distributed characteristically along the Atlantic fringe) but, above all, in the form of rough stone carvings, clearly of religious import, found in the Aveyron, Hérault, the Paris basin, Brittany, and the Channel Islands. Marked local traits are visible in all these groups, but it is a tenable hypothesis that the tradition of the owl-idol of the eastern Mediterranean hangs over them all. It is at least significant that, in so far as they are datable, they belong to the appropriate period, and do not recur subsequently.

The idol, then, and the use of megalithic tombs crept coastwise round western Europe—hesitantly, perhaps, with intermittent advance, pause and even retreat. Along the same route moved traffickers, possibly with greater directness from the Aegean to Spain but probably thence northwards by systems of relays which rarely passed cultural elements intact over large distances. The beehive tombs seem to be an exception. From the Aegean to the metalliferous areas of southern Spain and thence to the metalliferous areas of the western parts of the British Isles, communication in the Early Bronze Age appears for a time to have been fairly direct, for it is otherwise difficult to account for the close equation of the elaborate tombs at New Grange with those of Alcalar and Mycenae. Here, more closely than is usually the case, trade seems to have been associated with at least some slight element of comparatively systematic relay-migration; and in these late manifestations of the megalithic tradition, it is perhaps possible to identify for the first time an organized commerce with the diffusion of western culture.

In this summary account, various precious or semi-precious

TREASURY OF ATREUS, MYCENAE, GREECE
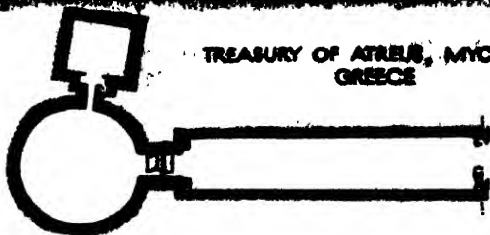
ALCALAR, PORTUGAL
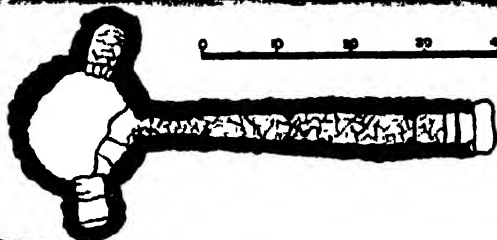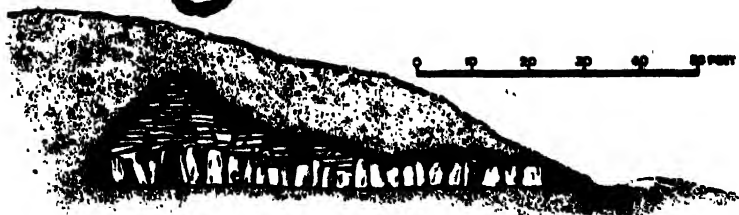
NEW GRANGE, IRELAND

FIG. 7. 'BEEHIVE' TOMBS IN GREECE, PORTUGAL AND IRELAND

materials have been included amongst the aims and apparatus of late neolithic and Early Bronze Age commerce. One more must be mentioned before we pass on. The great European centre for gold is Transylvania, but in ancient and, to a less extent, in modern times many other regions in Europe have produced the precious metal. Notable amongst these regions was Ireland, where the mountains of Wicklow must anciently have been extremely rich in this material. Western Wales and Scotland were also productive; and it was possibly in the latter country that, during the Early Bronze Age, certain distinctive types of gold ornaments were first produced and placed upon the market. These ornaments, particularly a crescent-shaped collar or 'lunula' designed upon the lines of the contemporary jet necklaces (see Fig. 8), obtained a wide vogue. Their main centre of manufacture shifted from Scotland to the more abundant gold-deposits of Ireland, and the products of these various factories found their way across the seas to Scandinavia, France, and as far away as Hanover. The Irish workshops flourished throughout the Bronze Age and reached their maximum prosperity about 1200–1000 B.C. Thereafter they declined, probably owing to a failure in the supply of ore; and during the Early Iron Age their output was comparatively insignificant.

With judgement trained on modern values, archaeologists have tended perhaps to overrate the importance of this Scottish and Irish gold-trade. Apart from an occasional far-flung net, it seems to have fished for the most part in home-waters. No great movement of prehistoric civilization appears to have been influenced appreciably by it, and to call, by reason of it, Bronze-Age Ireland 'the El Dorado of the ancient world' is to subordinate truth to the picturesque.

With the coming of the full Bronze Age into central Europe early in the second millennium B.C., the old Atlantic sea-route quickly lost its primary importance. In so far as it remained in use at all, it was adapted to the newer and more bustling commercial life of Europe by the omission of the long voyage round the Spanish peninsula. Classical writers, who probably derived their information from the traveller Pytheas (fourth century B.C.),

tell us that tin was brought from Britain to the mouth of the Loire, and was thence transported overland to Marseilles and Narbonne, *en route* to the Mediterranean markets. How ancient this route may have been we do not know, but the great importance of tin during the Bronze Age suggests the possibility that the system may have dated from that period. This supposition is consistent with an astonishing fact: after the Early Bronze Age, civilization in the Spanish peninsula seems to have come to an almost complete standstill. For five centuries—from the fifteenth to the tenth or ninth centuries B.C.—the prehistory of the Peninsula is almost a blank. It is impossible not to associate this sudden stagnation with the contemporary emergence of a flourishing group of trans-continental trade-routes far away to the north-east, and with the general development of overland, as distinct from maritime traffic, which marks the European Bronze Age. Whether or no the comparatively unimportant path from Britain was already short-circuited through France, it is certain that for the nonce Spain had ceased to count in the economic structure of Europe.

With the opening of the central European Bronze Age, therefore, our attention veers from the old Atlantic route to the hinterland of the Continent. Nor is the main commercial focus of our interest there in doubt. From the time of the early physicist Thales, chief of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, who flourished about 600 B.C., much has been written about *amber* and its various qualities, both decorative and magical. The magnetic properties, in particular, of this fossil resin gave it a wide and enduring vogue in the ancient world; and for over fifteen centuries the amber trade, more than any other single thing, gave direction and encouragement to Mediterranean civilization in its slow pervasion of 'barbarian' Europe.

Natural deposits of amber, varying somewhat in composition, are widely distributed, and it is obviously essential at the outset to determine the source from which the prehistoric craftsmen drew most of their material. Amber is found sporadically along the eastern coasts of Britain but not in sufficient quantities to support a thriving trade. Sicily also produces an amber, but the

JET NECKLACE (BRONZE AGE) FROM ARGYLL, SCOTLAND
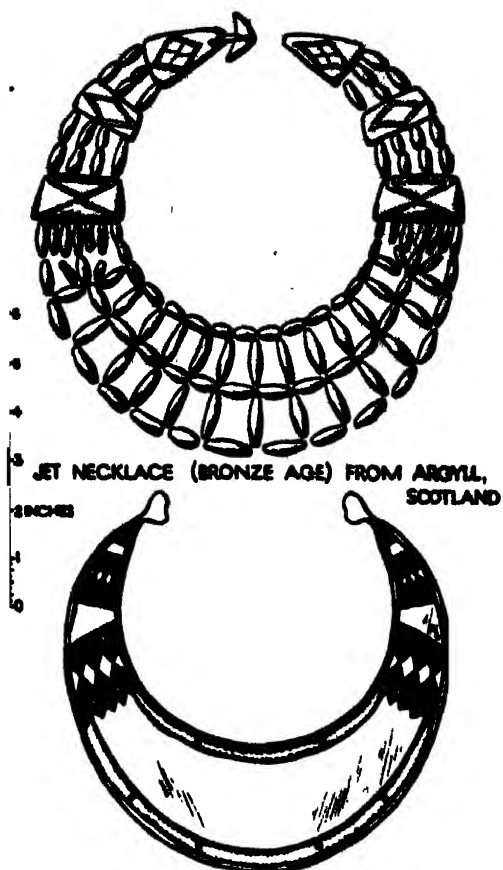
GOLD LUNULA FROM COUNTY CAVAN, IRELAND.

Fig. 8. BRONZE AGE JET NECKLACE, AND DERIVATIVE GOLD
COLLAR OR 'LUNULA'. (*See* p. 215.) (*Scale about* ½)
(Based on *Proceedings of Soc. Ant. Scotland*, LXIII, 164)

silence of classical writers, coupled with the results of modern
chemical analysis, shows that little, if any, of it was used in
ancient times. On the other hand, the promontory of Samland,
near Königsberg, the adjacent coasts of the Baltic as far west
as Jutland and inland districts to the east as far as the neighbour-
hood of Moscow produce large quantities of amber of a type
identical with that prevalent in prehistoric tombs. There is
now no doubt that the main sources of ancient amber were
northern, and primarily in the Baltic coastlands.

When did the European trade in this Baltic material begin?
Objects of amber are sometimes found in neolithic or chalco-
lithic tombs along the 'Atlantic' route, but very rarely farther
afield than the shores of Brittany. Apart from a very doubtful
occurrence in an Early Minoan grave in Crete, one neolithic
grave at Corinth represents the whole contribution of the eastern
Mediterranean to the problem; and Italy has yielded only two
'finds' which are likely to have antedated the Bronze Age.
Spain might be expected to provide more ample evidence, but
only three occurrences, all in southern Spain or Portugal, are
recorded. During the dominance of the European sea-route
amber was evidently of comparatively little importance. And
in central Europe evidence is at this time equally sparse. To the
southward tendency of the 'battle-axe' peoples described above
may be attributed a sporadic distribution of amber towards
Silesia and Bohemia at the extreme end of the Stone Age. But
these 'finds' are exceptional, and may indeed be due to folk-
movement as much as to trade. It is clear that everywhere, save
in the actual vicinity of the natural deposits, traffic in amber
was inconsiderable before the opening of the central European
Bronze Age.

With the beginning of the Bronze Age all was changed.
Objects of amber began to find their way southwards from the
Baltic in increasing quantities; and, in return, bronze, gold, and
(later) coral were traded northwards to the ore-less and coral-
less lands of the Baltic. The distribution of 'finds' shows that,
in the main, this north-and-south traffic used the great river-
valleys, notably the Elbe, which pointed directly towards the

flourishing 'Aunjetitz' region of central Europe (see above, p. 202) and the rich tin-deposits of Bohemia. There the stream of commerce seems to have been augmented by a tributary bringing objects of gold from the richest gold-fields of Europe, in Transylvania—particularly gold wire rings with overlapping extremities, a type which, it is significant to note, is found in abundance also in Jutland. From Bohemia by the Middle Bronze Age the trade-route had extended south-westwards up the Moldau, so to Innsbruck and the Brenner Pass, and thence into Italy by the valley of the Adige. As far south as Sicily, amber is found in Bronze Age graves.

Other routes, passing from the Elbe up the Saale valley towards the Rhine and upper Danube, and, later, a more easterly route from Danzig to the head of the Adriatic supplemented the Elbe–Moldau route; but the last may be said to have formed the commercial backbone of Europe through most of the second millennium B.C. The dominance survived, indeed, far into the first millennium. The expansion of early Greek commerce into the western Mediterranean, in or about the seventh century B.C., partially restored the former importance of the Spanish peninsula and the Atlantic sea-route. Along this re-opened route now passed bronze 'trunnioned chisels' and other implement-types from the eastern Mediterranean to Ireland and western Britain. This Atlantic traffic, however, could never more recapture its old prestige. The problems of the non-classical world were now deep-rooted in central Europe.

THE EARLY IRON AGE: THE HALLSTATT PERIOD

(a) IN CENTRAL EUROPE

WHEN and where iron was first used in the eastern Mediterranean lands are questions which do not here concern us. It will suffice to note that, for purposes of ornament, iron was occasionally used in Greece as early as the sixteenth century B.C. Not, however, until the tenth century B.C. did the metal first enter appreciably into the economic fabric of Europe, and even then the use of bronze for weapons and tools lingered on for some centuries.

In central Europe the first phase of the Iron Age, from shortly after 1000 B.C. to shortly before 500 B.C., is now associated with the name of *Hallstatt*, a village near Salzburg in the Austrian Tyrol. From this association it is not to be inferred that Hallstatt had any outstanding claim to eminence in ancient times. True, it lies within forty miles of Noreia, which gave its name to one of the most productive of the early centres of European ironworking and so was in an exceptionally favourable position for exploiting the newly won material. Moreover, it adjoins a number of the ancient salt-mines which must have tended to focus wealth upon this district. But the special reason for its fame is largely the accidental one that here, between 1846 and 1863, was excavated the great cemetery which first indicated the character and range of the culture of the earliest European Iron Age.

The burials in this famous cemetery, more than a thousand in number, were partly by inhumation and partly by incineration, but on the whole the objects associated with the burnt burials were the richer and seem therefore to indicate that those who burnt their dead were the dominant class. On the other hand, the two rites are sometimes represented in the same tomb. In the inhumation burials, the skeletons were extended, and were commonly orientated east and west. Not infrequently,

two or more bodies had been buried simultaneously in the same grave, and the practice of immolation, which is recorded later amongst the Celts, is suspected to have obtained here. The objects buried with the dead were varied both in type and in material, and it is instructive to note the constitutive proportions of the latter: of 5,816 pieces, 64 were of gold, 3,574 of bronze, 593 of iron, 270 of amber, 73 of glass, and 1,242 of clay. At first, as might be expected, bronze tools and weapons—notably, the leaf-shaped sword—were still in the majority. By the eighth century, however, huge iron swords with heavy pommels had come into fashion. Indeed these swords became so heavy and unwieldy that in the following century a reaction set in, and comparatively short swords with 'horse-shoe' pommel —a Late Bronze Age tradition which had never completely died —were substituted.

Though Hallstatt did not lie directly on one of the great trade-routes, the presence there of amber on the one hand and of Greco-Italian metal-work on the other shows clearly the influence of trans-continental commerce. More local elements are, as usual, represented in the pottery, which incorporated, in a decadent form, certain features of the Lausitz pottery referred to above (p. 207), but developed a vivid polychrome decoration, generally in red and black, based upon an infinite variety of simple geometrical motifs. This polychrome ware is restricted primarily to southern Germany and Austria, but its influence extended far afield and may even be recognized in pottery of this period from the southern coast of England (Eastbourne). The eighth century B.C. probably covers the period during which this ware was at its best.

Who were the Hallstatt people? The geographical position supports the possibility that they were, at least in part, of Illyrian origin, and it has been suggested that the primitive Celtic word for iron, *tsarno-*, was itself borrowed from the Illyrians. Be that as it may, it is more important for us to observe that, with local modifications, the Hallstatt culture, from the borders of Austria to the Middle Rhine and the vicinity of the Saône, extends over the whole of that area which

was shortly afterwards recognized by the early classical writers as the central European home of the Celts. For the moment it will suffice to note this point, and to pass on to the principal divagations of this culture.

The normal tomb at Hallstatt was a flat grave, but farther west the burials of this period were more commonly covered by mounds which still, in some places, stand to a height of nearly twenty feet. These mounds are situated usually on the plateaux, or close to lakes and water-courses. They cover both cremations and inhumations, but the latter are in the majority, and, towards the Rhine valley, far outnumber burnt burials. Only to the south, in the Alpine valleys through which the amber and other trade-routes passed into northern Italy, did flat-graves with inhumations remain preponderant, as in the last phase of the Bronze Age (see above). It is evident that here the tumulus-builders, inheritors of the martial rather than the commercial characteristics of the north, had only partially invaded the remote Alpine retreats where for many centuries a placid agricultural people had varied their seasonal activities with those of the commercial middleman.

As in southern Germany, so across the Rhine in eastern France (particularly Franche-Comté and the Côte d'Or) the Hallstatt burial-mounds are found in great numbers. For example, in 1838 eight hundred of these were noted in the neighbourhood of Besançon alone. It cannot be assumed that all these are of the Hallstatt period; a few at least belong to the preceding Bronze Age, and others to the succeeding period of La Tène. But the statistics of excavation enable us to ascribe the majority of them to a Hallstatt date.

Throughout this region of mound-burials, both in southern Germany and in eastern France, the dead are normally inhumed in an extended posture, with no fixed orientation. Along with the dead are buried swords of one Hallstatt type or another—all are represented—together with bronze or iron spear-heads, bronze bracelets, disk-pectorals, brooches (see below), and occasional Greek vessels of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. In several cases a boar or pig is included in the tomb—a custom

which should doubtless be brought into relation with the known
sanctity of this animal amongst the historic Celts.

Other features of these burials will be discussed in due course.
Their abundance in the region which we find under the domina-
tion of the Celts at the opening of the historic period gives them
an obvious interest in our main context. But first we must pause
to inquire how far, and in what degree, the elements of the
Hallstatt and neighbouring cultures spread beyond the limits
of the central European zone with which we have been dealing.
Our inquiry will take us in two directions; to the south-west,
towards Spain; and to the north-west, towards northern France
and Britain.

(b) THE HALLSTATT PERIOD IN SPAIN

Reference has been made above (p. 216) to the apparent
collapse of civilization in Spain when, early in the Bronze Age,
the commercial axis of Europe was shifted from the west to the
centre. For nearly a thousand years after that occurrence, all
Spain, except the province of Catalonia in the north-east, was,
it appears, a backwater in the economic life of Europe. In
Catalonia alone is there a hint of intrusion during this long
period, and then not until the age of the great European urn-
fields between 1200 and 700 B.C. And, in the present context,
that intrusion may be one of cardinal importance.

At Terrassa, in Catalonia, Dr. Bosch Gimpera has explored
an urn-field, or cemetery of flat graves, in which the ashes of
the dead are buried in bi-conical urns, with cylindrical necks
and often with meander decoration. Many of the urns are
covered with lids which 'are ornamented sometimes with ribs,
sometimes with fine linear incised patterns. The last-named
motives, as well as some of the urns and dishes, agree perfectly
with the pottery of the Swiss lake-dwellings and the Rhenish
urnfields'. The urns themselves are akin, both in form and in
decoration, to those of the so-called 'Villanova' culture which,
at this period, characterized northern Italy and linked up with
the Alpine culture referred to above (p. 197). From both sides
we thus converge upon central Europe; and it may be taken as

certain that sometime during the Hallstatt period the long sleep of northern Spain was broken, if only for a moment, by some intrusion from the neighbourhood of the Alps. What was the significance of this intrusion?

It has been noted that in Catalonia are numerous Celtic place-names, 'such as Besalú, Verdú, and Slardú (containing the element *dunum*) or Vulpellac and Gaussac (formed with *acum*)'. Now it is more likely than not that any Celtic invasion on a scale sufficient to implant place-names wholesale in north-eastern Spain would, if it occurred within the historic period, have left some trace in record. But there is no indication, in any of the early writings, of Celts on the Mediterranean coast of Spain, and we are left therefore with the likely assumption that the intrusion occurred in prehistoric times. If so, the only recognized archaeological equation is with this Catalonian urn-field culture; and it has been inferred, therefore, that the folk buried in these urn-fields must have been responsible for the Celtic names. Whether or no we at present accept this identification as proved, and deduce therefrom an early Celtic invasion of Catalonia in the centuries immediately before or after 1000 B.C., we may at least note this remarkable coincidence of Celtic place-names with a culture derived from an area that was to be included in the central European home of the Celtic peoples of history.

These early Hallstatt settlements and cemeteries in Catalonia are the earliest evidences of Iron Age migration into Spain, but they are not the only ones nor are they the most extensive. In northern and western Spain, cremation-burials associated with late Hallstatt horseshoe-pommel swords are numerous, and it is clear that a considerable current of civilization flowed south-westwards into those regions of the peninsula, via the western end of the Pyrenees, in and about the sixth century B.C. The central European sources of this current were not identical with those of the Catalonian urnfields. True, in Spain itself the late Hallstatt population, like that of Catalonia, practised the rite of cremation and did not build burial-mounds; instead, the graves were sometimes arranged in long lines and were marked

by rough head-stones. But in all other respects it was identical with a mound-building Hallstatt people whose tumuli are found on the French side of the Pyrenees over a wide area extending from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic coasts. On both sides of the Pyrenees, in the sixth century B.C., horse-shoe hilted short-swords, spears, brooches, horses' bits, and other objects are identical in type, and these link up with the Hallstatt burial-mound types of west-central Europe. A partial colonization of northern Spain from the direction of the middle or lower Rhine is sufficiently indicated; and we are irresistibly reminded of our early historical evidence for a Celtic zone extending from the Danube south-westwards to the Atlantic at least as early as the beginning of the fifth century B.C. (see above, p. 167). Moreover, it was precisely these northern and western parts of the peninsula that in historic times were occupied by Celtic tribes—the Berybaces, Saefes, and Cempsi. Again, however, we must postpone any attempt to co-ordinate our historical and archaeological evidence until our summary of the latter is completed.

(c) IN NORTHERN FRANCE AND BRITAIN

Towards the north the Hallstatt burial-mound culture flourished in Lorraine and extended into the lower valley of the Rhine. Further progress in that direction was stopped perhaps by the southward pressure of Scandinavian or Teutonic peoples from the north. Whether that be so or not, we find towards the northern limit of the burial-mound region a sudden westerly or south-westerly tendency towards the Champagne district and the Marne, as though the northerly vanguard of the movement had been 'headed off'. It has, indeed, been suggested that the late Hallstatt civilization of the Pyrenees may have been the ultimate result of this turning-movement in the north.

Whatever the cause, it is certain that the Hallstatt burial-mound culture failed to reach the shores of the channel. Not a trace of it has been found in Britain. Nevertheless, an increasing body of evidence shows that Britain was intermittently in touch with Hallstatt Europe throughout the Hallstatt period. And since the British Isles, by reason of the extensive survival

there of Celtic speech, occupy a position of special importance
in relation to the problem of the Celtic language, it is necessary
to indicate the general trend of recent British archaeological
evidence.

At the end of the Bronze Age, as we have seen, elements of
a continental culture in an advanced stage of development
reached southern Britain, whether wholly by immigration or,
at least in part, by trade. That culture was distinguished
especially by the leaf-shaped bronze sword and by the socketed
bronze axe—both of central European origin. The great con-
centration of the swords in the Thames valley has already been
cited as evidence of the primary use of that highway and as
suggestive, perhaps, of trade rather than intensive settlement.
Unfortunately, with negligible exceptions neither leaf-swords
nor socketed axes are found either in burials or on dwelling-
sites,[1] and it is not possible to associate any type of pottery
exclusively with them. If this lack of an associated pottery could
be shown to be other than merely accidental it would be a
further point in favour of a commercial rather than a political
environment for the leaf-swords. It is at least possible to say
already that there is no late Bronze Age ceramic type which
coincides in distribution with the swords; and it is preferred
here not to emphasize the leaf-sword intrusion as evidence of
any extensive or coherent immigration into Britain from the
direction of central or Rhenish Europe.

Nevertheless, during the leaf-sword period there was un-
doubted folk-movement towards our shores. A type of urn of
cylindrical shape decorated below the rim by means of a
horizontal strip of applied clay rippled by finger-tip impressions
is found in great quantities in Dorset, round Southampton
Water, and, sporadically, throughout south-eastern Britain.
A variety of this, tapering slightly to a rudimentary foot-stand,
has been found as far north as Yorkshire (Scarborough), in
association with socketed bronze axes. The whole group breaks

[1] Perhaps the most notable instance of the occurrence of socketed axes on a
habitation-site is the finding of five of them with 'Hallstatt' pottery at Scarborough
(see below). A fragmentary socketed axe also occurred on the later 'Hallstatt' site
of All Cannings Cross in Wiltshire.

in suddenly upon the native British series and was obviously brought in by immigrants. Whence did these new arrivals come?

The Scarborough variety is comparable with contemporary urn-field pottery in the Low Countries and may be ascribed to occasional intrusion across the North Sea. It is likely that the Dorset-East Anglian group may likewise be derived directly from the opposite shores of the Channel; but close analogies occur also far away to the south, on the northern slopes of the Pyrenees. A direct link between the southern British and the Pyrenean groups cannot be rejected without consideration. We may recall once more, in this connexion, the historic course of the British tin-trade, which followed a sea-route to the mouths of the Loire and the Garonne and may thus have formed the medium for direct contact of a more substantial kind with southern France. On the other hand, the Low-Country groups, with their rippled clay-band decoration, are offshoots from a type which is widely spread over France in Bronze Age deposits and is probably based on prototypes from the Swiss lake-dwellings. More direct links with Switzerland, moreover, have been suspected at this period. In the Thames at Brentford and on a few other sites in eastern or southern Britain have been found groups of implements of forms strongly reminiscent of prototypes from the Swiss lake-villages. These discoveries have suggested to Mr. O. G. S. Crawford the possibility of 'an invasion from France or Switzerland at about the time when iron was coming into use. . . . At precisely this moment the lake-dwellings of Switzerland seem to have come to an end. So far as one can gather . . . there appear to have been no lake-dwellers in Switzerland during the late Hallstatt Age. Can they have been driven out by other invaders from the east? and was it the lake-dwellers themselves who invaded these islands?'

The answer to the question appears to be this. Amongst many small immigrant groups which found their way into Britain during the Hallstatt period were some—not very numerous—which still retained a late Bronze-Age equipment of central European type, and were slow to exploit the iron-ores of their adopted country. In Britain, the supercession of bronze by iron

was a reluctant process and did not approach completeness until the fifth century B.C.[1] The reasons for this tardiness are not difficult to see; they are geographical rather than geological, for the iron of Sussex and Gloucestershire was sufficiently accessible to the most primitive miners. But Britain was the uttermost promontory of Europe. To Britain drifted, as to an ultimate refuge, certain of the lesser populations of a Europe in which the revolutionary economic changes incidental to the introduction of iron had, for a time, accelerated the speed of competition. These lesser folk may be supposed to have lacked the wealth, numbers, and initiative necessary for the exploitation of our unworked ores. They brought with them Hallstatt types of pottery—types easy to copy, easily transmitted—and at the same time retained knives and axes of the old fashion. It may be said of these people that intermittently and indirectly they established or maintained contact between Britain and the European world; but they were slow to create a new Britain, and there is, incidentally, little to associate them with the heroic, impulsive Celt of history.

Nor did other immigrants into Britain during the Hallstatt period display, as a rule, any very markedly warlike propensities. As typical of these small groups of newcomers may be taken the now famous village-site at All Cannings Cross near Devizes in Wiltshire. There, on the gentle slopes of a low-lying hill, Captain and Mrs. B. H. Cunnington have discovered the remains of a village occupied approximately in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The actual form of the timber hutments was not recovered, though pits used for storage and refuse were found. It was clear that the huts themselves must have been of the lightest and most evanescent kind, and it was likewise apparent that, although the evidence pointed to a prolonged occupation, the settlement had never been enclosed unless by a simple timber stockade. The inhabitants had kept flocks and herds, and, as the presence of several saddle-querns showed, had practised agriculture. For

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[1] In Scotland, the change from bronze to iron would appear to have been even more retarded; indeed, evidence for a Scottish Iron Age prior to the first century A.D. is at present scanty.

implements much use was made of bone; bronze was perhaps still used occasionally, and iron was of course known though seemingly not available in large quantities. Iron pins with twisted stems—of the so-called 'swan-necked' and related types —suggest a link with northern Germany, where the types seem to have originated. But some (not all) of the pottery points rather towards central Europe via the valley of the Marne. Squat bowls with slightly constricted waist and often with an indented or 'omphaloid' base occur, for example, both at All Cannings Cross and at Epernay on the Marne; with the instructive difference that the Epernay examples are ornamented with chevrons and other geometrical patterns *in colour* whereas the All Cannings replicas are decorated (with similar patterns) exclusively in *incised* lines. In other words the British series represents a stage farther away from the polychrome tendencies of Hallstatt central Europe.

In regard both to All Cannings Cross and to other British sites of about the same period it may be said generally that, whilst much remains to be discovered in regard to the continental origins of the culture or cultures represented by them, they pretty clearly indicate a gradual infiltration of comparatively peaceful folk bearing with them a knowledge of iron-working and the relics of a good ceramic tradition. The newcomers were themselves neither wealthy nor particularly enterprising. Their supplies of iron were small, and it is not unlikely that much of their scanty ironwork was imported. They were, it seems, for the most part a comparatively backward peasantry—backward, that is to say, in relation to the central European standards of the time. Nevertheless, as our knowledge of them increases it will probably be found that in two directions later prehistoric Britain owed not a little to them.

In the first place, they were, as we have already noted, an agricultural people. In certain respects—for example, in their primitive machinery for grinding their corn—they may not have improved much on the agricultural methods used in southern Britain some fifteen centuries earlier by the occupants of neolithic dwelling-sites such as Windmill Hill or The Trundle

(above, p. 199). But they were acquainted with, and may actually have introduced, a definite field-system which was destined to endure in Britain until the coming of the Saxons in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. This system consisted of groups of small rectangular fields, bounded by baulks of unploughed land or even (at any rate, later) by stone walls. The individual fields vary from squares of 100 feet to oblongs of 400 by 150 feet, but tend towards the smaller unit. Extensive groups of these fields have been identified by air-photography and land-survey on the high downs of Wiltshire and Dorset and in the Fens of the Wash region; they have been found also in other parts of Britain and in Picardy in association with late pre-historic towns and villages and with their Romano-British or Gallo-Roman successors. More will be said of these in a later context; meantime, it will suffice to note that the system in Britain dates back at least to the end of the Hallstatt period since the small 'camp' of Wudu-burh in the parish of Broad Chalke, Wilts., overlies the baulks of one of these field-groups and has been shown by excavation to date from about 500 B.C.; whilst similar groups are associated with a farmstead of late Bronze Age or Hallstatt date on New Barn Down, near Worthing, Sussex. Whether the use of square fields was prevalent in Britain *before* the sixth century B.C., i.e. before the approximate date of the arrival of the All Cannings Cross people, is not yet certain.

In the second place, although the British 'Hallstatt' popula-tion seems for the most part to have been content with open or lightly stockaded villages, it is to them that we must ascribe the earliest of our more heavily fortified prehistoric earthworks. 'Camps' or village enclosures, with banks and intermittent ditch-systems, were, as we have seen, built by the late neolithic population of southern Britain. But, up to the present, no 'camp' of any magnitude in the British Isles has been proved to belong to the Bronze Age. Towards the end of that age a few small rectangular earthworks were thrown up in Cranborne Chase, and the Wudu-burh earthwork referred to above was only a little later in date. Nevertheless, Wudu-burh is an

unimposing entrenchment and can have been little more than a cattle-enclosure. On the other hand, the fine circular 'camp' known as Figsbury Rings, crowning a dominating hill north-east of Salisbury, is shown, by the results of excavation, to have been occupied by people using pottery similar to that of All Cannings Cross. The ramparts are 12 feet high and enclose an area of 15 acres. The two entrances appear now as plain gaps, without the in-turned flanks common in later 'camps'.

But the whole character of the earthwork—whether intended for an embanked town or merely, as the comparatively slight evidence of occupation within it suggests, for an occasional place of refuge—anticipates the formidable 'hill-forts' which later grew up all over Britain during the last three centuries before the Roman conquest. Here, at least, the later Hallstatt folk, perhaps under some local stress, seem to have displayed determination and initiative, and it is probable that the British countryside, as it began to fill up with the immigrations of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., was somewhat more liable to disturbance than the abundance of open village-sites would, at first glance, indicate. It is in any case likely enough that, at the close of the British 'Hallstatt' period, new factors may have begun already to bring about those political and economic changes which were to find expression in the great era of 'camp'-building during the later La Tène periods. Already on the Continent at this period great earthworks were being thrown up round trading-stations in the Jura, Lorraine, and elsewhere. At the famous Camp de Château in the former department and at the Camp d'Afrique in the latter the ramparts reached a height of 12 feet or more, and the enclosed areas yielded numerous fragments of Greek ware of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The increasing concentration of wealth and the accompanying stabilization of population were already combining in the west to encourage the upgrowth of the precursors of the *oppida* or hill-towns of Caesar's Gaul and Britain. The upgrowth of these oppida was due at least as much to economic as to military causes, and it is now necessary to turn once more to the problems of mid-European commerce.

THE EARLY IRON AGE: THE LA TÈNE PERIOD

(a) MEDITERRANEAN INFLUENCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE

THE second half of the prehistoric Iron Age in central and western Europe begins at the end of the sixth century B.C. and so coincides with the historic Celtic period. It is known by the name 'La Tène', since its special features were first generally recognized as the result of the excavation of a lake-settlement on that site, at the eastern end of Lake Neuchâtel in Switzerland. The occupation of the La Tène site is now known to date, however, from the middle of the so-called La Tène period, and consideration of it must therefore be deferred until a later stage. Meantime attention must be given to certain of the main factors which contributed to the formation of the La Tène civilization as a whole.

These factors may be said to fall into two main categories. The first category consists of *external* factors, the influences of foreign cultures as transmitted by trade and migration. The second category comprises those more *local* factors which are the product of native genius and temperament—those processes of selection, modification, and transmutation whereby the La Tène culture was ultimately evolved.

Reference has already been made to the presence of Graeco-Italian bronze vessels in the Hallstatt graves of central Europe, and to the close commercial links between the peoples on both sides of the Alps throughout that period. During the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. bronze vessels of Greek origin, often decorated in the Ionian manner with friezes or groups of semi-oriental animals, found their way up the Danube from the Greek colonies of the Black Sea, or across the Alps from the Greek or Hellenizing districts of Italy. These links with the classical world were maintained and even increased during the Early La Tène period (500–300 B.C.), partly by trade and partly through the Celtic occupation of northern Italy in that period.

A striking example of the connexion between Italy and central

and north-western Europe during the fifth and sixth centuries
is provided by the widespread custom of burying the dead in
wagons or chariots, or with some representative part of the
vehicle, such as a wheel. Burials of this type, dating from the
equivalent of the 'Hallstatt' period, are found throughout Italy,
the vehicles sometimes being four-wheeled carriages and some-
times two-wheeled war-chariots. In northern Italy the most
famous burial of this kind, at Sesto-Calende on Lake Maggiore,
lay on the main trade-route from the valley of the Po to the
Ticino and so across the Alps into central Europe; it thus
points to the line along which the custom itself was transmitted
into Switzerland, where several carriage-burials under tumuli
have been found near Bern. In southern Germany (Bavaria,
Württemberg, Baden, and Hohenzollern) others are recorded,
and in eastern France (Alaise, Côte-d'Or, and Haute Saône) at
least five others are known. All these are of Hallstatt date, and
in every case where the form of the vehicle was determinate it
was four-wheeled. Beads of amber and ivory, bracelets of gold,
iron swords, and occasionally cordoned bronze cists are included
in the rich grave-furniture of these tombs, and it is clear that
they were the burial-places of chieftains or nobles who shared
a common culture over a considerable tract of Europe. In this
connexion it has been observed that the French burials all
occur in an area which was occupied in the time of Caesar by
two Celtic tribes, the Sequani and the Aedui.

With the end of the Hallstatt period this burial-custom did
not die out, but it changed somewhat in character. The four-
wheeled vehicles, hitherto usual in such burials north of the
Alps, now gave place to two-wheeled chariots; and the custom
itself moved north-westwards into the Marne valley and the
adjacent regions of northern France. In the Department of the
Marne alone more than fifty chariot-burials, dating mostly from
the fifth century B.C., have been identified, and those which have
been methodically explored are found to conform closely to a
definite type. The chariot wheels, each 3 feet in diameter, were
sunk in two short trenches in such a manner that the axle,
4½ feet from wheel to wheel, rested on the surface of the ground.

At right-angles to the axle, a groove generally carried the pole, at the end of which a small transverse trench contained the harness of the horses. The dead lay extended between the wheels with the feet in the direction of the pole. By his side (sometimes the right, sometimes the left) lay his long iron sword and his spears. Belt-fittings and other ornaments, sometimes decorated with coral, lay about him and, at his feet, were the vessels of bronze and pottery which had formerly contained meat and drink for the dead man in the after-life. The food placed in these tombs was often abundant and varied. It included quarters of beef and, more frequently, joints of pork, with occasional mutton, and sometimes a hare, or pigeons, fowl and duck. One tomb even contained, perhaps as a special delicacy, a plate of frogs. Sometimes a complete body of a boar was buried with the dead—a custom which again reminds us of the sanctity of that animal amongst the Celts.

From the chronological point of view the most important articles in these graves are the bronze and pottery vessels of Greek origin. These include red-figured Attic cups of the fifth century B.C., and so indicate with sufficient precision the date of the burials.

It is clear that these tombs are those of wealthy and warlike chieftains, accustomed to use the chariot and not averse from the fruits of Mediterranean civilization. It is difficult to imagine a closer coincidence between archaeological remains and the recorded character of the Celts of history. We may even add that the presence of double or triple simultaneous burials in several of the Marne tombs of this period has been thought to point to a practice referred to by classical writers as prevalent at one time amongst the Celts—namely that of the slaughter or suicide of the wife or dependants of a dead man, who might thus be accompanied in the after-life.

The diffusion of the chariot-tomb did not cease on the shores of the English Channel. In the East Riding of Yorkshire, near the farm of Arras, three miles east of Market Weighton, two of a large series of low circular mounds were found to contain chariot-burials of the Marne type. In one ('The King's Barrow')

the warrior had been buried with his shield in a chariot beside which two small horses lay in their harness. Significantly included in the tomb were two boars. The other burial ('The barrow of the Charioteer') seems to have been less complete, but contained a chariot-wheel and two horse-bits. Another chariot-burial with the skeleton in a crouched position was found at Kilham in the same county, and remains of yet another were discovered at Beverley, likewise in Yorkshire. Outside Yorkshire no certain instance of a chariot-burial has yet been recorded in Britain. It is possible that strips of iron found in a rich mound-burial, dating from the beginning of the present era, at Lexden near Colchester, were remains of chariot-tyres, but in any case, the late date of this burial precludes any close connexion with the Marne-Yorkshire series. Again, a cairn at Mold, in Flintshire, was found to contain elaborate gold horse-trappings, but seems to have belonged to the Hallstatt rather than to the La Tène phase. It may be that the restriction of early La Tène chariot-burials in Britain to Yorkshire was due to some direct link between that region and the valleys of the Marne or Seine. It is at any rate worth noting that Ptolemy in the second century A.D. ascribes to Yorkshire a Celtic tribe named the Parisii who may be supposed to have been an off-shoot from the Parisii of the Seine.

The chariot-burials have abundantly shown not merely the course of a traffic which carried Mediterranean coral and Greek wares across the Alps to northern France and even to Britain, but they have also indicated that the link between the extremities of the wide zone was something more than a merely commercial one. The transference of a burial-rite, with all its religious implications, implies an intimacy of contact which prepares the way for the recognition of a definite classical basis for Celtic culture. But the trans-Alpine routes, even supplemented by the Danube highway, were probably not the only inlet for classical influence into central Europe at this time.

If we turn to a map of Europe showing the distribution of the Greek colonies round the Mediterranean basin, one natural line of communication between them and the headwaters of the

Rhine and Danube at once leaps to the eye. The Rhône and Saône valleys combine at Lyons into the great river-highway which debouches into the Mediterranean at the site of one of the earliest and most important of those colonies. Founded probably in the latter part of the seventh century B.C. as a colony of the Ionian city of Phocaea, Marseilles was an outpost of Hellenic civilization, and might be expected to have formed a main port-of-entry for Greek trade and influence in west-central Europe. This expectation would be proved if archaeology could show, up and down the Rhône–Saône valley, a more or less continuous series of Greek objects of the sixth or fifth centuries B.C.

Unfortunately, considerable tracts of the Rhône valley have been very inadequately explored, and the present deficiency of evidence is not therefore conclusive in a negative sense. But, encouraged by the absence of any hint of Celts in the Rhône valley in our very fragmentary historical records prior to the third century B.C., Déchelette and his followers have inferred that the backward and independent Ligurians barred the valley until some unknown date in that century, by the end of which Gaulish or Celtic domination is known to have reached as far as the Mediterranean (see above, p. 167). This view throws the whole onus of the northward transmission of Italo-Greek influences upon the Alpine passes and the Danube valley, in spite of the tendency of those influences to become increasingly marked as we proceed westward towards the middle Rhine and eastern France.

More recently this theory has been considerably modified by Mr. de Navarro. A fresh collation of old evidence and new shows that, although there are still serious gaps in our chain, the links are not inconsiderable merely because they are not continuous. True, Greek pottery (black- and red-figured Attic vases and Greek amphorae) of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., although found on several sites south of Avignon, is not yet recorded from any part of the Rhône valley between Avignon and Lyons, unless we include a Greek lekythos of about 500 B.C. from Voiron, north of Grenoble, on the tributary river Isère.

On the other hand, north of Lyons Greek pottery begins to
occur again in considerable quantities, and several sites in the
departments of Jura, Doubs, and farther north have yielded
Greek amphorae and figured ware.

Now from a geographical standpoint it is certainly easier to
suppose that the line of approach from the Mediterranean to
the Jura and the adjacent regions was the direct route of the
Rhône valley than to postulate a difficult and devious path
northwards and westwards from the direction of the Alps. Two
further factors weigh against the latter alternative. It has been
noted that, amongst the classical bronze vessels from the central
European area in question, certain wine flagons or storage-
vessels found near Berne in Switzerland and in southern Ger-
many belong 'to a cycle of forms unknown to Upper Italy' and
therefore, on general grounds, not very likely to have come
through that region. Moreover, it is pointed out that these
classical wares—wine-cups, wine-jugs, amphorae, and the like
—seem, by reason both of their types and of the deposits con-
tained by them, to have been associated particularly with the
storage and consumption of wine. This evidence is in accor-
dance with that of classical writers, who speak of the Celtic love
of wine; and the so-called 'Chieftains' Graves' of the Middle
Rhine at this period (sixth and fifth centuries B.C.) sometimes
contain a regular table-service of bronze vessels of the kind in
question. But prior to the second century B.C. the region of
Marseilles seems to have been the only wine-producing area in
France. What more natural than that the wine-loving popula-
tion of the Rhône–Saône–Marne districts should, under these
circumstances, maintain commercial relations with this, the
nearest, centre of production?

The one serious difficulty is the deficiency, already remarked,
of connecting evidence from the Middle Rhône. That there
were relations between the backward Ligurians of this valley
and the 'Celtic' area to the north is indicated by the occasional
presence of Ligurian pottery in the Jura and even in Belgium.
The deficiency of evidence may be due merely to the admitted
deficiency of exploration; but, as Mr. de Navarro observes, even

MAIN LINES OF CLASSICAL & SCYTHIAN INFLUENCE UPON CELTIC EUROPE 6th—4th CENTURY
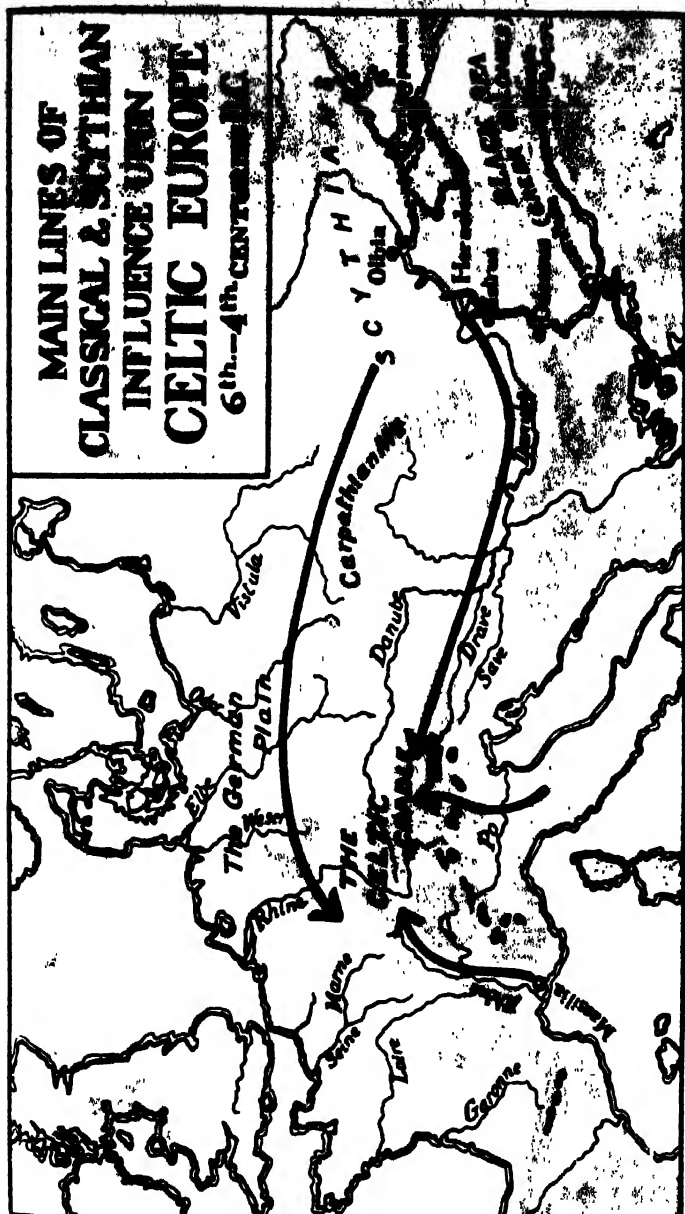
FIG. 9

if no appropriate 'finds' materialize here, it is still possible to regard the barbaric Middle Rhône as merely a 'corridor-district', which, interested neither in Greek wine nor in Greek craftsmanship, possessed no impulse to stay these wares on their passage to the more civilized north.

It is at least desirable, on the present evidence, to keep open the possibility that the Rhône, like the Danube and certain of the Alpine passes, helped to admit into 'Celtic' Europe those classical elements which went so largely to the making of the culture of the historic Celts.

So much, at the moment, for direct traffic with the classical lands. There remains another source of influence which has acquired a new interest in the light of a recent discovery. In 1928, workmen digging on the site of the Abbey of Bouzonville, twenty miles north-east of Metz, came upon a group of four bronze vessels which are now in the British Museum. Two of these vessels were large *stamnoi* or wine-jars of classical Greek type. The other two were flagons, also of Greek shape but clearly of 'barbaric' workmanship. Round the base of each flagon was a band of guilloche pattern, inlaid with coral; the handle, lid, and spout were likewise richly inlaid both with coral and with red enamel—the earliest known instance of the use of this material in Europe. The handle takes the form of a grotesque animal, possibly a lion, with spiral joints and inlaid back, terminating at the base in a still more grotesque human mask associated with patterns derived from the Greek palmette. On the rim of the jug are two fantastic 'lion-cubs', and a small duck—a common feature in decoration of the Hallstatt period —surmounts the long narrow spout.

These grotesque forms are of Scythian character, and the flagons were doubtless made by the Scythians of south Russia, working under the Greek influence which reached them through the Greek colonies of the Black Sea. The Scythians were a nomadic people who ranged over the steppe from the Carpathians to the Don; but distinctive elements of their language and culture link them up with Iran and Manchuria, and, in particular, their grotesque animal-style prevailed over a wide

belt of central Asia. It probably owed much to contact with
the Aegean world, and, at the other end of the story, it formed
the basis of much of the zoomorphic art of the post-Roman era
in northern Europe. At the date at which the Bouzonville
bronze vessels were made—about the middle of the fifth century
B.C.—its occasional contact with central Europe was also fraught
with importance. A thin chain of Greco-Scythian bronzes,
notably in Brandenburg and Saxe-Weimar, suggests that the
line of approach from south Russia lay through the south
German plain, to the north of the Carpathians; and we may
provisionally add this route to the three main classical routes
already mentioned as a channel through which external in-
fluence was brought to bear upon central or 'Celtic' Europe at
the beginning of the historic Celtic period. (See map, Fig. 9.)

(b) THE UPGROWTH OF 'CELTIC' ART

Our next step is to examine the process whereby these extra-
neous elements were fused and remoulded by the native talent
of the peoples who received them. It will then be necessary to
define, so far as may be possible, the area in which this fusion
took place, the general directions of the later trend of the new
culture, and the extent to which it may be identified, in the
historic sense, as 'Celtic'.

From the convergence of classical and other influences in the
neighbourhood of the middle and upper Rhine arose during the
fifth century B.C. a style which was itself essentially new and
original. The primary element in the formation of this new style
was the Greek palmette, the lobes of which were simplified or
even isolated to form swollen curvilinear patterns which often
bear but slight resemblance to the semi-naturalistic prototype.
The introduction of this element of fantasy into the classical
motifs is evident in the Graeco-Scythian flagons from Bouzon-
ville, and it is not unlikely that the first hint of the new style was
in fact derived by 'Celtic' Europe from these and other Scythian
imports. But, if so, the characteristics of this style so closely
expressed the artistic instincts of the Rhineland that they were
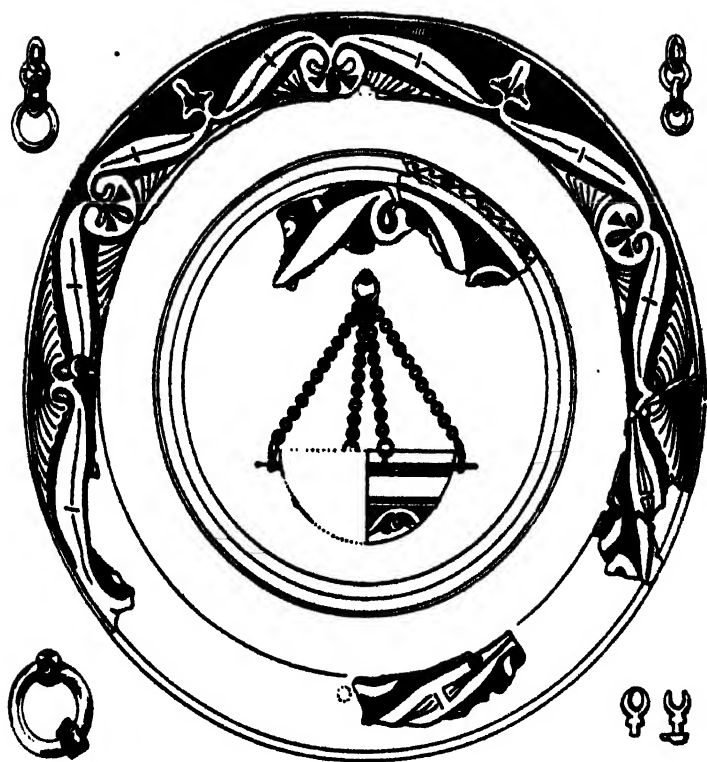
Fig. 10. EARLY CELTIC ART, SHOWING THE PALMETTE-MOTIF STILL IN A RECOGNIZABLY CLASSICAL FORM: A BRONZE BOWL (WITH RECONSTRUCTION) FROM DENBIGHSHIRE. (*Scale about ⅓*)

(From the *Antiquaries Journal*, VI, 277)

Fig. 11. LATE CELTIC BRONZE MIRROR, SHOWING THE
EVOLVED PALMETTE-MOTIF OF MATURE CELTIC ART:
FROM NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. (*Scale about* ½)

(From *Archaeologia*, LXI)

immediately naturalized and proceeded to develop in west-central and north-western Europe upon consistent and logical lines. Two examples will serve to illustrate the process, both dating probably from about 450–400 B.C.

The first example is the famous 'find' of two bronze vessels and a gold torc from Waldalgesheim near Coblenz. One of the bronze vessels is a bucket of Greek manufacture, and the scutcheons at the base of the handle take the form of an elaborate but normal classical palmette. The associated bronze flagon, on the other hand, is of native manufacture, and is ornamented with patterns which, though derived from the guilloche and the palmette, already show the fantastic swollen forms of 'Celtic' art. The torc, which is probably though not certainly a part of the same hoard, shows a simplified palmette-pattern in an equally unclassical form, with many of the essential elements of the 'Celtic' style already present.

The other example is a fragmentary bronze bowl found in 1925 in a burial-cist at Cerrig-y-Drudion in Denbighshire, North Wales (Fig. 10). The decorative elements of this bowl are again derived closely from the classical palmette, but here not only are the 'Celtic' processes of simplification and swelling clearly manifest but that peculiarly 'Celtic' characteristic of hatching or shading the background in order to throw up the main elements of the design is already fully developed. Indeed the bowl may be regarded as one of the outstanding landmarks in the history of early European art. It represents the consummation of the first stage in the evolution of the 'Celtic' style.

From the point attained by the Waldalgesheim torc and the Denbighshire bowl, the further development of that style is easy to follow and does not call for detailed description. Early Iron Age art of La Tène II and III (third century B.C. to first century A.D.) over an area extending from Switzerland to Ireland is, at its best, marked by the same fundamental traits: a love of bold, eccentric curves, of lobelike or trumpet-like forms, produced mostly by the convolution of grotesque petals or unnaturalistic leaf-forms. And throughout even the most bizarre and tumultuous of these motifs runs a sense of underlying strength and

restraint, a recurrent restfulness which takes the form of plain
spaces or of darkened background or of patches of coral and red
enamel which focus the eye and so give unity to the design. In
all the history of decorative art, the so-called Celtic style of the
La Tène period holds a place for itself; it is intensely individual,
and it completely expresses the limited though, within limits,
fertile genius of the peoples who perfected it. On the rare
occasions when it strove to transgress its natural limits it failed,
and failed grotesquely. Animal forms, with the solitary ex-
ception of an occasional conventionalized bull, lay outside its
effective range, whilst the human form was completely foreign
to it. Other phases of art have displayed an equal disinclina-
tion to depict humanity. The avowed reason is sometimes re-
ligious precept, though it may be suspected that the religious
inhibition is in reality a consequence rather than a cause. In the
case of the 'Celtic' peoples, the reasons may in part have been
social ones. The classical artist lived in a warm and cleanly
world, where the human form was displayed and admired in a
pleasant and spacious environment. To him, the human form
was a natural inspiration. The 'Celtic' artist on the other hand
existed, as we shall see in surroundings of filth and squalor and
in an uncertain climate, where the human form was cumbrously
clad and obscured. Under such conditions the imagination of
the artist turned naturally to an unreal world of conventional
shapes, and he turned to it with the traditional perfervid
energy of the Celtic peoples. The flowing, headlong ornament
of La Tène was the result. (See Fig. 11.)

(c) THE ORIGINAL HOME OF LA TÈNE CULTURE

In the preceding sections it has been assumed that the regions
flanking the middle and upper Rhine comprised the original
nucleus of the La Tène civilization. Upon those regions, it is
true, much of the evidence hitherto quoted has converged. It is
desirable, however, to cross-check our provisional inference by
some other group of evidence, and on many grounds it is prob-
able that certain groups of brooch-forms will best serve our
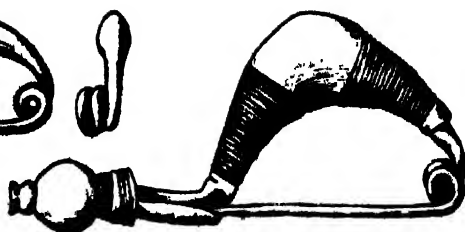
CERTOSA BROOCH   ITALIC LEECH BROOCH
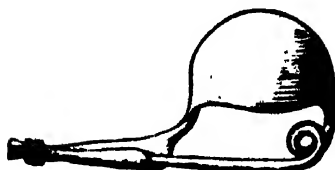
HALLSTATT "D" BROOCHES

LA TÈNE I BROOCH

Fig. 12. DIAGRAM TO ILLUSTRATE (1) THE DERIVATION OF
HALLSTATT 'D' BROOCHES FROM THE ITALIC 'CERTOSA'
AND 'LEECH' BROOCHES; AND (2) THE DERIVATION OF THE
LA TENE I BROOCH FROM THE HALLSTATT 'D' BROOCHES.

(Scale about ⅓)

DISTRIBUTION OF
HALLSTATT D
BROOCHES
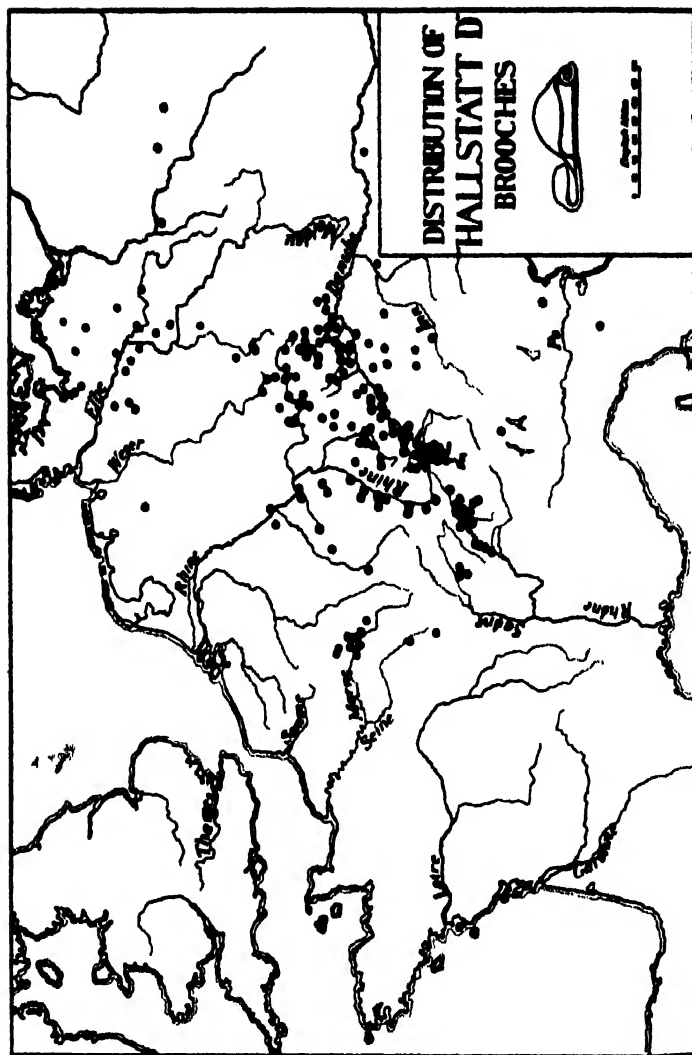
FIG. 13. (From a map by G. C. Dunning)

purpose. Incidentally, a brief study of central European brooch-forms in the late Hallstatt and early La Tène periods may help to determine whether those phases of civilization represent a continuous development *in loco*, or whether the later was due to fresh intrusive elements. The importance of this question is obvious when we recall that the later civilization was that of the Celts of history, and that an unbroken cultural tradition extending backwards in central Europe from the La Tène through the Hallstatt periods would, in some sense, carry with it a backward extension of Celtic history.

In the sixth century B.C., two types of safety-pin brooch were prevalent in northern Italy. The first of these had a bulbous bow somewhat resembling a leech, whence it is commonly known as the leech-brooch. The second type was distinguished by a lighter bow, sometimes ornamented by means of raised bands or mouldings; the catch-plate ended in an up-turned knob or stud. This type is known as the Certosa type from a site near Bologna where it occurred with Greek pottery of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. In both types the spring is unilateral, i.e. the pin is coiled to form the spring only on one side of the bow (Fig. 12).

These two Italian types found their way across the Alps into central Europe, where they amalgamated to form a local variant which, from the fact that it occurred in the fourth and latest of the four periods A, B, C, and D into which certain scholars have divided the Hallstatt phase, is commonly known as the 'Hallstatt D' type. This provincial type is marked by a broadly swelling bow somewhat like an inverted 'kettle-drum', and by a recurved foot ending in a broad disk or knob. The form of the bow is evidently derived from the leech type, whereas the foot is akin to that of the Certosa type. As in the Italian prototype, the spring of the 'Hallstatt D' brooches is unilateral.

This derivative central European brooch occurs, as might be expected, in profusion throughout the district to the north-west of the Alps, namely amongst the rivers and lakes of Switzerland. It is also found in great quantities along the upper reaches of the Danube in Württemberg and Bavaria, but is rare farther to

the east. From the Danube, it spread northwards along the amber route of the Saale and Elbe valleys, and westwards to the upper Rhine as far north as the neighbourhood of Coblenz. From the Rhine, it reached the rich region of the Marne, but only a single poor example (from the Thames at Hammersmith) is known farther west or north.

It will be seen that the distribution of this central European brooch, with its concentration on the upper Danube, upper Rhine and Marne valleys, occurs throughout the area of the so-called 'Celtic cradle'. (See map, Fig. 13.)

The next stage in the history of the central European brooch coincided with the first period of La Tène, i.e. with the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. In this new type, the bow, though often somewhat thickened, has lost its drum-like expansion; the studded or disk-like foot is not merely reverted but is turned back until the end of the stud actually touches the bow. Moreover, the spring is now no longer unilateral; it is coiled equally on both sides of the bow in a symmetrical bilateral form (Fig. 12).

The distribution of this La Tène I brooch is primarily similar to that of the Hallstatt D type, i.e. in central Europe and the Marne valley, with northward extensions into the Elbe system. It occurs, however, in greater profusion and is found considerably farther afield. For example, it is found throughout the southern lowlands of Britain, though very rarely north of a line joining the Severn and the Wash (Fig. 14).

This appearance of the bilateral spring on central European brooches has been invested by the distinguished Swiss archaeologist, M. D. Viollier, with a special significance in connexion with the Celtic question. He has pointed out that the pervasion of this type is apparently accompanied by an increasing tendency to inhume rather than to cremate the dead—a tendency which seems to have characterized a majority of the Celtic peoples of history. He envisages a gradual penetration of nomadic Celtic tribes into central Europe where the Hallstatt peoples were gradually absorbed by them, and the old custom of interring the dead in barrows was replaced by the 'Celtic' custom of inhuming the dead in flat graves. This hypothesis would appear

DISTRIBUTION OF
"LA TENE I"
BROOCHES
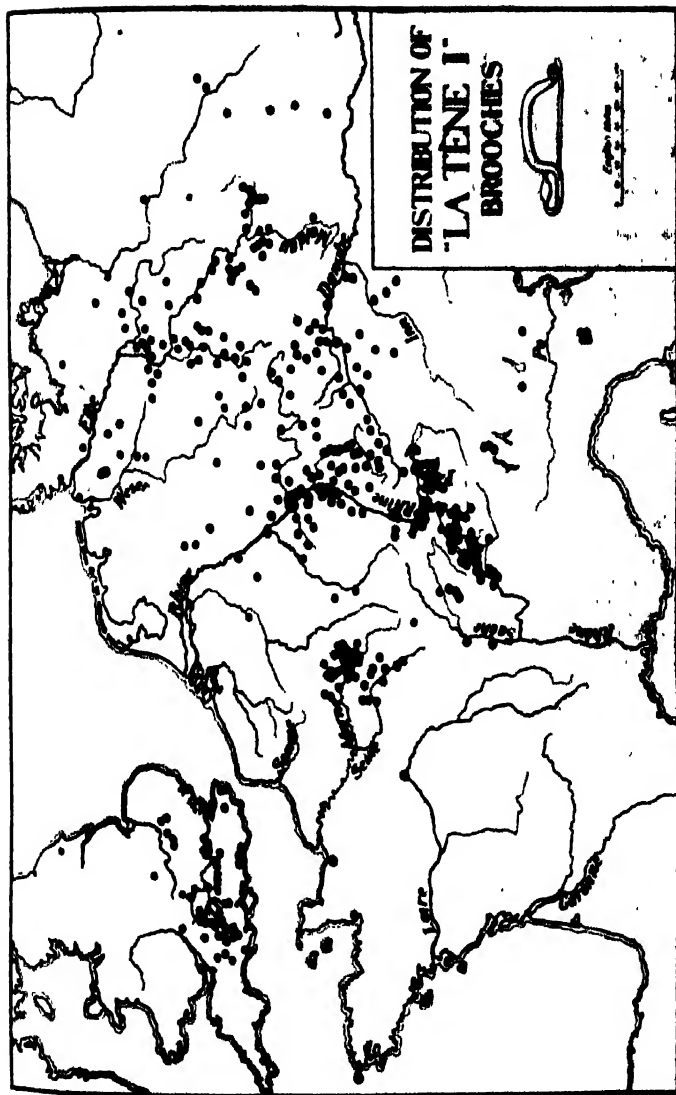
FIG. 14 (From a map by G. C. Dunning)

at present to be inadequately founded. The La Tène I brooch with bilateral spring is a natural derivative from the Hallstatt D type; and since, moreover, the primary distribution of the two types is almost identical, it is easier to suppose that they are the products of a single coherent culture evolving upon natural lines. This inference is important. The La Tène I brooch is admittedly characteristic of Celtic Europe of the historic period. The acceptance, therefore, of the view here stated implies the recognition of the makers of the Hallstatt D brooches as Celtic in a similar sense.

THE LAST CENTURIES OF PREHISTORIC EUROPE

(a) 'CELTIC' CIVILIZATION

FROM the beginning of the fifth century B.C., we are within the nominal limits of Celtic history. If, however, in a brief survey such as the present, we are to isolate and describe the main characteristics of Celtic civilization, it is safer to omit the earliest phase (La Tène I) from detailed consideration. By the period of La Tène II (300–100 B.C.), Celtic art had definitely 'arrived', and the main geographical limits of the Celtic world are documented with tolerable precision. A combination of these two sources of evidence enables us to reconstruct, with considerable accuracy, the main outlines of Celtic culture during the last three centuries B.C.

The social structure of Celtic civilization was based partly upon agriculture, partly upon war, and partly also upon commerce. The three factors are not altogether easy to reconcile with one another. The warlike traits, of which our earlier Roman histories have much to tell, were in great part the direct survival from a nomadic stage of culture in which the yearly round was a more or less continuous struggle for new pasture-land. The non-territorial, tribal system of government, which is the characteristic of a nomadic people, indeed survived in the more Celtic parts of Europe until the Middle Ages or even later. The old Welsh laws are full of it and the clan-system of the Highlands of Scotland is an almost living vestige of it. Nevertheless, as early as the period of which we are now speaking, the other factors—agriculture and trade—had already begun to modify it. Both the tilled field and the market-place imply more or less enduring territorial commitments, and it is not surprising therefore to find that the appearance of these factors in the developed Celtic environment of the last few centuries B.C. encouraged the upgrowth of something approximating to a Celtic town-life in the more favoured districts of central and western Europe.

Perhaps the most famous of all these Celtic towns is that of La Tène itself. This classic site lies at the eastern end of the lake of Neuchâtel, five miles from the town of that name. Here, excavations, carried on intermittently and with varying skill between 1858 and 1917, have indicated the remains of a considerable and wealthy settlement, built on piles across the former course of the river Thièle close to its junction with the lake. Owing to the haphazard character of much of the exploratory work, no satisfactory evidence as to the plan of any of the individual buildings has been recovered. It appears, however, that the major part of the settlement lay in the fork between two timber bridges which diverged northwards from a point close to the southern bank of the river. The triangular space thus formed was fortified on the north by a strong multiple palisade; but whether the bridges themselves formed the flanking fortifications and whether there was a bridge-head barricade at the southern point of convergence is less clear. Enough remains, however, to show that the site as a whole was rendered defensible not merely by its natural situation but by extensive artificial works.

The nature of the discoveries within this area caused some surprise to Swiss archaeologists, accustomed to the domestic character of the relics found in their neolithic and Bronze Age lake-villages. Instead of great quantities of potsherds, nets, weaving implements and the like, La Tène has consistently produced objects of metal and, in particular, implements connected with warfare. Pottery is of course present, but in relatively small quantities, and the evidence, in the form of ornaments, &c., of the presence of any considerable feminine element in the population was remarkably scanty. Moreover, the excavators note that there was a tendency for objects of like character to occur in isolated groups. Thus, at one point, would be found a number of rings and horses' bits; at another, was nothing but spear-heads; elsewhere, swords were found unaccompanied by other remains; and so on. Here and there also were ingots of iron. Altogether, the settlement presented certain definite and unusual characteristics which call for special explanation.

The researches of Forrer and Déchelette have discovered the solution of the problem. Déchelette has observed a similarly distinctive concentration of La Tène weapons, &c., in association with piles in the bed of the Saône at Chalons-sur-Saône, the Gallic *Cabillonum*. Here a point of contact is established with historical record. Caesar and Strabo tell us that Cabillonum, on the frontier between the Aedui and the Sequani, was the point at which customs dues were levied on traffic passing up and down the main river trade-route between southern and northern Gaul. It was apparently the practice to farm out the collection of these dues to the highest or strongest bidder, and, whilst the position of tax-collector at this frontier station was one of very considerable profit, it must also have been one of very considerable risk. Hence, on the one hand, the predominance of a military element amongst the remains from the site and, on the other hand, the accumulation there of metal and other objects suitable for commercial transport, with a relative scarcity of relics of a more purely domestic type. With the Saône example in mind, it is not difficult to find an explanation for La Tène. This station was situated on a much frequented river-route between the arterial valleys of the Rhine and the Rhône. Like Cabillonum, it may be supposed to have been a semi-military customs station, farmed out perhaps to some adventurous Celtic profiteer by one or other of the neighbouring tribes. And the groups of metal objects of like character may be supposed to represent the sites of bonded warehouses or of orderly magazines of customs-dues collected in kind from passing cargoes.

La Tène and Cabillonum owed their peculiar situation to the special circumstances under which they flourished. But for the most part, the La Tène period was not specially characterized by the prevalence of lake- or marsh-settlements. The great period of lake-settlement in Switzerland came to an end with the conclusion of the Bronze Age, about the tenth century B.C. Here and there, however, particularly upon the fringes of European civilization, lake-villages were still constructed throughout the La Tène epoch. One of the most notable of these Early Iron

Age lake-villages is the well-known settlement at Glastonbury in Somerset, which seems to have been built about the end of La Tène II and to have lasted throughout La Tène III—perhaps from the latter half of the second century B.C. to the earlier half of the first century A.D. The resemblance of the Glastonbury lake-village to that of La Tène is only superficial. Its military features were restricted to an encircling stockade, and, for the rest, its character was that of a comparatively peaceful and unenterprising village, able for the most part to supply its own local needs and comparatively free, therefore, from commercial relationships with its neighbours. The village occupied an area of between 4 and 5 acres and included from 80 to 90 circular huts built over a marsh on a foundation of brushwood consolidated by frameworks of squared and morticed timbers. The stockaded outline of the village was extremely irregular and, although there was apparently an open space in the centre, there was no attempt at any systematic lay-out or street-plan. On one side was a roughly built landing-stage, and it would appear that the only regular form of communication with the outside world was by rafts or boats, such as the seventeen-foot dug-out canoe found at the beginning of the excavations. The individual huts varied from 20 to 38 feet in diameter and each contained a central hearth of clay which was renewed from time to time.

In the former marsh, outside the palisade, were found numerous skulls and other parts of human skeletons, including a skull with deep sword cuts upon it. These remains suggest occasional attacks by small raiding-parties. On the other hand, amongst over a hundred objects of iron found within the village, only seven could have been used as weapons of offence, and only one sword is represented. For the most part the village was clearly at peace with the world. Weaving-combs, spindle-whorls, and evidences of agriculture (in the form of peas, grains of wheat and barley, and querns, both of 'saddle' and rotary types) indicate the general occupation of the inhabitants, whilst bones of ox, sheep, goat, pig, horse, and domestic fowl, together with stag, roe, beaver, otter, cat, boar, and aquatic birds, show

that the keeping of domestic animals and hunting contributed to their maintenance. Amongst the industries of the village may be included metal-working, wood-turning, and pottery making, and the concentration of certain types of relics in three or four of the huts suggests that 'the inhabitants conducted their industrial operations on the principle of division of labour'.

Amongst the most striking of the groups of relics from the village are the pottery-vessels. A few of the vessels are wheel-turned, but the great majority of them were made without this mechanical aid. Their elaborate incised decoration is, for the most part, of the bold curvilinear type which may at once be recognized as 'Celtic', and the further characteristic of this style—the use of hatched backgrounds to emphasize the principal motifs—is commonly present. The distribution of this incised decoration is of interest and may be briefly noted. On the Continent, it occurs in north-western France, i.e. to the west of that wealthy region in and around the Marne valley where painted rather than incised decoration is characteristic of La Tène pottery. It would appear that, in the outlying regions of Armorica (north-west France) and Britain, the art of painting pottery was not cultivated but that the motifs used by the Marnian pottery-makers were reproduced and modified in incised outline, some hint of the polychromatic prototypes being retained by the use of hatching or shading with oblique or crisscross lines. In Britain, this 'Celtic' linear ornamentation occurs abundantly in Somerset with extensions into Gloucestershire, and is found along a tract of country extending to the neighbourhood of Northampton, where it occurs in the well-known camp of Hunsbury. In smaller quantities and mostly in derivative forms, it is found occasionally in Kent, Sussex, and elsewhere along our south-eastern coasts, but its main distribution is westerly, as might be expected in view of its Armorican derivation. A further point may be noted. Dr. Cyril Fox has pointed out that the affinity between Early Iron Age types in south-western Britain and in Northamptonshire is due to the existence of a geological link between the two regions: 'from the bare limestone uplands around the head-waters of the Thames and

THE LAST CENTURIES OF PREHISTORIC EUROPE

its tributaries above Oxford, there extends, as far as the Humber
a narrow belt of country, consisting of well-drained sandy soil,
suitable for habitation and for traffic'. This dry and traversable
Jurassic zone must have been emphasized in ancient times by
flanking tracts of damp, forested clay-land and would form a
natural avenue of penetration northwards and eastwards for a
culture entering primarily by way of our south-western shores.
And that that was the main approach for continental influences
during the period of La Tène II and early La Tène III is in-
dicated by a further fact. In the Continental La Tène II period
the normal type of brooch was derived from the La Tène I type
described above (p. 242) by the junction of the reverted foot
with the bow. This evolved type of brooch occurs at La Tène
itself, and is found in greater or less degree throughout the area
through which the La Tène I type had already spread. Its area
of distribution includes Britain, but if we bear in mind the prob-
ability that the type was in use for no less than two centuries, it
is surprising to observe that only twenty-two examples have been
recorded from this country. Whatever the ultimate reason for
this may be, a partial explanation may be found in the apparent
cessation of direct traffic between the Marne region (where La
Tène II brooches are common enough) and Britain during the
third and second centuries B.C.; and to the fact that the type of
brooch in question is rare in Armorica with which Britain seems
at that time to have been in fairly close contact.

The Glastonbury pottery has for the moment diverted us from
our main theme, and we may now return to our general survey
of 'Celtic' civilization during the last pre-Roman centuries.

Apart from the comparatively few lake- or river-settlements
of the types described above, an unknown but certainly large
proportion of the population in Celtic Europe during those
centuries subsisted in small villages situated upon the gravel
banks of the rivers and other convenient tracts of relatively open
country (see below, p. 254). It may, however, be assumed that
the politically dominant elements of the population converged
upon the fortified towns ('camps' or 'hill-forts') which are the
most obvious vestiges of the period. Between the fifth and first

centuries B.C. the practice of building these embanked towns came increasingly into vogue. Reference has already been made to fortified settlements in the Jura, notably the Camp de Château and Mont Gérin which date from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. A third notable example may be cited: the 'camp' or *oppidum* of Tronoën in Finisterre, an embanked site of about 50 acres containing traces of rectangular huts dating in part from La Tène I. In Britain, Figsbury Rings (above, p. 230) and Maiden Castle, Dorset, are fortified sites dating from La Tène I, and the 'camps' of St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester, and the Trundle, near Chichester, are noteworthy examples of La Tène II.

As our evidence stands at present, however, the great European 'camps' or hill-towns—the *oppida* or *urbes* of Caesar and his contemporaries—were built shortly before or after 100 B.C. With their massive defences of earth or drybuilt masonry, these later hill-towns are amongst the most impressive of our western European antiquities. If we are to visualize them in proper perspective, we may best compare them with the fortified valley-towns of the Middle Ages, the only fundamental difference between them being that of situation. They were the fenced cities of a population which, for a variety of economic reasons, found its natural habitat in the uplands; and they were military works only in the restricted sense that the medieval valley-towns of London or Paris, with their walls and towers, were also armed in a lawless age.

Reference has already been made to the two main causes which contributed to this outburst of native town-building in the second and first centuries B.C. More fully stated, they were as follows. In the first place, the expanding commerce and agriculture of the Celtic peoples was stabilizing, concentrating and, doubtless, increasing the populations of the regions which they dominated. Commerce, in particular, would tend to encourage the upgrowth of urban centres and to demand security. In the second place, that security was now becoming increasingly urgent through the imminence both of Teutonic and of Roman invasion. The Celtic peoples who had so often taken the offen-

sive were now, in their turn, to become themselves the victims of aggréssion.

Of the numerous hill-towns of Gaul which may be ascribed to this late period, the most famous is that of Bibracte on Mont Beuvray, about sixteen miles from Autun. On the great plateau formed by this commanding hill-top lay the 'oppidum maximae auctoritatis' at which, as Caesar tells us, the national council of Gaul conferred on Vercingetorix the command of the united Gallic forces against the Roman invader—a magnificent setting for an incident not incomparable with that which was staged at Doullens in 1918. It is not difficult to reconstruct the general environment of this historic scene. Far and wide stretched the hills of the Morvan, a sea of rolling forest from which Mont Beuvray rose like an island. The plateau itself, nearly 300 acres in extent, was girdled by a ditch and by a rampart of stone, bonded at intervals perhaps by massive logs. Within these defences clustered the small oblong houses of the town, some of clay-cemented stone, others of timber. Along both sides of the central track, lines of these small buildings represented the booths of the traders and the workshops of the craftsmen. Here and there a more ambitious building in the Roman manner may already have contained a small hypocaust heating-system of a kind which certainly during the following forty years became well known to the inhabitants. The market-place was also perhaps already fashioned on a Roman model, and towards the upper end of the gently sloping plateau stood a shrine, close under the spot where still stands its successor, the small chapel of St. Martin. The citizens themselves were prosperous in accordance with the native standards. Their currency was of the rude Gallic type which was derived unskilfully from Greek and Roman models. Their pottery was well made, most of it turned upon the wheel and sometimes wrought almost to the lightness of porcelain. The main business of the city, apart from its local fields and herds and from the political business which its importance must, from time to time, have drawn to it, lay in the trafficking which its situation at convenient distances from the valleys of the Seine, Loire, and Saône enabled it to share in and

to control. It flourished thus until a day in or about 12 B.C., when the emperor Augustus removed its population bodily to a neighbouring city of his own foundation and bearing his own name—Augustodunum, the modern Autun.

Bibracte was merely one of many hill-top oppida which figured largely in Caesar's Gallic campaigns. Avaricum (Bourges), Gergovia near Clermont, Alesia—the hill-town where, with the final defeat of Vercingetorix, ended those hopes that had risen high in the assembly of Bibracte—may be mentioned here without further description; places famous in Gallic history but similar in all essentials to the city on Mont Beuvray. And apart from these great citadels of Gaulish civilization, there were countless smaller oppida unknown to fame. In a single day Caesar relates that he burnt 'more than twenty cities' in the territory of a single tribe. Nor did Caesar's conquests mark the final end of these native townships. Until the end of the century, when Augustus devoted his attention to the consolidation and romanization of the Gallic provinces, many of these native oppida remained in full occupation; and even after the forced or encouraged evacuation of certain of them, such as Bibracte and Gergovia, many of them retained a nucleus-population far into the Imperial age.

In Britain we find a similar state of affairs, with this difference; that, whereas Caesar completed the pacification of Gaul about 50 B.C., it was not until a century later that the Roman legions had annexed southern Britain. In consequence, the intensive native occupation of the hill-top oppida continued until a considerably later date in the island than in Gaul. Three examples may be taken as representative.

A commanding knoll, known as Mount Caburn, on the Sussex downs overlooking Lewes, is encircled by a system of banks and ditches with a single, strongly guarded entrance. Pottery and other relics show that the enclosure was occupied approximately from 200 B.C. to A.D. 100, and the excavations of General Pitt-Rivers and of Dr. Eliot Curwen enable us to form a very fair idea of what the site must have been like during its most flourishing period, say the first centuries B.C.-A.D.

'We must picture the ramparts as crowned with a stockade, while the space enclosed by them was filled with little [circular] thatched huts, huddled together, and made of wood or hurdle-work daubed with clay. The doors were fitted with some form of latch requiring a key to fasten them. The people who lived in these huts . . . wore woven woollen garments, shaved their beards, and adorned their persons with glass beads and artistic brooches and rings of bronze. They possessed dogs, horses and pigs, farmed sheep and cattle on the Downs, and hunted red deer and boars in the great forest of the Weald. Corn was grown in the neighbourhood, probably in the contemporary fields which are still visible on Cliffe Hill and Saxon Down, and their agricultural implements included ploughs, sickles, and bill-hooks. They bought and sold with money, and weighed their goods according to the accepted standards of the time. Within their huts they practised spinning and weaving, smelting and smith-craft, using knives, saws, hammers and other tools closely resembling our own. They were well provided with pottery vessels, and did at any rate some of their cooking by means of heated stones. While the fear of war evidently existed, we do not learn that the place was ever besieged or sacked.'

The only serious disability seems to have been the absence of any regular water-supply in the vicinity—a disability from which many of these hill-top settlements appear to have suffered.

Farther west, on Hod Hill in the county of Dorset, may be seen another and more elaborate oppidum, dating also from the last phase of prehistoric Britain. The ramparts which crown this hilltop were built or repaired in part from shallow quarries which can still be seen immediately behind them, whilst, in front of them, are two deep-cut ditches whence other material was obtained. At least four of the entrances are original and are carefully guarded by modifications of the bank and ditch system. Within the enclosed area, the surface of the ground is still pock-marked with the circular hollows which represent the site of former huts; whilst, in one corner, the rigid banks and ditches of a small Roman camp, inserted perhaps by the advancing legions in or soon after A.D. 43, are symbolical of the end of that phase which the major earthwork represents.

Farther west again, on a commanding headland which thrusts

into the Bristol Channel at Weston-super-Mare, is the great
camp of Worlebury which was likewise an oppidum of the first
centuries B.C.–A.D. The line of its defences is to-day indicated
by masses of fallen stone-work, but excavation has shown, be-
neath this ruin, the remains of a broad, well-built curtain-wall
of unmortared masonry. The main entrance was flanked by
in-turned walls which may be compared with the in-turned
earthen ramparts of Hod Hill, St. Catharine's Hill, Bibracte,
and other sites of the kind. The hutments of Worlebury are
to-day represented only by small pits, cut in the solid rock of
the headland and used originally for purposes such as the stor-
age of grain and other foods. Pottery and coins of the period
of La Tène III and of the Roman epoch were found here by
excavators many years ago and show that, as often, the super-
session of these native hill-towns by more comfortable Roman
settlements in the valleys did not necessarily involve the complete
abandonment of them. It is clear that in many parts of Britain
a peasant population continued throughout the Roman era to
dwell in the hill-towns which their forefathers had built before
the Romans came.

A similar or even more marked continuity of occupation is
found amongst the unfenced villages of the epoch with which
we are dealing. The fortified oppida tend naturally to dominate
our historical view just as they dominate our modern land-
scapes. But, although they represent perhaps the more im-
portant urban elements in our Early Iron Age population,
they must be supplemented in our survey by the far less im-
posing but probably more numerous open villages which
flourished contemporaneously with them. The oppida, like
our modern cities, lay normally along main lines of traffic or—
much the same thing—in regions of special industrial impor-
tance. Hod Hill, for example, stands alongside 'a pass or natural
gateway through which communication is possible between the
ports of Poole and Christchurch on the English Channel and
Somerset on the Bristol Channel'; whilst other instances of the
coincidence of oppidum and traffic-route have been noted
above. On the other hand the gravel banks of the rivers and

the open uplands which lay away from the main lines of traffic were not deserted. They formed the reservoirs of an agricultural peasant population which occasionally grouped itself in or around a fortified citadel, but was more often content to live at peace in open or lightly stockaded hamlets. Vestiges of these unfortified settlements are naturally hard to identify; indeed, all superficial trace of the majority of them may be supposed to have been wiped out by subsequent cultivation of their sites or even by the mere passage of time. Nevertheless the open spaces of Salisbury Plain have been shown by ground survey and by air-photography to be literally teeming with the remains of such villages consisting of irregular groups of circular huts, sometimes enclosed in systems of shallow trenches. Excavation and chance discovery have shown that these villages were occupied at various periods during the last five centuries B.C. and the first four centuries A.D., and, in several cases at least, the occupation of an individual site began in the prehistoric and survived into the historic period without a break. With these villages are associated the elaborate systems of square fields of which something has already been said (above p. 229), and it is clear from the associated objects (querns, spindle-whorls, animal bones, &c.), that the population eked out a tolerably comfortable but unimportant existence on the produce of its crops and its herds.

(b) THE GERMANS AND THE BELGAE

In the last section, reference has been made to the influence of imminent or actual Teutonic invasion upon the Celtic peoples of western Europe during the last phase of the prehistoric epoch. Of this influence something more must now be said. Whether indirectly, by the interpenetration of Celtic by Teutonic cultures, or directly, by the imposition of clearly defined military or economic conditions, this new influence was one of far-reaching importance. It marks the beginning of that long and often violent process whereby a great part of north-western Europe in the early historic period was to become substantially Teutonized.

The name 'Germans' as applied in any general sense to the group of Teutonic peoples does not appear in written record before the time of Posidonius the Rhodian in the early part of the first century B.C. Tacitus, at the end of the first century A.D., relates that the use of the name 'Germany' as applied comprehensively to the territories occupied by the various Teutonic tribes was, in his day, regarded as an innovation. As early as the fourth century B.C., however, the Massilian traveller, Pytheas, had found two Germanic tribes, the Teutons and the Gutons, round about the mouth of the Elbe or the Ems; and both the positive evidence of archaeology and the negative evidence of history combine to suggest that the Teutonic peoples had been in occupation of southern Scandinavia and northern Germany at least as early as the end of the third millennium B.C.

The Scandinavian countries are happy in the possession of a less eventful history than any other part of Europe. Passing reference has already been made (above, p. 192) to the only significant revolution in their early prehistory. At the extreme beginning of the neolithic period, the changing shores of the Baltic and the North Sea had been populated by a fisher-folk leading an animal-existence and possessing scarcely any of the elements of civilization. To them succeeded within the latter half of the third millennium B.C. a people or group of peoples who kept herds, grew corn and could boast an organized social and religious system. The major part of the equipment of this new Scandinavian civilization was derived from the 'Battle-axe' culture of which something has already been said (above, p. 191). A less enduring part of it, on the other hand, was due to that circulation of ideas and customs which brought the megalithic tradition from the Atlantic coasts. How far this composite culture can, in any valid sense, be regarded as Teutonic cannot, of course, be determined with any finality. Here, as in our discussion of the 'origin' of the Celtic peoples, we are confronting remote archaeological evidence with an essentially linguistic terminology of the historic period. More confidently, however, than in the case of the Celts, it can at least be said that the long transition from the neolithic cultures of southern Scan-

dinavia and northern Germany to the Teutonic cultures at the dawn of history is sufficiently consistent and uneventful to suggest an equivalent continuity of language. The waves of conquering or fugitive peoples which, time and again during the last two millennia B.C., swept westwards and north-westwards across Europe left the Baltic regions scatheless on their northern flank. The reasons for this early Teutonic insularity can perhaps be guessed. With the exception of amber, the proto-Teutonic territories produced no native commodity which might attract the prospector or the usurper; whilst the teeming populations of Teutonic Europe at the beginning of history suggest that, at an early date, their more restricted homeland in the north may have been already too crowded to attract immigration.

The astonishingly individual development of craftsmanship of the proto-Teutonic area during the Middle Bronze Age (about 1500-1000 B.C.) has been mentioned in a previous section (p. 203). It owed much initially to commercial contact with Hungary and the neighbouring regions from which the raw materials—tin, copper, gold—were derived in return for Scandinavian amber. But its ornate bronze equipment, skilfully ornamented with spiral, geometrical, and occasionally semi-naturalistic patterns, was no mere replica of mid-European prototypes; and we may say that nowhere in Bronze Age Europe was there a culture which was, at the same time, so elaborate, so coherent, and so local in its scope. For not less surprising than the richness of this Scandinavian or proto-Teutonic culture is its almost complete isolation. And in this isolated civilization we can perhaps already, in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, detect a hint of certain of those traits which were to be characteristic of the Teutonic tribes at the beginning of history. Alike on bronze razors and in Swedish rock-carvings are representations of longboats with the decorated prow and stern which we associate with the later Viking adventurers. More important is the engraving on a stone-slab from a kist found at Kivik in southern Sweden; on this slab a group of women is depicted round a cauldron, and files of captives are being slaughtered. The scene has recalled a ceremony described by Strabo in the first century

B.C. in connexion with the Teutonic Cimbri (whose original home was in the Danish peninsula) and suggests a significant cultural continuity.

The earlier centuries of the first millennium B.C. were a period of increasingly direct contact between the Mediterranean civilizations and barbaric Europe. Bronze bowls and buckets manufactured in northern Italy now began to find their way into the Baltic region. Now, also, the Teutonic peoples seem to have begun to take a more lively interest in the outside world. Certain of their crafts and customs were modified at this period to an unprecedented degree by contact with the cultures which approached them on the south. Notably, they varied, to an increasing extent, their traditional burial-custom (mound-burial) by a partial adoption of the habit of burial in flat graves · a habit associated pre-eminently with the 'Lausitz' culture of Saxony and western Silesia (above, p. 207).

In or about the eighth or seventh century B.C., this modified Teutonic culture appears suddenly in the neighbourhood of the lower Rhine. The intrusion is a noteworthy event in the prehistory of Europe; it marks the first significant emergence of the Teutonic peoples from their northern home, and the beginning of that Germanic restlessness which, right down to modern times, has been a dominant factor in European history.

By the beginning of the sixth century B.C., these Baltic invaders had established in the Low Countries a culture which was to last, substantially unchanged, into the early historic period. It was doubtless introduced by the direct ancestors of the Germanic Frisii and Batavii whom we find at the dawn of history in those same regions. By the end of that century similar invaders were pushing southwards into the Rhineland. Already, the Germanic peoples were swarming into that large tract of central Europe which later, at the end of the first century A.D., was defined by Tacitus in the words 'Germany is separated from Gaul by Rhaetia and Pannonia (i.e. Lower Hungary) by the rivers Rhine and Danube; from Sarmatia and Dacia by mountains and mutual dread.'

On their arrival in the Rhineland the Germans came into

contact with the great middle-Rhenish 'Celtic' culture which is best represented by the celebrated chieftains' graves of the fifth century B.C. It was not until the decline of this 'Celtic' culture, some two centuries later, that the next stage of Germanic penetration towards the west became feasible; but in the third and second centuries B.C. there took place, throughout the region between the middle Rhine and the Seine, an extensive intermingling of Germanic and Celtic peoples and cultures.

The most important product of this interpenetration was that group of half-Celtic, half-Teutonic, tribes to which, in Caesar's day, the generic name, Belgic, was attached. These tribes occupied not merely the modern Belgium but a considerable part also of north-eastern France, including Normandy. The basis of their culture was the old Celtic civilization which had flourished in the Marne district in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (above, p. 232). Indeed, the Germanic elements in this mixed population are difficult now to isolate. It may have been in their mode of life—in their predilection for river-valleys and fertile wooded country rather than for the high downs—that the German strain most clearly betrayed itself. Of that trait something more will be said below.

By the latter half of the second century B.C., the expansion of the Germanic peoples had become something more than a hesitant intrusion into north-eastern Gaul. The Germanic Cimbri whose original home, probably in Jutland, had apparently been devastated by floods, had cut their way across Europe to the valley of the Danube and, in 113 B.C., actually defeated a Roman consul in Carinthia. Still searching for new homes, they invaded Spain, marched and counter-marched through Gaul and even invaded Italy—the first Germans to cross the Alps. In their expeditions they were joined from time to time by other Teutonic or Celtic tribes, notably the Helvetii, driven outwards from their home in the neighbourhood of the Rhine and the Maine by the curious centrifugal force which is a constant phenomenon in the prehistory of central Europe.

Of the peoples of Gaul, only the Belgae successfully with-

stood the Cimbri in their swift and devastating migrations. In the year 103 B.C., along the valley of the Seine, the Belgae effectively stopped the northward return of the German tribesmen. It may, however, have been in part a result of the increasing pressure of German expansion that, in or about the beginning of the first century B.C., the Belgae began to explore and to colonize the south-eastern coasts of Britain.

These British Belgae have been to some extent known to us since 1890, when Sir Arthur Evans identified, at Aylesford on the Medway, their distinctive pottery with its slender pedestals and its horizontal bands or cordons. This type of pottery was already of archaic form; it had been derived by the Belgae from the 'Celtic' civilization which had flourished in the Marne and Aisne in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and, admixed with humbler ceramic types which should probably be regarded as Germanic rather than Celtic in origin, formed an important part of the equipment of our Belgic invaders. Research carried out since 1890 has shown that, during the first century B.C., the Belgae settled here and there along our south-eastern coasts between Hengistbury Head, at Christchurch in Hampshire, and the creeks and estuaries of Essex. From the coastline they found their way inland along the river-valleys, such as the Stour and Medway in Kent, and the Crouch and Blackwater in Essex. Their vanguard, proceeding up the Thames estuary, seems to have turned northwards at about the future site of London, and the first phase of immigration appears now to have come to an end in a region centring upon the headwaters of the river Lea in Hertfordshire. There, near the village of Wheathampstead, has been identified a Belgic oppidum, 100 acres in extent, which may have been the headquarters of the Belgic king Cassivellaunus at the time of Julius Caesar's raid in 54 B.C.

Later, during the conservative régimes of Augustus and Tiberius on the Continent and the strong rule of Tasciovanus and Cunobeline, Belgic successors of Cassivellaunus in Britain, the Belgae, recruited from the Continent, extended and developed their British territories as far north as Northamptonshire and as far west as Wiltshire and Gloucestershire. At the

end of the first century B.C., Belgic cities, such as Verulamium (St. Albans) in Hertfordshire and Calleva (Silchester) in Hampshire, came into being. The former was for a time, as the headquarters of King Tasciovanus, in some sense the metropolis of a large part of Britain. Later, as commercial relationships with the Romanized Continent increased in importance, the Belgic headquarters, under King Cunobeline, was moved to a more convenient coastal site at Camulodunum, in the environs of the modern Colchester.

In more than one respect, this half-Celtic, half-Teutonic settlement of south-eastern Britain, within the last three or four generations of the pre-Roman era, was one of outstanding importance. The Belgae were something more than the continental outcasts from which prehistoric Britain had often enough been compelled to recruit her population. They were already the possessors of an evolved and, on the whole, successful political organization which, though tribal in structure, had acquired a considerable civic and territorial complexion. At Wheathampstead, at Verulamium, at Silchester, at Colchester, and perhaps elsewhere can still be seen the formidable relics of the earthwork boundary-lines wherewith they defined the territories of their new settlements. These boundaries run, sometimes for several miles, across the countryside between one natural obstacle and another, and must have served both as a clear limit at a time before maps were available, as a barrier where customs dues could conveniently be collected and, incidentally, as a hindrance to unauthorized cattle-driving.

In this custom of building frontier-dykes may perhaps be detected the influence of the German strain in the Belgae; for we are reminded of the words of Tacitus (*Annals*, ii. 19) who, in the first century A.D., describes the German tribe of the Cherusci as assembling 'in a spot closed in by a river and by forests, within which was a narrow, swampy plain. The woods, too, were surrounded by a bottomless morass; only on one side the Angrivarii had raised a broad earthwork as a boundary between themselves and the Cherusci.' Nor is this the only Teutonic trait which we seem to identify amongst the Belgic settlers.

Before their time, British villagers had dwelt here and there along the gravel banks of our rivers. But the Belgae now for the first time began to develop the river-valleys, to direct their lines of communication systematically along and across them and, above all, to build their major cities in direct relationship with them. Their cities, such as Wheathampstead and Verulamium. are sited in obvious connexion with adjacent fords. They are, moreover, built in part upon clay land which their constructors must have cleared of forest-growth. Indeed, the predilection of the Belgae for sites of this kind is sufficiently indicated by Caesar when he says that 'the Britons apply the name of stronghold to any woodland spot, difficult of access and fortified with a rampart and trench', noting in particular that the stronghold of Cassivellaunus was 'protected by woods and marshes'. And this association with wooded clay land and river-valley is perhaps further illuminated by the view, recently propounded, that the Belgae were the first to introduce into Britain the continental wheel-plough with massive coulter, which alone could effectively enable them to till the fertile but heavy clay soil that attracted or, at least, failed to deter them.

As the pioneers of the valley-development in Britain, the Belgae were in some degree the forerunners of those Teutonic immigrants who were to exploit our river-valleys in and after the fifth century A.D. More immediately, however, they prepared the way for the Roman settlement of Britain after A.D. 43. Already, for more than a generation before that date, the Belgae, under the kings Tasciovanus and Cunobeline, had thrown open their territories to Roman commercial enterprise. It was, it seems, the Belgae who first introduced into Britain the use of coinage, deriving their types from a Greek coinage used by Rome. Not content with the efforts of their native moneyers, they gradually introduced Roman or Romanized craftsmen, who were working in this country in the service of Belgic kings some decades before Roman rule was established here. Roman bronzes, Roman pottery, Roman silver vessels were trafficked with Britain in return (as Strabo tells us) for corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron, skins, slaves, and hunting dogs. One of the most astonishing results of the

recent excavations on the site of Cunobeline's capital at Col-
chester has been the discovery of some of the finest products of
the Italian factories on the floors of the primitive hutments of the
Belgic population. It was with this curious and paradoxical
mixture of commercial prosperity and native squalor that the
Roman invader, following in the steps of Roman traffickers, was
confronted in the year 43.

<center>(<i>c</i>) CELTS AND ROMANS</center>

Our summary has now brought us to the eve of the final
Roman conquests in the west. The arrival of the legions of
Claudius in Britain in A.D. 43 did not, of course, bring abruptly
to an end the whole of the traditions of native culture. It is
true that disciplined Roman forts and valley-towns, in Britain
as in Gaul and Germany, replaced the rugged oppida of the
preceding age. The facile perfection of Roman craftsmanship
with its mass-production undermined much of the independence
and initiative of the native craftsmen. Latin was the language
of the schools and of commerce. Above all, the geographical
possibilities of these countries were explored and developed and
framed in a rigid system of roads which has, more than any
other single thing, determined their modern structure, and has
even to a large extent survived unforeseen industrial develop-
ments. Nevertheless, this obviously intensive process of romani-
zation had on the fringes of Europe a counterpart which is not
entirely negligible. In Britain, in spite of the wide pervasion of
spoken and written Latin, there must have been also a strong
element of popular and unwritten Celtic, which was destined to
survive when romanization ultimately lost its hold. The agri-
cultural system of 'Celtic' Britain, as we have seen, lasted
unchanged, at least in several parts of Britain, by the arrival of
Roman civilization, and the distribution of the country popula-
tion remained but little modified by that event. All the deliberate
efforts of Roman statesmanship to urbanize and so to weaken the
decentralized native tribal system did not prevent, for example,
the tribal name of the Parisii from surviving in that of their
principal town, of which the romanized local name (Lutetia)

has long been forgotten by more modern Parisians. But in the British Isles perhaps the most remarkable of all native survivals was that of the Celtic art, the growth of which we have sketched in our survey of the La Tène period. The easy repetition of increasingly degraded classical motifs which characterized the mass-produced Roman craftsmanship did not, even in romanized England, at once extinguish all native inspiration, and indeed some of the most elaborate examples of Celtic art were produced during the first century of the Roman occupation. In the third and fourth centuries, Celtic craftsmen seem at last to have lost heart, and scarcely anything of their distinctive genius can be identified in that period. Nevertheless, deep in the consciousness of the Celtic population, the instinct for this Celtic art survived. When, after more than two centuries of intermittent chaos and increasing poverty in Britain, the Saxon settlement brought once more a sort of peace and prosperity to the lowlands of England, the subject Celtic population again bestirred itself and produced elaborate enamelled escutcheons in a modified Celtic tradition. A little later, the emergence of a strong and wealthy Celtic church in the north and the west provided patronage for a final and glorious phase of Celtic art. These last manifestations do not directly concern us here, but no summary of Celtic achievement can be concluded without a passing reference to them.

CELTIC LANGUAGE AND CIVILIZATION: A RETROSPECT

IN the later sections of the preceding summary of prehistoric civilization in the West, the term 'Celtic' has been applied with increasing boldness to certain definite cultural elements. In view of the warnings already uttered in a previous chapter (p. 173), this correlation of language with culture may seem rash and even inconsistent. Nevertheless, the historical evidence as to the Celtic domination of an area adjacent to the headwaters of the Danube at the beginning of the fifth century B.C. is sufficiently precise to enable us to identify the dominant contemporary culture of that area as that of the local Celtic-speaking peoples; and consistent with this is the prevalence in south-western Germany of Celtic river-names, amongst which both 'Rhine' and 'Danube' should be included. There are, of course, many Celtic names of towns in France, but very few of rivers, and 'river-names (especially those of the larger streams) are apt to be older than the names of towns'. Accordingly, as Mr. de Navarro remarks, 'the evidence of place-names and river-names favours the view that the early home of the Celts lay, for the most part, to the east of the Rhine; and that the greater part of Gaul was not conquered by them until later', although the important French regional names 'Jura' and 'Doubs' are, it is true, notably Celtic.

Now, it has been shown that the dominant culture of this Celtic area from the fifth century B.C. onwards was that which is known generically as of La Tène. In detail, as we have seen, this culture varied considerably. Certain tribes at certain periods inhumed their dead unburnt, whilst others preferred the rite of cremation. Most of them used flat graves but a few buried beneath large mounds. The pottery varied from time to time and place to place in fabric, shape, and ornament. But from Switzerland to Britain there ran throughout this diversity of detail, a common thread; a distinctive and essentially

homogeneous art. This community of genius throughout an area which is known to have been the province of a common language enables us to speak with assurance of the La Tène civilization as substantially Celtic.

Thus far the paths of language, history, and archaeology coincide. Backward beyond the year 500 B.C., two of these paths peter out and we are left with one uncertain track which at the best cannot be expected to lead us very far. In the present context, its exploration need not be allowed to detain us long.

If we are to avoid merely profitless conjecture, it is necessary to restrict our search to one definite problem: how far can we trace a continuous ancestry for the La Tène civilization? In so far as an unbroken ancestry can be established, so far can we, with some (though not absolute) security, retain contact with the forerunners of the historic Celts.

La Tène or Celtic art represents, as has been indicated above, the reaction on the Celtic mind of Greek and Scythian art as introduced into the Celtic area by commerce in the late sixth and fifth centuries B.C. We must not therefore look for any distinctive manifestation of it at an earlier date, and our surest guide to the presence of a Celtic element thus vanishes exactly at the point at which our historical evidence likewise fails us. In the absence of this distinctive art, the Hallstatt phase of culture presents, at first sight, a disconcertingly different appearance from that of La Tène. Can the latter in fact have been derived from the former and can we in any sense regard the Hallstatt culture as Celtic or proto-Celtic?

The question cannot yet be answered definitely. But certain points are worthy of remark. In the first place, the Hallstatt culture of 1000–500 B.C. embraced the whole area occupied at the outset by the La Tène culture; and unless some evidence for a powerful intruding element can be detected in this area at the end of the Hallstatt period, a prima-facie case for continuity has been established. In the second place, certain important types, notably the brooch, can be shown to have developed consistently in the Celtic area from the latter part of the Hallstatt to the early part of the La Tène period (see above p. 241),

suggesting a continuity of culture which may indeed be cited as evidence against the likelihood of any serious interruption at this time. Thirdly, Bosch Gimpera and Kraft, working upon the recent results of Spanish archaeology, have emphasized the similarity of late Hallstatt remains in northern Spain with those of south-western Germany; and, recalling the historical hint (less definite, it must be confessed, than is sometimes supposed) of the presence of Celts in Spain at this time, have sought to identify these Hallstatt invaders as Celts. Even more, the same scholars have claimed a Celtic origin for an intruding urn-field culture of central European type in Catalonia, dating perhaps as early as the tenth or twelfth century B.C. (see above, p. 222).

On all grounds the available evidence thus entitles us to suspect that the Hallstatt culture of western Europe (to say nothing for the moment of the preceding urn-field culture) was the lineal precursor of that of La Tène and therefore contained at least a Celtic nucleus.

Is it possible to define more closely the geographical scope of this nucleus? More than one attempt has been made, upon the basis of the distribution of burial customs, ornaments, pottery, and the like. Thus M. Piroutet has divided the later Hallstatt civilization of west-central Europe into two parts: a western peripheral zone in which the Hallstatt culture was archaistic and lacking in initiative, and an eastern province which was alive to new ideas and seems to have provided the main stimulus in the development of central European culture at this period. The dividing line between the two was approximately the Vosges and the valley of the Saône, but, though the more progressive province extended through Württemberg, its eastward limit is not yet clearly recognized. Both areas are marked by a predominance of the rite of inhumation, and mound-burial is in both the rule; but these points of similarity are overshadowed by other factors which justify Piroutet's division. For example, from the Haute-Saône to Württemberg occurs the curious practice of multiple burial and of disposing the bodies of the dead in a circle radially about the centre of the mound. In the same area the later Hallstatt 'horse-shoe' or 'antennae' swords are

numerous, whereas the new fashion rarely penetrated to the
west of the Vosges; and so on. It is clear that if the energy and
initiative of the historic Celts is to be recognized, by anticipa-
tion, in Hallstatt Europe, Piroutet's eastern province can establish
the stronger claim to be regarded as their ancestral home. In
other words, in the seventh century B.C. the Celts may be sup-
posed to have been already in occupation of that territory to
which existing place-names and the earliest historical records of
the fifth century would alike assign them.

What then was the relationship between these proto-Celtic
mound-builders and the people who used flat graves and urn-
fields? As we have seen, a recent attempt has been made to
identify certain Late Bronze Age urn-fields in Spain as 'Celtic',
and to associate them with the contemporary urn-fields of central
Europe. The attempt is ingenious and is based upon welcome
additions to our knowledge of prehistoric civilization in Spain.
But it is perilously near the frontier of conjecture. It is impos-
sible now to guess how far in 1000 or 1200 B.C.—the approxi-
mate date of the urn-fields in question—a Celtic speech had yet
been differentiated from a parent Aryan tongue. And even if a
separate Celtic language had already been evolved, there is no
reason to suppose that its speakers had yet anchored themselves
to a distinctive culture. Bosch Gimpera's urn-field people *may*
have spoken Celtic as he infers; but it would be straining con-
jecture to suppose that all the Late Bronze Age urn-field cultures
were 'Celtic', or that other contemporary cultures were not.
Indeed some of them, on the northern fringe, were almost cer-
tainly Teutonic, whilst on the eastern flank early place- and
tribal-names suggest that the basic element was Illyrian. As
even our brief survey has sufficiently indicated, the complexity
of the interrelationship of the Late Bronze and earliest Iron
Age cultures of Europe has not diminished with increasing
knowledge, and any attempt to equate them with our
recognized linguistic-categories prior to the eve of the historic
period is, at present, waste of time. Moreover, as evidence
accumulates, our confidence in our criteria does not pro-
portionately increase. For example, even such diverse customs

as cremation and inhumation and the use of flat graves or of mounds have in historical times been practised contemporaneously by the same people; and brave efforts which have been made to isolate a Celtic nucleus on the evidence of burial-rites are fore-doomed to failure. For the present, at any rate, we may be content to leave the 'origin of the Celts' (whatever precisely the phrase may mean) approximately where Piroutet has left it, in the latter part of the Hallstatt period.

From our present survey have thus been excluded Mr. H. J. E. Peake's identification of the 'leaf-shaped sword invaders' of western Europe in the second half of the Bronze Age as Celts; Rademacher's, Siret's, J. Loth's, and Abercromby's ascription of a Celtic origin to the Beaker-folk at the beginning of the Bronze Age; and other postulates which would similarly allot a Celtic attribute to Bronze Age or earlier peoples whose linguistic and even cultural link with their successors of the historic Celtic period may at least be described as nebulous. In conclusion, however, a word or two may be said about the Celtic problem in relation to the British Isles where, owing to the survival of two Celtic languages to the present day, the whole discussion of the question of the introduction of a Celtic tongue has assumed a special form.

It is well known that most of the languages of Europe spring from a common origin to which the name Aryan or Indo-European is usually attached. Two of the main derivative groups displayed in ancient times a tendency to subdivide in an analogous fashion, marked principally by the treatment of the Indo-European sound $\bar{K}u$. In Italy, this sound was retained by the Latins and Faliscans as qu, whence these people are known linguistically as Q-Italici; whilst the Oscans and the Umbrians labialized the sound into p and are therefore known as P-Italici. A somewhat similar line of cleavage can be traced between Latin and Greek, the former being, as already remarked, a Q-language and the latter a P-language; e.g. *equos* = *ἵππος*. In Celtic, an equivalent distinction holds good. The Celtic spoken in Ireland, the Scottish Highlands, and the Isle of Man is known as Q-Celtic, whereas Welsh and Cornish (with Breton) are

known as P-Celtic; e.g. the Welsh word *Prydein* is equivalent to the Irish *Cruithni*, both referring (mainly) to Scotland or its inhabitants. It may be added that the Q-Celts have been dubbed Goidels (Gaels) and the P-Celts, Brythons (British).

This distinction has given rise to elaborate theories which need not be discussed here in detail. It will suffice to recall that, noting the relatively remote geographical position of Q-Celtic on the uttermost fringe of Europe, Sir John Rhŷs argued that the Q-Celts or Goidels must have reached the British Isles before the P-Celts and Brythons. He accordingly postulated (1) an invasion of Goidelic Celts into Britain from the Continent via the English Channel and (2) a later invasion, along a similar line, who swept their predecessors before them into the remoter parts where they still survive. In its broad outlines, this theory is a simple and logical explanation of the geographical distribution of the two Celtic languages. In a modified form, it has more recently been supported by Professor J. Fraser, Sir John Rhŷs's successor at Oxford. Unfortunately, more than one essay has been made to extract the theory from its linguistic context and to charge it with an archaeological significance. Attempts have been made, for example, to associate beakers (about 1900 B.C.), leaf-shaped swords (about 1200 B.C.), and various other bronze implements (about 800 B.C.) with the hypothetical Goidelic invasion. For reasons given above, these theories are not here discussed although it may be remarked in passing that, if the Beaker-folk were the Goidels, it is a noteworthy fact that Ireland, whither the Beaker-folk scarcely penetrated, should have become the stronghold of the Goidelic tongue. The truth of the matter is that we have at present no evidence, and are scarcely likely ever to obtain evidence, for associating the arrival of Goidelic Celtic into Britain with any specific cultural unit. There is, and is likely to remain, an insufficiency of contacts, however indirect, between this uncertain prehistoric event and the historic data.

As a counterblast to the Rhŷs theory, Kuno Meyer, voicing the view dominant in Irish scholarship, declared that 'no Gael ever set his foot on British soil save from a vessel that had put

out from Ireland'. In other words, Kuno Meyer held that Goidelic travelled straight to Ireland from the Continent (France and Spain) and, in so far as this brand of Celtic occurs in Britain, it is due there solely to late reaction from Ireland. In support of this view, he was able to point to many indications, in the early historical or semi-historical Welsh and Irish saga literature, of Irish settlement in western Britain during the first few centuries A.D.

It may be admitted that, regarded as a purely linguistic theory, this view again squares tolerably with the facts as known. It has the slight advantage that most of its action takes place upon the historic stage and is capable therefore to some extent of proof from historical and epigraphical sources. For example, the 'early Christian' stones inscribed in the Ogam alphabet in South Wales were undoubtedly the work of those who had learnt their letters in the home of the Ogam script in southern Ireland. The strongest point which the supporters of Rhŷs are able to urge against the Irish view is that the reaction from Ireland to western Britain in the early historical period may be admitted without disproving the validity of Rhŷs's theory, dealing as it does with the first introduction of the Celtic tongue at a considerably earlier date. To this rejoinder, the Irish school may, in turn, retort (in the words of Ekwall) that 'no certain Goidelic names have so far been pointed out among the early place-names of England, and it seems we must assume that if the Goidels once inhabited what is now England, their language and place-names must have been totally superseded by British'. In other words, there is no tangible basis for Rhŷs's theory.

The position as between what may be called the Welsh and Irish schools of thought may thus be described as stalemate. On both sides, the struggle has been waged with considerable enthusiasm and it would be a cynical stroke of fate if ultimately it were found that the basis of their antagonism was, after all, an unsubstantial one. A French writer, M. D'Arbois de Joubainville, has suggested that P-Celtic was a comparatively late differentiation, evolved in Gaul subsequently to the Celtic conquest of Britain, and afterwards transferred thither. Along similar

lines, a distinguished Irish scholar, Professor John MacNeil, has been daring enough to minimize the importance of the linguistic distinction between Q-Celts and P-Celts. 'Such phonetic changes,' he writes, 'as the substitution of P for Q spread in an almost mysterious way through languages'; and he adds that such a phonetic change cannot be taken as necessarily corresponding to any significant racial or political boundaries. On a general review of the whole question, he forms conclusions similar to those which have been advocated above, namely, that the earliest traceable Celts were the dominant Hallstatt iron-workers and that we have no reason for suspecting the arrival of Celts in the British Isles before the general diffusion of iron-working in southern Britain in the fifth or fourth centuries B.C. Even if, in the light of more recent evidence, we extend this date slightly backwards and regard some of the introducers of late Hallstatt pottery into Britain at All Cannings Cross and elsewhere as newcomers from the fringe of the Celtic world (above, p. 227), Professor MacNeil's main thesis remains essentially unchanged.

The one tolerably certain landmark in regard to the Celtic question in Britain is that, in the latter part of the fourth century B.C., Britain already bore a Celtic name—and, it may be remarked, a P-Celtic name—'Pretanic Island' (above, p. 168). At this time, it may be recalled, the custom of chariot-burial of a Celtic type had already reached Yorkshire from a Celtic region of the Continent; and the only substantial philological evidence bearing upon the earliest phases of the Celtic problem in Britain is thus confirmed by, but adds little to, the archaeological evidence. Southern Britain was Celtic in the fourth century B.C., less certainly in the sixth, and further than that we cannot profitably go.

THE CELTS THROUGH ROMAN EYES

IT were a pity to leave the Celts merely as Brythonic abstractions or as skeletons on the Yorkshire Wolds, and a concluding section may be devoted to the living Celts as described by classical writers who came directly or indirectly into contact with them. On the whole, these descriptions display a considerable degree of consistency with one another, and it is easy to draw the hasty conclusion that the Celts were everywhere almost uniform in character and appearance. It is well, therefore, at the outset to emphasize two or three modifying factors. First, the descriptions in question are all relatively late in the history of the Celtic peoples; they deal with a conglomeration of nations which had, to some extent, been consolidated and unified by resistance to their common enemy, the Romans. Secondly, they refer in great part to a period when the Celts were already being pressed hard and interpenetrated by the Teutonic tribes of north-central Europe; with the result that it is now difficult or impossible to discriminate between Celtic and German elements in the 'Celts' as described by certain classical writers. Thirdly, we know from modern experience how readily a national type, particularly a *hostile* national type, becomes fixed in the minds of foreign nations; for example, the bearded and brutal Russian, the gross bullet-headed German, the obstinate and unintelligent John-Bull Englishman, and so on. Even in serious, non-political literature of the present day these conventional 'types' tend to dominate the international outlook; and in ancient times, when descriptive records were rarely the result of first-hand inquiry, this very human tendency may be supposed (even in the absence of a newspaper press) to have been by no means negligible. At the best, we may expect from classical writers a synthetic account of a Celto-German civilization wherein those elements which, for one reason or another, obtruded themselves most persistently along the Roman frontier-lines were generalized at the expense of much important underlying diversity of detail.

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The most circumstantial classical descriptions of the Gauls
are those of Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, who wrote at or
shortly after the time of the Roman conquest of Gaul and were
therefore in a position to describe the Gauls in their pre-Roman
state.

In stature [declares Diodorus] they are tall, with rippling muscles
and white skins: red-haired, not only naturally but they do all they
can to make it redder by art. They often wash their hair in water
boiled with lime, and turn it backward from the forehead to the
crown of the head, and thence to their very necks, that their faces
may be more fully seen, so that they look like satyrs and hob-
goblins. . . . The persons of quality shave their chins close, but their
moustaches they let fall so low that they even cover their mouths:
so that when they eat their meat hangs dangling by their hair, and
when they drink the liquor runs through their moustaches as through
a sieve. . . . In the very midst of feasting, upon any small occasion
it is ordinary for them to rise, and, without any regard for their
lives, to fall to with their swords. . . . In their journeys and fights
they use chariots drawn with two horses, which carry a charioteer
and a soldier, and when they meet horsemen in the battle they fall
upon their enemies with their throwing-spears: then, quitting their
chariots, they set to with their swords. . . . When at any time they
cut off their enemies' heads, they hang them about their horses'
necks.

Their clothing seemed strange to Graeco-Roman eyes. Un-
like the more barbaric Germans, whom Tacitus describes as
'either naked or lightly covered with a small mantle', they wore
parti-coloured coats with sleeves, 'interwoven here and there
with divers sorts of flowers', and wide and flowing trousers
(*bracae* or *anaxyrides*)—a costume of oriental origin derived pos-
sibly through the Scythians of southern Russia. It may have
been introduced thence into the West first by Germans rather
than by Celts. The trousered costume was essentially that of a
horse-riding people, and it is suggestive that in Caesar's time,
when the Germans were thrusting strongly westwards, the old
Celtic usage of chariots was, in Gaul, being superseded by
cavalry, although in remoter Britain, where breeds of horse

large enough for riding were seemingly not yet available,
Caesar found the Celtic pony-drawn chariots still in full vogue.

The defensive arms of the Gauls were

a shield proportioned to the height of the man, garnished with their
own ensigns. . . . Upon their heads they wore helmets of brass, with
large pieces of work raised upon them for ostentation's sake . . . horns
of the same metal or shapes of birds and beasts carved on them. They
have trumpets after the barbarian manner, which in sounding make
a horrid noise, to strike a terror fit and proper for the occasion.

These people are of a most terrible aspect, and have a most dread-
ful and loud voice. In their converse they are sparing of words, and
speak many things darkly and figuratively. . . . Among them they
have poets, who sing melodious songs, whom they call bards,[1] who to
their musical instruments, like unto harps, chant forth the praises of
some and the dispraises of others. . . . There are likewise among them
philosophers or divines whom they call Druids, who are held in
veneration and esteem.

These Druids touched the imaginations of our older anti-
quaries, and at one time dominated our archaeological litera-
ture to such an extent that 'Druidic' became almost synonymous
with 'prehistoric'. It is sufficient now to admit that from before
200 B.C. until after A.D. 61 the Druids were an influential priest-
hood in Gaul or Britain, and that they exercised a considerable
control in secular as well as religious affairs.

The Druids [Caesar states] look after the religious services, care
for sacrifice, public and private, and expound the religion. Many
young men gather round them to study, and they are greatly respected
by the people. They act as judges in almost all disputes, whether
public or private: and when any crime is committed or any murder
done, when any question of inheritance or bounds arises, they settle
the matter, and decide the rewards and fines. . . . There is one Druid
over all the others, holding the chief authority among them. . . . At
a certain time of year they gather at a sacred spot in the territory of
the Carnutes, which is considered to be the centre of all Gaul. Hither
come all who have quarrels from all parts, and submit to their deci-

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[1] The Germans, according to Tacitus, had a somewhat analogous institution:
"There is also current among them [i.e. the Germans] a peculiar kind of verses by
the recital of which, termed "barding" (*barditus*), they stimulate their courage.'

sions and judgment. . . . The Druids think it unlawful to commit
their doctrines to writing, although in most other matters of both
public and private concern they use Greek characters. . . . They
labour most of all to convince the people that their soul does not
perish, but passes after death from one body to another: and they
consider that this idea greatly stimulates courage, as by it fear of
death is lost. Moreover, they treat at length, and teach their young
disciples, concerning the stars and their movements, the extent of the
universe and the earth, of being, of the powers and privileges of the
immortal gods.

How far the Druids were, in origin, a Celtic institution is a
moot point. Caesar observes that 'their sacred lore is believed
to have originated in Britain, and to have been carried thence
to Gaul; and to-day those who wish to study it deeply, as a rule,
cross to Britain to learn it'. The relative antiquity which this
prestige appears to imply for the Druidic organization in Britain,
on the fringe of the Celtic world, suggests a non-Celtic origin for
the system. But, if such be the case, it is at least evident that the
cult and priesthood had become thoroughly naturalized in the
Celtic world by the first century B.C.

It has been remarked above that the political system of the
Celts was essentially tribal and non-territorial. At the dawn of
the historic period, the development of trade and agriculture
was tending here and there to localize them. But the traditions
and temperament of the Celts were those of an incurably nomadic
people. In both Gauls and Britons Tacitus remarks 'the same
audacity in provoking danger and irresolution in facing it when
present'.[1] They were instinctively as volatile and as light-footed
as the half-wild herds which their forefathers had driven and
coralled. The frequent absence of a permanent water-supply in
their hill-towns is characteristic of them in their proto-historic
environment; for on the cut-and-run principle of warfare no
provision for more than a momentary siege was requisite. Wars
were waged between meals.

Their recorded essays in political development were liable to

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[1] Tacitus comments in a similar fashion upon the Germans, of whom he says:
'A family-likeness pervades them all. . . . Eyes stern and blue; ruddy hair; large
bodies, powerful in sudden exertions but impatient of toil and labour.'

be similarly lacking in certainty and direction. The tribal chieftain, with his band of retainers (theoretically, for the most part, his kinsfolk) and his dependents of varying degree, became, when localized by the new territorial ties in a more or less permanent tribal area, a petty monarch whose authority was usually mitigated by a tribal council. Occasionally one of these tribal kings would acquire by force or diplomacy a suzerainty over neighbouring tribes, but such unions were normally of a temporary nature. On the other hand there was a tendency in Caesar's time for the tribal councils to increase their authority at the expense of the kinglet, and in many Gallic states an oligarchical system of government had, at least momentarily, superseded the monarchical, sometimes with annually elected magistrates in place of the former king. We may imagine that the increasing localization of the tribal unit had encouraged the upgrowth of local interests which thus sought a more adequate political expression in a broadening of the basis of control; whilst, conversely the need for a single leader was less insistent now that the semi-military condition of nomadism had largely ceased to obtain. Nevertheless these tentative efforts to solve the political problem were for the most part unsuccessful and evanescent. The Celtic world was ill at ease in its new environment. It was riddled with faction and irresolution. Its conquest by Rome was not premature; and, in the just order of succession which history, rightly read, always exhibits, Celtic Europe was now to pass first through the needed discipline of Roman paganism, and thereafter to re-assert itself for a while in the gentler precincts of the Romano-Celtic church.

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THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES

CENTURIES

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CONTENTS

CAESARISM FROM AUGUSTUS TO DIOCLETIAN

THE ORIGIN OF CAESARISM

WHEN the city-state of Rome had brought the Mediterranean world under its control, it had devised a system of pro-magistracies for the command of its armies abroad and the administration of its provinces, attempting by that device to adapt municipal institutions to the government of an empire. But the municipal machinery at the centre failed to control the proconsuls who commanded the armed forces of the state; one civil war succeeded another; and the final conflict, which followed upon the murder of Julius Caesar, largely destroyed the old municipal nobility, while thirteen years of anarchy had left Italy and the provinces indifferent to everything but peace and a stable administration.

In his treatise on the ideal form of state, so devoted a Republican as Cicero had had to make provision for a 'moderator' to ensure the harmonious working of the constitution. Here he was influenced by Greek political speculation, but the system which he proposed was something more than a philosophic exercise. It probably reflected a considerable body of juristic opinion in the late Republic, responsive to the Platonic notion of the Ideal Statesman as king just because those who were in touch with public affairs were already becoming conscious that only a masterful individual (such as Cicero had hoped to find in Pompey) could compose the disorders from which the Republic already suffered. Certainly to the generation which acclaimed Octavian's victory at Actium and to which republican institutions such as Cicero had seen at work were unknown or a distant memory, there appeared to be 'no remedy for a distracted state but the rule of a single man'.[1]

The movement of events and the qualities and achievement of the man himself had marked out Octavian to be that ruler; and when his victory over Mark Antony at Actium had made

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 9.

him master of the Roman world, public opinion demanded that he should continue to exercise the extraordinary authority which circumstances had placed in his hands. He had already anticipated the role assigned to him, and had indeed enlarged it. As early as the year 40 B.C. he had assumed his adoptive father's title of 'imperator' as a praenomen, as if declaring his intention to associate government permanently with his own person, and to continue and complete the task of Julius. He was to be not only the reorganizer of a distracted state but the founder of a permanent authority, vested in a single person, which should maintain the unity of the Empire in the future. From the circumstances of its origin and growth, that authority combined within itself various and even conflicting characters, and the peculiar form which it assumed is without analogy.

The only system of unifying a territorial empire permanently under a single ruler which was familiar to the Mediterranean world of the last century B.C. was that form of monarchy which Persia had inherited through Assyria from Babylonia, and had re-formed and made reasonable; which had been embodied in a western ruler in the person of Alexander the Great, and which, since the dismemberment of his empire, had survived in fragments down to the period of the Roman maturity, and still survived, in the second half of the last century B.C., in the Perso-Parthian power of the Arsacids, and, within the Mediterranean basin itself, in Egypt, where the Ptolemies had combined the tradition they had inherited through Alexander the Great with the immemorial system of the Pharaohs. This type of monarchy was marked by these four features. The monarch was divine; the god who energized the realm worked in the priest-king, and so was incarnate in him, as in a son. Since the monarch was the divine source of all increase, it followed that power and ownership resided in, and emanated from, his person. The machinery of government therefore took the form of a bureaucracy through which radiated the personal authority of the monarch. Since the authority of the monarch was personal, it was transmitted by dynastic descent.

That this type of monarchy, sanctioned by religious venera-

tion, imposing in form, enriched by a long experience of imperial
administration, should supply ideas and modes of organization
to an institution designed to subject the Roman Empire to a
single ruler was inevitable, especially as it was the form of
government familiar to the eastern subjects of the Empire, and
the best suited to them; and the eastern provinces, at the time
of the foundation of Caesarism, were the richest and most
populous. In effect, the Graeco-Oriental system was to influence
Roman Caesarism from the beginning through the example of
Ptolemaic Egypt, and was to affect it powerfully at a later date
through the example of the Persian Sassanids. But at the end of
the last century before our era, to have imposed it upon the
Empire, as Julius Caesar and Mark Antony may have dreamed
of doing, would have been an intolerable break with Roman
tradition. This Octavian recognized. Himself a typical Italian,
and a man conservative by instinct and cautious by temper, he
realized that an authority which was to unify the Roman world
must be rooted in Republican magistracy.

Roman republican magistracy was not altogether unsuited
to be a foundation for an absolute authority. Deriving directly
from kingship, it continued the regal power in theory, and,
owing to the military activity of the Republic, it had retained
much of it in practice. But the kingship from which it derived
had been limited by a council of patriarchs as well as by an
assembly which expressed popular assent. In the Republican
system the connexion between government and popular assent
had persisted not only in the constitutional rule by which the
magistrate was invested with his authority by the 'comitia', but
also, in a more primitive form, in the practice by which a general
received the title of 'imperator' by the acclamation of his troops,
while the council of 'patres' had grown into a senate which had
become powerful enough, in the course of the Punic wars, to
insist that the magistracy should be subject to its direction. And
by translation into the Republican magistracy of the consulship,
the power to govern, 'imperium', was in itself weakened; it was
now temporary (annual) and collegial, and, as time went on, it
was disintegrated. From an early period administrative necessity

had caused various powers to be taken out of the consulship
and exercised as separate magistracies, and since the consuls, in
accordance with the municipal tradition, were primarily con-
cerned with the administration of Rome and its Italian territory,
the government of the provinces had been entrusted to pro-
consuls. It is true that the consular imperium was 'superior'
(*maius*) to that of the other urban magistrates, while in its
presence that of the proconsuls lapsed altogether, but in practice
the various urban magistracies had come to be treated as inde-
pendent, each within its own sphere, while the control of the
armies by the proconsuls had enabled them, as the civil wars
had shown, to disregard or override the theoretical superiority
of the consular imperium. As it happened, the personal ascen-
dancy which the great proconsuls had thus been able to establish
itself suggested the method by which government might be
effectively centralized. Alongside the regular magistrates the
senate and people were now to set up an imperator who should
control all the armed forces of the state, and in whom the im-
perium, rid of its temporary and collegial tenure, should be so
reintegrated that every other power should be subordinated to it.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM OF AUGUSTUS

*The settlement of 27 B.C. The imperium of Augustus and the consul-
ship*. The form which this reintegration of the imperium took
and the various titles by which it was expressed cannot be under-
stood without reference to the circumstances and the manner in
which it was brought about. The powers of the triumvirate, as
(irregularly) renewed in 38 B.C. by Octavian and Antony on
their own behalf, had lapsed in 33, and Octavian thereupon
ceased to use the title of triumvir. At the beginning of 32, how-
ever, he contrived that Italy and the western provinces, alarmed
by the designs of Antony and Cleopatra, should take the military
oath to him as 'imperator', and he at once accepted this as
a conferment of a 'superior and unlimited imperium' (*maius
imperium infinitum*), valid in an emergency when the constitutional
machinery was in suspension. When his victory at Actium and
the death of Antony had left him without a rival, he continued

to exercise this power, as he himself claimed in his own record of his reign, 'by general consent'.[1] But a position so open to challenge could not be permanent. It was necessary that his sole tenure of an unlimited imperium should be confirmed by the constitutional organs of the state. Accordingly, in 28 B.C., he broke connexion with his revolutionary past by annulling all measures which he had previously taken, whether in association with his colleagues in the triumvirate or on his own account, and at the beginning of 27 he 'transferred the republic to the senate and people',[2] that is, he recalled the constitutional machinery into action. He was himself consul at the time, and a senate composed mostly of men who owed to him their position and their prospects would not allow his resignation of his imperium to become effective, and at once confirmed his tenure of it. At this stage, however, so exceptional a power was better represented as still a temporary one; Octavian prudently accepted it, in the first instance, for a period of ten years, and it was only by periodical renewal thereafter that it was extended to cover his lifetime. Again, since it was his object not only to have his position confirmed, but to secure the co-operation of the senate and its magistrates in the work of government, he limited the direct exercise of his imperium to a group of provinces which included almost all those in which troops were stationed, leaving the others to the charge of the senatorial proconsuls. This settlement was come to at a meeting of the senate on the 13th January, 27 B.C. Three days later the senate conferred upon him the title, certainly prearranged, of 'Augustus'. Ostensibly, this title, which attached sanctity to his person, was conferred in recognition of his magnanimity in formally resigning his imperium and 'restoring the republic'; in reality, it was intended to mark him out as exalted above his fellows, and consecrated by a special association with the state.

By this settlement Augustus (as he must now be called), besides guaranteeing the reality of his imperium by retaining under its control almost all the armed provinces, had regularized his tenure of it, and had associated with him in its exercise the

[1] *Res Gest.* 34.   [2] Ibid.

senate and the magistrates. 'Thereafter', he says, in his account of his reign, 'I surpassed all in authority.'[1] He adds that, so far as concerned the actual magistracies which he held from time to time, he exercised no more power in and through them than did his several colleagues.[2] This would refer particularly to his consulships. He was consul in 33 and again in 31, and from that time onwards he was consul every year until 23. This magistracy, with the means which it supplied of initiating state action through the senate, dispensed with the need for asserting his extraordinary imperium at the centre of government. This was the more desirable that his imperium, though now constitutionally authorized, was in itself an extra-constitutional power. It still remained to give to it, if only by title and analogy, a constitutional character. That was done in the year 23.

The Settlement of 23 B.C. The 'imperium proconsulare' and the 'tribunicia potestas'. Although Augustus made use of the consulship to supplement his extraordinary imperium between 27 and 23, it was not by relating his imperium organically to the consulship that he gave it the regular character which a function intended to be permanent required. Quite apart from the administrative inconvenience of his appropriating one of the consulships, it would have been an awkward arrangement to have attached a non-collegial imperium designed to be held for life to a collegial magistracy which required annual renewal, and it would have meant a sharp break with the later Republican practice to have identified an imperium which gave its holder command of all the military resources of the state with a magistracy which had long had a strictly civil character. The constitutional function which, throughout the later Republic, had carried with it the highest military commands was the imperium exercised by the proconsuls. Since Sulla, it had been the origin and basis of all personal ascendancy in the state. The position of Pompey between 67 and 62 B.C. supplied a precedent for vesting it in a single person for a prolonged period in a form 'superior' (*maius*) to that of the other proconsuls. It was the one known function not involving a suspension of the constitution (as did

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[1] *Res Gest.* 34.   [2] Ibid.

the exceptional offices of the dictatorship and the triumvirate)
which could be made to cover the non-collegial tenure of a
'superior and unlimited imperium', such as Augustus now held
and such as he proposed should be the permanent unifying
authority of the state. Accordingly Augustus decided that his
imperium should be defined as 'proconsular'.

Since the proconsular imperium could not be exercised by an
acting consul, this definition of his authority was connected with
Augustus's decision to abandon, as administratively inconveni-
ent, the practice of holding the consulship year by year, and
to devise another means of employing senatorial procedure as a
supplement to the direct exercise of his imperium. Accordingly
in July, 23 B.C., on the occasion of the Latin Festival upon the
Alban Mount, Augustus formally resigned the consulship, which
he held at the time. Thereupon the senate declared him the
possessor of an imperium defined as 'proconsular'. This required
a formal disavowal of two restrictions which might seem to be
implied by the title, for, according to Republican usage, the
proconsular imperium was an *imperium aequum*, that is, an im-
perium which was exercised equally by all proconsuls, each
within his own province, and which lapsed in Rome in the
presence of the 'superior' (*maius*) imperium of the acting consuls.
It was therefore expressly laid down in 23 B.C. that under the
proconsular name the imperium of Augustus was still 'superior'
to that of the ordinary proconsuls and was still tenable every-
where, including Rome.

At first sight the settlement of 23 B.C. might appear to be an
innovation by which the proconsular power was, for the first
time, brought within the city. What is true is that the pro-
consular name was brought within the city and applied to a
power already exercised there. No real change can have been
apparent, and, in effect, the change was formal. An imperium,
hitherto extraordinary, though its tenure had been authorized
by the senate since 27, was now incorporated, not without strain,
in the regular machinery of the constitution by being assimilated
to the proconsular imperium of the later Republican system. As
a matter of fact, the incorporation was never complete. Caesar's

imperium never entirely divested itself of its extraordinary and emergency character, and this, as we shall see, prevented any fixed rule from being laid down for its regular transmission. Indeed it never even got rid of the influence of its revolutionary and military origin. Circumstances continually arose to remind men that the imperium which the senate endeavoured to incorporate in the constitutional machinery in 23 B.C., and which it had already authorized in 27, had not been, in the first instance, constitutionally conferred, but had been assumed to have been validly exercised since 32 B.C. in virtue of a popular acclamation and military oath. This idea, inherent in the origin of Caesarism, that the imperium, while it could receive constitutional authorization from the senate alone, and by the senate alone could be related to the other organs of constitutional government, could yet be validly conferred, in the first instance, by the acclamation of any group of citizens, and especially of soldiers, who might be supposed, or might suppose themselves, to represent the state, exercised an evil influence upon the whole history of Caesar's office, affecting not only its peaceful transmission but the security of its actual tenure. Still, so long as it was in Caesar's hands, the imperium was now, under the proconsular name, fully re-integrated as 'superior and unlimited'.

To the unlimited power of direct rule thus possessed by Caesar the other organs of government were increasingly made subject in practice as well as in theory. But this assertion of the imperium in practice was gradual. It was the design of Augustus to continue, as far as possible, the Republican tradition, and to associate the senate and its magistrates with him in the task of government without appearing to impair their constitutional functions. It was therefore necessary to supplement his imperium by some power which should enable him to control the proceedings of the senate from the inside. Between 27 and 23 B.C. such a power had been given to him by the consulship. After the settlement of 23 B.C., when he resigned the consulship, he looked to the 'tribunician power' to supply its place.

The tribunician power, giving him the rights and privileges of the tribunate without his holding the actual office of tribune,

had been conferred upon Augustus by a law of 36 B.C. He now
brought this power into prominence. In 23 B.C. the title first
appears upon his coinage, and from that year onwards an annual
number is given to the title, and so an imperial reckoning by the
number of the tribunician power now appears alongside the
ancient system of dating by consuls. It is true that this title did
not carry with it, as the consulship had done, an actual power
to govern (imperium), but that was not what Augustus wanted.
In his proconsular imperium, as defined in 23 B.C., he already
possessed a power of direct government that was unlimited.
What he sought to replace by the 'tribunicia potestas' was not
such power to govern as the consulship had given him but the
means it had afforded of setting in motion, and of controlling,
the traditional machinery of the constitution—the senate, with
its magistrates, and the popular assembly. In certain respects
the tribunician power suited his purpose better than the consul-
ship. It enabled him to appear as the representative of the
people, and so prepared the way for the virtual disappearance
of the popular assembly. It made him personally sacrosanct,
so that any action against his person was treason against the
state and indeed sacrilege; and this assisted Augustus's design
to associate religious veneration with the person of the ruler. It
had none of the administrative inconveniences of the consulship.
In the form in which Augustus possessed it, it was permanent
and non-collegial, and, combined with his other prerogatives,
it completely negatived the power of the acting tribunes; and by
thus subjecting to his control one of the recognized instruments
of revolution, he made his imperium more stable in its tenure
as well as more free in its exercise. And while he freed himself
from the veto of the acting tribunes, he could himself employ
the right of veto, which the tribunician power conferred, to
control, in a negative way, the action of the senate. On the
positive side, it is true, the tribunician power was inferior to the
consulship in the means it provided for initiating state action
through the senate, but that inferiority was removed. Augustus
was given an unlimited right to summon the senate to meet
under his presidency or, in his absence, under the presidency of

one of the consuls, and to obtain decisions without discussion; and in bringing business before it he was given precedence over the acting consuls. Decrees conferring these amplifications of the tribunician power, along with others enlarging, or defining, his proconsular imperium—notably decrees giving him the power to declare war and make peace, and an unlimited right of edict—were passed by the senate from time to time in the years following 23 B.C. Upon his successors all those supplementary powers were granted *en bloc* along with the proconsular imperium, now tenable for life, and the tribunician power. The measure by which these powers were conferred took the form of a decree of the senate translated into a 'law' by being formally passed through the popular assembly.

The proconsular imperium and the tribunician power were the bases upon which Caesarism rested. They were the culmination of the military and popular influences which had directed the course of the revolution out of which Caesarism arose. But though it was a special mark of the imperium that it carried with it the coercive power of the state, it cannot properly be said to represent exclusively the military side of Caesar's office, any more than the tribunician power can be said to represent completely its civil aspect. Rather the distinction is that the imperium gave an unlimited power of direct rule (with the means to enforce it), while the tribunician power now provided, in a higher degree than any of the urban magistracies, the means of initiating and controlling state action through the traditional organs of the constitution. In the early days of Caesarism, no doubt, the summary exercise of the imperium was mainly confined to the provinces, and especially to those military provinces which, as we have seen, were assigned especially to Caesar, while within the city the 'tribunicia potestas' and its supplementary powers were employed as far as was possible. But such indirect action gave way more and more to direct government, and within the city itself the tribunician power was increasingly effaced by the imperium.

Caesar as 'pontifex maximus'. While the imperium and the tribunician power gave Augustus an unlimited control of govern-

ment, direct and indirect, in temporal matters, they hardly
touched upon the sphere of religion. Yet, according to the
ancient conception, religion and the state were inseparably
connected. A complete control of the state, therefore, meant
control of the pontificate. This Augustus secured by having
himself elected 'pontifex maximus'. This did not take place
until 12 B.C., but the delay did not mean that Augustus regarded
the pontificate as of little account. On the contrary, the delay
was due to a scrupulous respect for the person of the living
pontifex, Marcus Lepidus, the former colleague of Augustus and
Antony in the triumvirate. Though Lepidus had been deprived
since 36 B.C. of all share in the government of the Empire, yet
his pontificate had been respected, and it was not until his death
in 12 B.C. that Augustus succeeded to the office. Throughout
the first century the pontificate continued to be conferred upon
the emperor subsequently to the conferment of the imperium,
the right of conferring it passing from the popular assembly to
the senate at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, when the
assembly ceased to elect the magistrates. But after the Flavian
period it was conferred upon the emperor along with his other
powers.

Caesar as 'pater patriae'. Augustus now combined in his own
person the supreme control of religion and government. To this
combination of powers a certain character was given by a title
which he received in 2 B.C. That was the title of 'father of his
country' (*pater patriae*). Though honorary, it had the effect of
associating with the authority of Augustus the patriarchal tradi-
tion, which, no less than the regal and military traditions, was
at the root of Roman magistracy. That the authority of the
Caesars within the state could be regarded as analogous to the
ancient paternal authority (*patria potestas*) within the family
undoubtedly helped it to win acceptance and to command
obedience. It was under the influence of this idea that Caesar-
ism developed as a parental absolutism. Indeed its influence
went farther than that. Just as the paterfamilias was conceived
to incarnate the tutelary spirit of the family, so the emperor, as
father of his country, would seem to incarnate the tutelary spirit

of the state, the spirit of its founder Romulus. Like the title of Augustus, therefore, the paternal title would help to associate religious veneration with the person of the ruler.

Caesar as 'princeps'. In the group of official titles which Augustus now combined with the hereditary name of Caesar, and which, with Caesar, were to form the permanent element in the designation of his successors—*imperator Caesar Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunicia potestate, pater patriae*—such specific functions as were indicated all derived from the Republican system—the imperium, the tribunician power, and the pontificate. Though they had never before been combined in one person, Augustus could at least claim that for each of them, taken separately, there was constitutional precedent. It is true that there was precedent for a proconsular power defined as 'maius' only as a temporary measure, but it was as a temporary measure, it will be remembered, that Augustus, in the first instance, accepted the senate's authorization of his imperium, no doubt calculating, and rightly so, that his office would become permanent because the necessity in which it arose would be found to be permanent —the necessity of maintaining frontier armies which had to be co-ordinated in their relation to the central government as well as in their action against the barbarian. He could therefore represent his power as being no despotism imposed upon the state from outside but rather a development from within, a development of magistracy, in response to the pressure of circumstances. In effect, it was the achievement of Augustus so to direct that development that the connexion with the Republican constitution was not broken, and such vitality as it possessed passed into the new system. Fundamentally, the Roman conception of government remained unchanged. The state was still a 'res publica', a commonwealth; it was to the state that sovereignty belonged; and that sovereignty was exercised on its behalf by Caesar because the state had formally conveyed it to him as one of its citizens. It was as 'first citizen', as 'princeps', that Augustus described himself, and, though the title never became an official one, it was as princeps that he was regarded by the Roman citizen and it was as a principate that his office

was described by the Roman historian.[1] If the term did not in itself convey, and was not intended to convey, the full measure of his power, the view that it was a mere disguise to conceal what was, in reality and from the beginning, a despotism of the Graeco-Oriental type is untenable. The Republican elements in Caesarism were not a disguise; they were the very stuff of which it was made; and though it is true that it was influenced from the beginning, and in an increasing degree, by the Graeco-Oriental tradition, yet it was just in assimilating that influence that Caesarism showed most clearly how vital and tenacious was its magisterial origin and character.

CAESAR AS AN OBJECT OF WORSHIP

It was from Graeco-Oriental monarchy that Caesarism took over, within the lifetime of its founder, its acceptance of a religious cult. This cult took two forms—the apotheosis of the emperor at death, the adoration of the emperor during his lifetime.

The practice of formally deifying a dead ruler had begun in 42 B.C., when the senate decreed the apotheosis of Julius Caesar. Augustus was deified in his turn, and thereafter it was the rule for an emperor to be deified on death by decree of the senate. After the death of the first Augustus, it was the cult of the *divi*, or emperors deified at death, rather than that of the living emperor, that was characteristic of Rome and the municipalities of Italy and of the more latinized of the western provinces. Though of oriental origin, it fitted in readily with the Roman cult of the 'Di Manes' or spirits of the dead. More difficult to reconcile with Roman ideas was the payment of a religious cult to the living ruler, and it was here that Caesarism was most influenced by Graeco-Oriental monarchy, notably by the example of the Ptolemies, the successors and representatives of the divine Pharaohs.

As inheritor of the realm and treasure of the Ptolemies, Augustus found himself inheritor also of their divinity, and he knew that it would have compromised his authority in Egypt if he had refused to accept that divinity. The same was true of

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 9; iii. 28.

the rest of the East. There the divinity which had passed from
the Persian 'king of kings' to Alexander and his successors had
long ago been transferred to Rome and her representative. In
196 B.C., on the 'liberation of Greece' by the defeat of Philip in
the second Macedonian war (200–196 B.C.), Smyrna had erected
a temple to Rome as to a goddess, while the people of Chalcis
went farther and paid divine honours to the victorious pro-
consul, T. Quinctius Flamininus. The practice spread, and
Augustus himself, because of his extraordinary achievement and
of his exalted position, was regarded with particular veneration
in all the eastern provinces. There, as in Egypt, to have re-
pudiated divinity would have weakened his hold over the native
population. So far from doing that, he accepted the cult and
organized it, persuaded by the example of the Ptolemies that it
would help to unite the subjects of the Empire in reverence to
his office.

But Augustus did not venture to assert officially the divinity
of the ruler in the Graeco-Oriental sense. His first step towards
associating religious veneration with himself officially had been
to secure from the senate in 27 B.C. the title of 'Augustus'. The
term had hitherto been applied to objects blessed for ritual usage.
It therefore represented the emperor as the consecrated instru-
ment of divinity.

A further step taken at Rome associated religious veneration
with him in a more personal and intimate way. It had been the
habit of the humbler classes in the city (as in the country) to pay
a cult to the 'lares of the crossroads' (*lares compitales*) whose altar
was erected in the quarter (*vicus*) where they lived. Between
12 and 7 B.C., when Augustus restored and remodelled the old
'vicus' organization of the capital, he replaced the 'lares com-
pitales' by the 'lares of Augustus', with which the 'genius of
Augustus' came to be associated. Some twenty years before,
shortly after the victory of Actium, a decree of the senate had
introduced the cult of the genius of Augustus into domestic
religion alongside that of the genius of the paterfamilias, every
family being thus encouraged to look upon the emperor as a
second parent. This cult was now made part of the public life of

Rome, where every quarter of the city, by a corporate sacrifice to the lares and genius of Augustus, was to show that it regarded itself as living under his paternal protection. So the notion of Augustus as 'father of his country' was officially given a religious expression some years before the paternal title was conferred upon him.

The cult of the genius and the lares of Augustus associated religious veneration with Caesar in a personal but indirect manner. More direct was the worship which we have described as paid to Augustus in the eastern provinces and which by now had been officially recognized, organized, and extended to the West. As an official institution the cult was described as of 'Rome and Augustus'. It was in the charge of a *concilium*, or 'assembly' (*commune* in the East), which represented a province, or a homogeneous group of provinces, and was composed of delegates of the local communities, meeting under the presidency of a high priest (*flamen* or *sacerdos provinciae, arae*), who sacrificed in their name at the altar of Rome and Augustus. This officially recognized cult was inaugurated in the provinces of Asia and Bithynia in 29 B.C., and was gradually extended. It had been established in the West by 12 B.C., when an altar was dedicated at Lyons as the centre of the Three Gauls. Alongside of this conciliar cult, there grew up a local or municipal cult of the living emperor in the cities or constituent communities of the several provinces.

The conciliar cult of Rome and Augustus was not established in Italy, but, though the characteristic form of the imperial religion there was always the cult of the *divi*, or emperors deified at death, the cult of the living emperor was practised in certain municipalities, especially after the introduction into Rome by Hadrian of the worship of Rome, with which the municipal cult of the living emperor in Italy, like the conciliar cult of him in the provinces, was usually associated.

When examined in the religious aspect, the structural difference between Caesarism and Graeco-Oriental monarchy becomes apparent. According to the Graeco-Oriental conception the monarch was a god, and this divinity he possessed as a

person and by hereditary transmission. A Ptolemy was not divine because he ruled; he ruled because he was the son of a god and himself a god. The living Caesar, on the other hand, did not present himself as a god in the official worship as established by Augustus. With that his apotheosis after death was inconsistent. *Divus* and *deus* meant different things. The *divus* was one deified after death who, in his lifetime, was a man and whose offspring were men. Such divinity as Caesar possessed did not belong to him as a person or come to him by descent. It came from the state.

This fact was emphasized in the official cult with which the provincial assemblies were charged. There the living emperor appears upon the altar in association with Rome; the dedication is 'to Rome and Augustus'. It is true that in the eyes of the provincials the abstraction tended to be overshadowed by the living reality, but officially the association was maintained. It was maintained also in the municipal cult of the living emperor in Italy, and if the abstract deity passed definitely into the background in the provincial cities, yet the object of worship there was not this or that Caesar as a person but Augustus, the living emperor, whoever he might be, consecrated by his association with the state.

That the city or state—like the family or indeed any collectivity with a permanent identity—had a divine character was a common Graeco-Roman idea. This divinity which belonged to the state was thought of as passing in some measure to the man who embodied its authority. The act by which the sovereignty (imperium) of the state was conveyed to the ruler— and it had always been the Roman theory that such sovereignty was not simply executed by the magistrate but possessed by him—was an act by which the divinity of the state, inseparable from its sovereignty, was conveyed also, and so was, in a fashion, an act of consecration. In this way the conception of the divinity of the ruler, borrowed from the tradition of Graeco-Oriental monarchy, was assimilated to the magisterial tradition from which Caesar's office was developed.

The mark of all this official worship was that it was indirect

or impersonal. It is true that at one time Augustus, in proclaiming himself 'son of the deified Julius', would appear to have been inviting the same personal cult of himself as had been paid to the Ptolemies by their subjects. This design is indeed reflected in the court literature of the period, while the personal worship of him which grew up in certain of the cities of Italy must have been countenanced by him and even encouraged; and it is significant that in so latinized a province as Gallia Narbonnensis this worship was extended to members of his family. Yet in spite of the fact that he had much spontaneous feeling to work upon, Augustus, in his official treatment of the matter, did not venture to claim more than a participation in the divinity of the state. Nor did any of his successors of the first two centuries, with two significant exceptions, make any attempt to assert the claim of a personal divinity. Tiberius would have none of it, and if Caligula and Domitian insisted on being addressed as gods and if Commodus claimed identification with Hercules, these were unrepresentative and, one might say, temperamental cases. No doubt a personal cult of the living emperor persisted privately in various forms, more or less direct, throughout the first two centuries and into the third, but that is a matter which belongs to the history of religion, not to the history of Caesarism. The public worship of the living emperor as a person, rare after the death of Augustus, disappears with the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty until the third century. In the earlier period it had been no part of the official system, and if, in the third century, it increasingly assumed official form, it became more and more devoid of religious meaning. The (fictitious) pedigrees by which Severus presented himself and his sons as the descendants of a long line of deified ancestors, the corresponding notion of the 'divine household', and the employment of the term 'sacred' for everything connected with the emperor, rather served a civil purpose than put forward a religious claim; and the whole official cult, both conciliar and municipal, had become little more than a civil function by the time that Aurelian and his successors presented themselves as god-monarchs in full oriental form. This was a ceremonial expression of their

autocracy and a theoretical sanction of it. The use of the title
'deus' suggested that the emperors' divinity was not derivative,
was not a mere emanation from the divine state, but was theirs in
·their own right, belonged to them personally, came to them by
descent, and was transmitted by them direct to their successors.
It thus implied that their divinity was anterior to their rule and
the justification of it. Like the title 'dominus' now applied to
Caesar, the title 'deus' expressed a modification of the magisterial
idea of Caesar's relation to the state which had developed, under
the influence of the Persian Sassanids, as his autocracy had
come to be more freely asserted.

THE GROWTH OF AUTOCRACY. CAESAR AS 'DOMINUS'

Originally Caesar's authority had been no more than a
temporary charge to deal with an emergency. As Augustus had
anticipated, however, the office became permanent because the
necessity which created it was permanent. Theoretically, in-
deed, on the death of a princeps, the imperium which he had
wielded passed back to the state from which he had received it;
it could not be constitutionally exercised by an individual until
it had been conferred, or its conferment confirmed, by the
senate acting for the state; and the senate need not reconfer the
imperium at all. On the death of Gaius (A.D. 41) they actually
debated the question. But there was little reality in their debate,
and by the time of the death of Nero (A.D. 68), when the
principate lost the support of the prestige of the great Julio-
Claudian family, it was firmly rooted in the Roman system.
It was the view of all reasonable senators of that time that
Tacitus put into the mouth of Galba on the occasion of his
adoption of Piso Licinianus as his successor (A.D. 69): 'If the
immense body of the Empire could stand and keep its balance
without anyone to control it, then were I the person to restore
the republic. As it is, things have long come to such a pass that
my old age can give the Roman people no better gift than a good
successor, nor your youth anything better than a good emperor.'[1]
The senate always did in fact confer, or confirm, the imperium.

[1] Tacitus, *Histories*, i. 16.

The whole administrative machinery of the state now assumed Caesar as its centre, and without Caesar it would have fallen to pieces; and the permanence of the office was equally assumed by the jurists. The deification of the Caesars on death and the confirmation of their *acta*, making them binding as precedents, helped to make their office thought of as continuous. So did the provision that was made for the succession. In the course of the first two centuries a practice was built up by which a successor was designated in the lifetime of the ruling emperor, and was usually made the emperor's colleague in the imperium and the tribunician power. This designation of a successor or successors (for provision might be made for the succession generations ahead) was a public act; it was recognized by the senate. The head of the successor appeared on the coinage (the ancient instrument of official publicity), and his name was associated with the ruling emperor's in public prayers. From Hadrian onwards he received the title Caesar as a cognomen, and by the end of the second century he is described on inscriptions as 'emperor designate' (*imperator destinatus*). Once Caesar's office, originally temporary and provisional, had thus come to be accepted as permanent, the way was open for a development which steadily brought Caesarism nearer to a monarchy of the Graeco-Oriental type.

Adequately secured from the beginning by the constitutional settlement of Augustus and increasingly reinforced by the pressure of circumstances and of public opinion, Caesar's autocracy was more and more openly asserted. As we shall see, the constitutional organs of the state, the senate and the magistrates, were rapidly reduced to subordination, and alongside of them a great bureaucracy was created which was the instrument of Caesar's will.

The increasingly autocratic assertion of Caesar's authority made itself felt not only in administration but in legislation, and as he became the sole source of legislation, there was a tendency to regard him as above the law. From the beginning the emperors had been given dispensation from the operation of certain statutes. It was a dispensation defined by precedent, and for a

time instances occur of emperors applying to the senate for
exemption in cases not covered by precedent. As the emperor
controlled all decrees of the senate, however, the power of dis-
pensation came to be exercised by him concurrently with the
senate, and so he became, in fact, able to dispense himself. In
the early part of the third century the jurist Ulpian (between
211 and 222), commenting upon the *leges Iulia* and *Papia*, lays it
down that Caesar is not bound by the laws; *princeps legibus
solutus est*. That Ulpian's dictum does not refer simply to the
two laws on which he is commenting is suggested by the fact
that a general dispensation is implied in a constitution of
Alexander Severus. There, as in Ulpian, the dispensation re-
lates to private law, but it is significant for the way in which
Caesarism was now regarded by lay opinion that Ulpian's con-
temporary, the historian Dio Cassius (d. 235), so far from be-
lieving the dispensation allowed by the jurist to be limited to
enactments of private law, extends it to the sphere of govern-
ment, and ascribes to Caesar the possession of an imperium un-
fettered by constitutional law.

Dio was an Asiatic Greek (from Bithynia), and his view of
Caesar's power is an indication of the Oriental influence which
was now affecting the notion of Caesar's office. Before the end
of the century, notably from the reign of Aurelian (270–5) on-
wards, the ceremonial observances that marked the court of the
Persian Sassanids had transformed the routine of Caesar's house
upon the Palatine. From an early date, indeed, 'friends of
Caesar' (*amici Caesaris*), with graded precedence, had formed a
kind of court. This institution was, no doubt, of Roman origin,
for the great senatorial houses of the Republic had had their
graded lists of 'friends' who were admitted to the morning
audience, but, as developed by the emperors, it inevitably
assumed a political character. It was from his 'friends' that the
emperor selected not only his legal assessors but also his political
advisors and the 'companions' (*comites Augusti*) who accompanied
him as councillors when he was out of Italy. And whereas the
'friends' of the senatorial houses of the Republic had been per-
sonal intimates, 'Caesar's friends' were senators and equestrians

who had graded rights of admission to the palace according to their official or social rank. They therefore formed a sort of formal court, and, though the institution was of Roman origin, it was of a kind to attract the influence of Graeco-Oriental monarchy. In effect, its formal procedure became steadily more elaborate until, in the reign of Diocletian, an Oriental splendour of ceremony hedged in the majesty of an inaccessible Caesar crowned with the diadem or the tiara. This was the ceremonial equivalent of a practice which grew up in the third century and was to be fully developed in the fourth, by which Caesar increasingly acted by representation, notably by the representation of his praetorian prefects. This practice, like the corresponding ceremony, was in contradiction with the notion of Caesar as a magistrate, which implied personal service and accessibility, and it indicated that his office was being assimilated to Oriental monarchy.

The influence of the Oriental conception of monarchy is also seen in the application to Caesar, and finally the assumption by him, of the title 'dominus' (lord). It was in the reign of Commodus that this title began to be frequently applied to Caesar in the West. With Severus it became general. With Diocletian it was included in the official series of titles, preceding or displacing 'imperator Caesar'. In its narrower sense the term indicated one who exercised authority over anything as its owner. The only persons over whom *dominium* in that sense was exercised were, of course, slaves. In a more extended usage, 'dominus' might indicate any one who exercised authority over what was directly subject to his will. So Cicero could apply the term 'dominus' to the Roman people as the ruler of its subject provinces as well as the author of its own legislation. The transference of the term to Caesar would thus suggest a suppression of the 'res publica' and would imply that Caesar not only exercised a supreme authority but was himself the source of that authority; that he was the ruler of an empire subject to him personally. In the last resort such a personal authority over free men implied a divine sanction, and the title 'dominus', if given its full value, would mean the substitution for a princeps of a god-monarch

of the Graeco-Oriental type. Such a conception of Caesar did, for a moment, receive official expression when the form 'our god and lord' was employed on the coinage of Aurelian (*deo et domino nostro Aureliano Augusto*).

It was, indeed, just because it bore on the face of it the mark of Graeco-Oriental monarchy that the title 'dominus' had been repudiated by Augustus and Tiberius, and claimed by a Caesar of Oriental tastes like Caligula or of despotic temper like Domitian. In the reign of Trajan the title still had the monarchical implication for Pliny, who drew a sharp distinction between 'princeps' and 'dominus' in the Panegyric of the emperor which he delivered in the senate, when consul in A.D. 100. Yet Pliny regularly addresses Trajan as 'dominus' in the letters written from Bithynia a dozen years later. The same style was used by the rhetorician Fronto (an African of Italian descent) in his correspondence with Antoninus Pius. In the same reign, a member of the college of Pontiffs, addressing another member who afterwards became consul, refers to the emperor as *dominus n(oster) imp(erator) Antoninus Aug(ustus)*, and we know from the *Digest* that Pius was addressed as *dominus imperator* by the members of his council. And Pius himself made use of the title, at least in addressing Asiatic Greeks.

In spite of its monarchical implication, then, the title 'dominus' could be freely applied by Pius and his senatorial contemporaries to the holder of the imperium of the Roman 'res publica'. The truth is that the Roman theory of the imperium was such as to invite the application to its holder of the term 'dominus', as if he were master of the state in his own right. According to the Roman conception, the imperium of the state was actually conveyed to the magistrate. He was not merely its executant; he possessed it. So long as his tenure of it lasted, therefore—and Caesar's was a life tenure and a sole tenure of an unlimited imperium—those over whom he exercised it were subject to him as to a ruler and master, one who possessed over them an authority which was, in a sense, a personal authority, a kind of *dominium*, for was not the imperium lodged in his person and was not 'imperator' Caesar's praenomen?

There was another character of Roman magistracy which encouraged men to liken it to an authority of a personal kind. That was the character given to it by the patriarchal tradition. By one line of descent Roman magistracy was an extension of the patriarchal institution, and, though dominated in the later Republic by military influences, it had never ceased to be regarded, in its civil aspect, as analogous to the authority of the paterfamilias within the family. The personal devotion felt towards Augustus, as the restorer and the guarantor of peace, had expressed itself spontaneously in a filial form, and when the title of 'father of his country' was officially conferred upon him in 2 B.C., it simply sanctioned a form of reverence which was already general. That the authority of Augustus was regarded as paternal is implied by a contemporary, the geographer Strabo, and Dio Cassius, the historian, looking back from the third century, notes that this parental idea of Caesar had had a real effect in reinforcing his authority, and had indeed given to it much of its character. 'The title Father', he says, 'does give them a certain authority over us all, such as formerly fathers had over their children. . . . At first a mere title of honour, it yet conveyed the suggestion that, while they loved their subjects, their subjects were bound to reverence them.'[1] More than a century earlier Pliny had said of Trajan: 'We speak not of a lord but of a parent';[2] but the truth was that Caesar as parent was preparing the way for Caesar as lord, both in title and in idea. Like its Greek equivalent (κύριος), 'dominus' had long been applied to the head of a household, the paterfamilias, by all those subject to his authority, not only his slaves and freedmen but his children also; and it was just the filial reverence for Caesar that suggested the identification of the tutelary spirits of the state with the lares and genius of Augustus, the form of Caesar-worship which, while the most akin to the traditional and intimate observances of the Roman people, yet suggested a political conception in which the notion of a 'res publica' tended to fade away and the state to be regarded as an extension or projection of the august and divine household of the deified

[1] Dio, liii. 18.   [2] *Paneg.* 2.

Caesars (*domus Augusta, domus divina*), with the living emperor presiding over it, like an ever-present Romulus, as its lord and master and its protective *numen*. So the patriarchal tradition in Roman magistracy, the Roman notion of the magistrate's personal tenure of the imperium, its possession by Caesar in a reinforced and unlimited form and his increasingly direct and personal exercise of it—all combined to open a way for Graeco-Oriental conceptions of monarchy.

That the description of Caesar as 'dominus' (κύριος) was, in fact, suggested by Oriental usage is clear from the history of the origin and extension of the title. It can be traced spreading from East to West, and the period when its use became general in the West, that is, from the time of the Severan dynasty onwards, was the period when Oriental influence was at its height. Indeed the Oriental origin of the title is plain enough from the conception of a personal monarchy which it implied. And though certain features of Roman magistracy allowed a Roman office of a magisterial kind, such as Caesar's was, to be assimilated in some degree to such a monarchy, yet that assimilation could not proceed beyond a certain point without deforming Caesarism; and it is significant that when, with Diocletian, the title 'dominus' was given a regular place in the series of official titles, it tended to displace the 'imperator Caesar' altogether.

As it happened, the reign of Diocletian was no sooner over than new factors were at work to prevent a personal and irresponsible despotism of the traditional Graeco-Oriental type from establishing itself at Rome in the fourth century. And up to that time, though the Graeco-Oriental influence had increasingly overlaid and obscured the magisterial character of Caesar's office, yet it had not suppressed it altogether. The jurist Ulpian, writing at a time (*c.* 211–22) when the title 'dominus', though not yet included among Caesar's titles, was already commonly applied to him, in the very act of asserting Caesar's absolutism, still explains it as the sovereignty of the state conferred upon Caesar by law. That Caesar's authority throughout the first three centuries was never recognized in

practice as a purely personal power is shown by the fact that, as the state could empower, so it could depose, and that more than one deposed emperor was criminally prosecuted, while others who died in office had their memory condemned, for a misuse of the imperium entrusted to them. Still more clearly is the derivation of Caesar's power from the state shown by the fact that it was never transmitted directly from person to person. That is brought out by the history of the succession.

<div align="center">THE SUCCESSION</div>

When the power of Augustus as triumvir lapsed, his imperium had been continued or renewed by acclamation in 32 B.C. as an emergency power, and after it had been confirmed by the senate in 27 B.C., it was still a temporary authority, conferred in the first instance for ten years and made coincident with Augustus's lifetime only by being periodically renewed. But it was Augustus's design, of course, that the principate should be permanent and regularly transmitted. Its permanence, however, could not yet be asserted, and therefore no law could be laid down to regulate the succession. The most that Augustus could do was to make provision for a successor to himself, and by the precedent he gave to suggest a mode of regulating the succession in the future.

To be consistent with the settlements of 27 and 23 B.C. the recognition and investment of a successor would have to be in the hands of the senate, for by those settlements the princeps received his authority from the 'res publica', and the 'res publica' was represented by the senate. In Augustus's lifetime, however, it was too soon to trust to the senate to provide for the continuance of the principate, and there was always the danger, as no one knew better than he, of a popular or military movement which the senate might be powerless to control. The plan which he adopted was to get the senate, during his lifetime, to recognize, and associate with him as a colleague in the proconsular imperium and the tribunician power, a successor chosen by himself.

This successor he selected from his own family; first, his

nephew Claudius Marcellus; then, on the death of Marcellus, his grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar; and finally, when death had again disappointed his hopes, his Claudian step-son Tiberius, whom he adopted. In his selection of Tiberius one may see the influence of his (third) wife, Livia, mother of Tiberius by her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero, but otherwise Augustus's dynastic schemes, and various matrimonial arrangements by which he supported them, were due to a carefully calculated plan of his own. With this plan family affection had much less to do than public policy. Augustus had decided to introduce the hereditary principle, and to create a 'household of Augustus' (*domus Augusta*), which, as he hoped, would secure the succession in the future. With this dynastic idea the Roman world was made familiar not only by the writings of literary men who enjoyed or desired the patronage of the emperor but also by the devices employed on the coinage and by the sculptures which adorned public monuments such as the Ara Pacis. The priestly college of the Fratral Brothers, revived by Augustus and composed of distinguished senators, made solemn vows not only for the safety of the emperor but also for the other members of the imperial family, while the oath of allegiance now taken to Augustus on certain anniversaries also associated with him the members of his family. That the oath of allegiance should include the ruler's family must have seemed perfectly natural to the Oriental subjects of the Empire, and, though the dynastic idea was foreign to the Roman notion of government, it did not fail to awaken some response from Italy and the West. Nor did the death of Augustus (A.D. 14) impair his design; indeed it gave to it a religious sanction, for with his death came a formal apotheosis. A famous cameo, now at Paris, which was executed a few years after the death of Augustus, presents the household as continuing under the protection of its deified founder, and the term 'the divine household' (*domus divina*), which was to be one of the marks of the orientalizing of Caesarism in the third century, when it displaced the expression 'domus Augusta' under the Severan dynasty, already makes its appearance under the immediate successors of Augustus. In effect, the Augustan

scheme succeeded, and the imperium was transmitted peacefully to one member after another of the Julio-Claudian family—Tiberius (14-37), Gaius (Caligula; 37-41), Claudius (41-54), and Nero (54-68), the family character of the succession being emphasized by the bestowal of the title 'Augusta' upon ladies of the imperial household—Livia, the wife of Augustus, adopted into the Julian family on her husband's death and thereafter known as Julia Augusta, and Agrippina, the wife of Claudius, called Augusta in her husband's lifetime. 'We have been like the inheritance of a single family', Tacitus makes Galba say after the death of Nero,[1] and if Nero had left a son, or if there had been any other likely candidate of Julio-Claudian descent, there was no reason why the succession should not have remained in that family. There was, indeed, no period when the dynastic principle seemed more likely to establish itself than in the period of the Julio-Claudian Caesars, when the succession seemed to run so inevitably in a single family that the power of government might well have come to be thought of as a personal attribute transmitted by hereditary descent. That Augustus himself ever intended or believed that the dynastic idea would end by displacing the idea of the 'res publica' and that his own compromise would lead ultimately to a true monarchy such as Julius Caesar had had in mind there is no reason to suppose. As it was, heredity was not the actual channel through which the imperium was transmitted but simply a natural mode of training and recommending to the senate a suitable successor upon whom it should itself confer the imperium in the name of the 'res publica', the dynastic principle being thus modified to accord with the magisterial character of Caesar's office. In effect, the magisterial idea persisted through the Julio-Claudian period, and Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, and Nero all had their imperium conferred or confirmed by the senate.

In the case of the two emperors, Claudius and Nero, whose imperium was rather confirmed than conferred by the senate, the conferment was still the act of citizens who were regarded, or regarded themselves, as acting for the 'res publica'. But in

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[1] *Hist.* i. 16.

each case it was a body of troops. This intervention by the
troops marks a stage in the history of the succession. Under
Augustus only three of the nine cohorts of the praetorian guard
had been stationed at Rome, the rest being distributed among
the towns of Italy, but in A.D. 23, under Tiberius, the guard had
been concentrated in a permanent camp outside the Viminal
Gate of the capital. This explains how it came to be the first
body of troops to intervene. On the murder of Gaius in 41 at
the age of twenty-nine, there was no one marked out as a suc-
cessor, and the senate actually proceeded to discuss the restora-
tion of the Republican system. But the guards, who were
determined that there should be an emperor, promptly pro-
claimed Gaius's uncle Claudius, in spite of his personal dis-
abilities. On the death of Claudius in 54, they again played
a decisive part, securing the succession for Agrippina's son,
Nero.

This intervention by the praetorian guard led to a further
complication when the death of Nero in 68 brought the Julio-
Claudian family to an end. Before the death of Nero, the gover-
nor of Hispania Tarraconensis, Servius Sulpicius Galba, had
already risen in revolt. On the death of Nero (June 9) the prae-
torians declared for him, and he was supported by the senate.
Thereupon he accepted the proclamation of himself as 'Impera-
tor' by the Seventh Legion, which was under his command. 'So
the fateful secret was revealed', says Tacitus, 'that an emperor
could be made elsewhere than at Rome.'[1] In this emphatic phrase
the historian notes what was indeed a fateful stage in the history
of Caesarism—the first intervention of the frontier legions in the
transmission of the imperium. The Augustan system of main-
taining standing armies in permanent camps distributed along
the frontiers had already had the effect of localizing the various
army groups. The intervention of the legions therefore meant
that the succession was now at the mercy of the local feeling of
the different armies. So the proclamation of Galba by the
troops in Spain was promptly followed by the proclamation
of Vitellius by the legions on the Rhine; the proclamation of

[1] *Hist.* i. 4.

Otho, after the death of Galba, by the praetorian guard at Rome, supported by the legions on the Danube; and, finally, the proclamation of Vespasian by the Syrian legions, with which the Danube legions associated themselves on the death of Otho. The result was a year of disorder and civil war (68-9) and a rapid succession of emperors, each of the nominees proclaimed by the troops being confirmed, in turn, by a passive and helpless senate.

With Vespasian (69-79) peaceful transmission was again secured. The Flavian *gens* to which he belonged was an Italian (Sabine) family of no distinction, but the name of Caesar, which with Vespasian became the imperial *nomen*, was retained in order to suggest dynastic continuity with the past, and it was by selecting a successor on the hereditary principle that Vespasian safeguarded the succession. He frankly announced his determination that he should be succeeded by a son of his own, and in fact he was succeeded by his sons Titus (79-81) and Domitian (81-96). On the Augustan precedent, Vespasian had got the senate to make Titus his colleague in the imperium and the tribunician power, and, though Titus did not do the same for Domitian, he clearly marked out his brother as his successor, and the proclamation of Domitian by the praetorian guard on the death of Titus was at once confirmed by the senate.

When the Flavian family came to an end with Domitian's death, the imperium was conferred by the senate upon Nerva (96-8), but Nerva, who was old and childless, did not leave the choice of his successor in the senate's hands. He selected Trajan as his successor, and adopted him, and had him made his colleague in the imperium by the senate. This method by which a successor was selected and adopted by the ruling emperor was followed by Trajan (98-117), who adopted Hadrian; by Hadrian (117-38), who adopted Pius; by Pius (138-61), who adopted Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. It was Marcus (161-80) who succeeded Pius, and he, in turn, was succeeded by his own son Commodus (180-93). In every case the successor proposed by the ruling emperor was officially recognized by the senate, was made the emperor's colleague in the imperium, and,

from Hadrian onwards, received the title of Caesar as a cogno-
men. Indeed, Marcus Aurelius carried still farther the potential
collegiality of the imperium, and gave, in turn, to his adoptive
brother Lucius Verus and to his son Commodus the title of
Augustus, thus recognizing each as co-emperor with himself, an
innovation which was more than once renewed in the third
century and which prepared the way for the fourth-century
system of two Augusti.

This second-century method of securing the succession repre-
sents an attempt to remove the revolutionary and emergency
character of Caesar's office implied in its conferment by the
troops, though the feeling of the troops had always to be con-
sidered and their approval assumed, for their approval, whether
given or assumed, was still in practice essential to the trans-
mission of the imperium. To a large extent the system was
based on the precedent of the first Augustus, who had adopted
Tiberius besides making him his colleague in the imperium and
the tribunician power, but there was this difference that whereas
Augustus in adopting Tiberius was adopting his own step-son,
and that in default of a successor of his own blood, the emperors
from Nerva to Pius were adopting men whom they selected as
likely to make suitable successors. For this combination of free
selection with adoption the precedent had been given by Galba,
who, though without effect, had selected and adopted Piso
Licinianus (January, 69). The principle is stated by Tacitus in
words which he puts into the mouth of Galba on the occasion
of his adopting Piso, but which obviously have reference also
to the practice of his own time (reign of Trajan) and which con-
tinued to be acted upon until the reign of Marcus Aurelius:

'Under Tiberius and Gaius and Claudius we were like the inheri-
tance of a single family. It will be a kind of liberty if we begin to
choose our rulers; and now that the Julian and Claudian house is
extinct, adoption will leave us free to find the best man. If suc-
cession depends upon the accident of princely birth, nothing else
can be taken into account; whereas in adoption the judgment is
unfettered, and in making a choice there is public opinion to point
out the man. . . . We are not like nations which are ruled by kings,

where there is one house of masters and all the rest are slaves. Those whom you are to rule are men who cannot endure either complete slavery or complete liberty."[1]

This system, then, if largely a precaution intended to forestall or to harmonize military action, was also in some measure a reaction against the dynastic tendency of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian Caesars, following a procedure which was more consonant with the idea of the 'res publica' and each stage of which was approved by the senate as the organ of the 'public opinion' which Tacitus emphasizes. But it is to be noted not only that a kind of continuity is secured for Caesarism by the nomination of a successor in the lifetime of the ruling emperor but that it is the ruling emperor himself who makes the selection, and that the successor whom he selects is adopted into his family. It is a compromise, then, in which the dynastic idea is not eliminated, and indeed the practice of combining free selection with adoption was suspended by the first of the second-century emperors who had a son of his own. That was Marcus Aurelius. No one knew better than Marcus that his son Commodus was unfitted to be emperor, but natural affection and domestic influence were too strong for him, and Commodus succeeded.

Commodus made no provision for the succession, and his death at the beginning of 193 gave rise to a situation similar to that which had followed upon the death of Nero. Indeed, rivalry between the various armies had greatly increased since local recruiting for the frontier troops had become a regular practice with Hadrian. In quick succession Pertinax and Didius Julianus were proclaimed by the praetorians and accepted by the senate. This was at once followed by the proclamation of Septimius Severus by the Danube legions, of Pescennius Niger by the Syrian legions, and, soon after, of Clodius Albinus by the legions of Britain and the Rhine. Thereupon followed the civil war which placed Septimius Severus upon the throne after the decisive defeat of Albinus at Lyons in 197. Already in 193, when

[1] Tac., *Hist.* i. 16.

he had entered Rome with his legions, Severus had had his position confirmed by the senate.

With the accession of Severus the dynastic mode of providing for the succession was employed without disguise. Indeed the hereditary principle was asserted retrospectively, though doing so called for a bold fiction. This Punic-speaking African, who had learned Latin as a foreign language (the first of the emperors to do so), assumed himself to have been adopted into the family of Marcus Aurelius, and, though he retained his own name, his son Septimius Bassianus, commonly known as Caracalla, was renamed Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and had a purely fictitious pedigree invented for him, connecting him, through a series of deified ancestors, with the great emperors of the second century. With the reassertion of the dynastic idea comes the appearance, or rather the reappearance, of the conception of a 'divine household', with the ladies of the imperial family, all Syrian by origin, occupying a significantly exalted position, recalling that given to a Livia or an Agrippina in the period of the Julio-Claudian family. Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus and mother of Caracalla; her sister Julia Maesa, the grandmother of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander; Julia Maesa's daughter Julia Mammaea, the mother of Severus Alexander—all received the title of Augusta. Following the example of Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus got the senate to recognize his son Caracalla not only as his colleague in the imperium but as a co-ruler with the title of Augustus, and later the same title and position were also conferred by the senate upon the younger son Geta. On the death of Severus in 211, the joint rule of his sons Caracalla and Geta was soon ended by the murder of the younger brother (212), and Caracalla ruled alone (212–17). After his murder in 217 the continuity of the dynasty was interrupted by the proclamation by the praetorian guards of their prefect Macrinus (217), who associated with himself as Augustus his son Diadumenianus (218), but the interruption was brief, and within a year Julia Soaemias, daughter of Julia Maesa, secured from the senate recognition as emperor of her son Elagabalus (218–22), who, after a brief and infamous reign, was succeeded by his cousin

Alexander Severus (222–35), son of Julia Mammaea. With Alexander the Severan dynasty came to an end.

Between the end of the Severan dynasty in 235 and the accession of Diocletian in 284, more than a score of emperors received recognition from the senate, the more notable being Maximinus (235–8), Gordian (III; 238–44), Philip the Arab (244–9), Decius (249–51), Valerian (253–60), Gallienus (260–8), Claudius (II) Gothicus (268–70), Aurelian (270–5), Probus (276–82), and Carus (282–3). The number of unsuccessful claimants, or 'tyrants' as they were called, was at least as great. Almost all the claimants, successful as well as unsuccessful, fell by the hands of mutinous soldiers or by the orders of a rival. Of those recognized by the senate hardly any were nominated by the senate in the first instance. Most of them were proclaimed by the troops; sometimes they were marked out for the succession as the sons of the ruling emperor, but even when the dynastic influence appeared to determine the succession, it was, in fact, the attitude of the troops that was decisive. The troops demanded soldier emperors, and the military necessities of the time justified their demand, but they were divided by particularist feeling, and the several armies continually put forward candidates of their own not only to succeed a dead emperor but to challenge a living emperor, whom they frequently displaced after a brief tenure of the imperium. It was to counteract this military influence upon the succession, and especially the distracting influence of military particularism, that the system of Diocletian was designed. Developing a precedent set by earlier emperors, he devised a system of two Augusti, one for the East and one for the West, each with a Caesar as junior colleague, to be adopted as son and recognized as successor.

From this history of the succession from Augustus to Diocletian, along with what has been said of the circumstances in which Caesarism originated, certain general conclusions disengage themselves. In the first place, the influence of the hereditary principle is to be noted. It appears from the beginning in the dynastic schemes of Augustus and the subsequent position of the Julio-Claudian family. It is seen in the establishment of the

Flavian dynasty and in its continuance of the family name of
Caesar. It persists throughout the second century, modifying
the exercise of free selection by the practice of adoption, and
finally transmitting the imperium from Marcus Aurelius to his
son Commodus. It is strongly asserted by Septimius Severus,
who not only founds a dynasty but connects it by a fictitious
pedigree of deified ancestors with the great Caesars of the past;
and it continues to affect the transmission of the imperium inter-
mittently from the end of the Severan dynasty to the accession
of Diocletian. Yet the application to Caesarism of the hereditary
principle was in some measure artificial, as seen in the perpetua-
tion of the family name of Caesar and in such a fictitious pedi-
gree as Severus manufactured for Caracalla; and in so far as
the dynastic influence was real in the first three centuries it
did not so much affect the theory of Caesar's office as suggested
a convenient and natural mode of recommending to the
senate a suitable successor upon whom it should confer the
imperium.

In the second place, then, Caesar's office, though influenced
by the dynastic idea borrowed from Graeco-Oriental monarchy,
did not altogether lose its magisterial character in the first three
centuries. In every case in which one member of a family suc-
ceeded another, the imperium was conferred upon him by the
senate, or it was conferred upon him by the acclamation of the
troops and confirmed by the senate. So the persistently magis-
terial character of Caesar's office shows itself in this, that Caesar
does not possess his power as a person or receive it from his
predecessor; he receives it from the state. Since, then, on the
death of each emperor, the imperium passes back to the state,
which then confers it upon a successor, Caesar's office is not, in
the strict sense, continuous, and it could not be said of a succession
of two Caesars: *le roi est mort, vive le roi*. The attempt to get rid
of the disadvantages of this discontinuity by designating a suc-
cessor in the lifetime of the ruling emperor and conferring the
imperium upon him did not make Caesarism continuous in the
monarchical sense, for even when the successor was selected and
adopted by the ruling emperor, it was not from the emperor but

from the state that he derived the imperium. It was simply a device of overlapping analogous to the system adopted for the consulship, for which successors were designated before the acting consuls went out of office, while the recognition of an emperor's successor as his colleague in the imperium and the tribunician power was in accordance with the collegial character of Roman magistracy. Indeed the practice of designating a successor before the death of the ruling emperor and of making him the emperor's colleague might be described as an attempt to strengthen Caesarism by assimilating it more closely to a regular magistracy.

Thirdly, though the practice of designating a successor in the lifetime of the ruling emperor shows that Caesar's office is now assumed in practice to be permanent, yet the persistent influence of its origin as an office originally acquiesced in as an exceptional provision to deal with an administrative emergency, prevented a fixed rule from being laid down to regulate the succession. At all events no such rule could be laid down in the early stages of Caesarism, and by the time the office was accepted as permanent, it was too late.

For, fourthly, the continued influence of the circumstances in which Caesarism originated soon showed itself also in the practice of military acclamation. It will be remembered that the imperium of Augustus which the senate confirmed in 27 B.C. had already been exercised by him in virtue of a general acclamation as 'imperator' in 32 B.C., when the constitutional organs of the state were in abeyance. This revolutionary origin of Caesar's imperium was never forgotten, and its evil example affected, as is clear from the history of the succession, the whole course of the transmission of his office. While the tenure of the imperium had to be confirmed by the senate and by the senate defined as proconsular, if it was to be linked up with the constitutional organs of the state, it need not be conferred by the senate in the first instance. The example of Augustus, giving to an ancient custom its primitive force, had shown that the imperium could be validly conferred by the acclamation of any body of citizens who might be supposed, or might suppose themselves, to represent

the state. This right to confer the imperium by acclamation was soon asserted by the troops, as a body of citizens ready organized and inheriting the military tradition of acclaiming a general as 'imperator'. The first body of citizen-troops so to act was, naturally, the praetorian guard, stationed at the gates of Rome. When the several groups of frontier legions, divided from the centre and from one another by local feeling, followed the example of the praetorians and proclaimed each its own candidate, strife was inevitable. No doubt the last word lay with the senate, which alone could confirm the imperium and decree the passing through the popular assembly of a formal law conferring upon Caesar his specific powers. But meanwhile each candidate acclaimed as 'imperator' could act upon the precedent of the first Augustus and claim to be exercising the imperium validly, and the senate had no statutory competence to choose between them and no power to enforce its choice. The decision had to be left to the troops. Hence arose the civil wars of 69 and of 193-7, and the troubles of the third century which the system of Diocletian was intended to counteract. But if military interference had shown that Caesar's office was something less regular than a true magistracy, it still showed that it was an office of a magisterial kind, conferred in the name of the state and requiring personal service. And it was just because it retained that character and was therefore always potentially collegial that Diocletian made provision for the succession, in a manner incompatible with a true monarchy, by creating a tetrarchy of two Augusti and two Caesars.

It is clear, then, that in spite of an immense development there was a real identity of structure between Caesarism as founded by Augustus and as it existed more than three centuries later at the accession of Diocletian, and that throughout that period it remained structurally different from Graeco-Oriental monarchy. According to the Graeco-Oriental system governmental power was transmitted directly on the hereditary principle from person to person. That was because it was thought of, not as belonging to the state and conferred by it upon the ruler as its representative, but as belonging to the ruler as a

person; and this in turn was connected with the notion that the ruler was personally divine. The influence of such conceptions upon Caesarism went beyond the matter of dynastic succession. They suggested the use of the title 'dominus' in a sense which implied that Caesar was the master of a world which was subject to him personally, and the application to him of divine titles which implied that he possessed divinity in his own person. But though such notions coloured the conception entertained of the Caesars by their subjects, and especially by their Oriental subjects, and though they were countenanced and sometimes encouraged by the Caesars themselves, yet they never transformed the essentially magisterial character of the office. Such indeed was the Roman conception of magistracy that it could be made to approximate closely in practice to Graeco-Oriental monarchy, and it permitted Caesarism to develop into an administrative absolutism of a parental kind. But a purely personal absolutism Caesarism never became. The state was never a 'res privata' subject to a person. It was a 'res publica', and it was as the embodiment of the 'res publica' that Caesar was Imperator, Augustus, even 'dominus', and not by divine or personal right or by personal descent.

As the institution of Caesarism escaped formal definition by the ancient jurist, so it eludes definition by the modern historian. It was a combination of the ideas of government prevalent in the ancient world, both those of Graeco-Roman magistracy and those of Graeco-Oriental monarchy. It was indeed just this mixed and dual character of it that was to give it in later ages a formative influence upon the most diverse systems of government, constitutional and absolutist. And it was the same mixed and ambiguous character that enabled it to secure and maintain a hold over the heterogeneous population of the Empire. When its various attachments with the past, its functions, titles, and ceremonies, are regarded, the result, at first sight, appears to be casual and incoherent. Yet when carefully considered in relation to the needs and desires of the time, these attachments are seen to be the work of a skilful opportunism, and the system as a whole, in spite of its haphazard and artificial appearance, was

given a kind of organic vitality by the force of circumstances and of public opinion.

CAESARISM AND PUBLIC OPINION

The evidence of the texts and the inscriptions is overwhelming that public opinion, and especially provincial opinion, not only acquiesced in Caesar's rule but reinforced his authority. It is only within certain limits that Caesarism can be described as a militarist régime. No doubt Caesar was, above all, 'imperator', the commander-in-chief who co-ordinated the various frontier armies and guaranteed their maintenance. And if Caesar was essential to them, so they were essential to him. Their acclamation was necessary for the conferment of the imperium upon him, and in practice a Caesar could retain that imperium only so long as he had their support. In the last resort, indeed, the institution of Caesarism itself depended upon the attitude of the troops. But if it was the troops that guaranteed the continuance of the office, they were here representative of the Roman world at large. Caesarism cannot be said to have maintained itself within the Empire by force of arms. The armies were distributed along the actual frontiers, facing the outer barbarians. After the early stages of conquest, there was no more than a mere handful of troops in the interior of each province. It is true that at Rome the praetorian guard was present to overawe disaffection, but that threat was necessary only for a brief period and concerned a single class.

The populace of the capital, and the squires, farmers, and traders of Italy recognized from the beginning that their interests were bound up with Caesarism. It alone promised what their interests demanded—good administration and a stable peace. Opposition was confined to members of the senatorial order, associated with whom, as a kind of spiritual directors, were the Stoic philosophers. This twofold opposition lasted through the period of the Julio-Claudian Caesars, and in Nero's reign (in 65) it came to a head in a great conspiracy, in which the leading figure was a senator of distinguished family, Calpurnius Piso. The opposition of the Stoics was rather moral than political,

arising from their notion of 'liberty', but their influence rein-
forced the political opposition of the senate, which was the
opposition of an oligarchy to a régime which was reducing it to
subordination. 'I am holding a wolf by the ears', Tiberius used
to say,[1] and up to Nero's time there was actually talk of restoring
the Republican system. After that, however, it ceases. By the
end of the Julio-Claudian period, the senatorial class had come
to accept the principate as inevitable and even necessary. It is
true that the moral opposition of the irreconcilable Stoics lasted
through the Flavian period to embitter the strife between the
senatorial order and Domitian, but by then the opposition, with
which moderate men like Tacitus and Pliny were in some degree
associated, was directed against the princeps, not against the
principate. With the death of Domitian the secret intrigues,
the charges of treason, and the activity of informers, such as the
first century had known, came to an end, and the close associa-
tion of emperor and senate under Trajan is put on record both
by Tacitus and Pliny. Under Trajan, it is true, there were
senators and equestrians who (largely in reaction against
Domitian) still cherished a sentimental regard for republican-
ism, and throughout the second century and the first half of the
third the corporate consciousness of the senate, its sense of the
deference due to a body of its venerable traditions and its notion
of the part it ought to be allowed in the system of government
occasionally produced friction with the more autocratic or the
less considerate of the emperors. But though this survival of
senatorial feeling powerfully affected the historical tradition, as
transmitted by Tacitus and Dio Cassius, it did not arrest or
deflect the course of events. Indeed it had ceased to threaten
the established régime by the end of the Julio-Claudian period.

The acquiescence of the senate in Caesar's rule was due not
merely to the force of circumstances but to a change in its own
composition which we shall see to have been brought about in
the course of the first century, and especially in the Flavian
period. As the senate thus lost its connexion with the old nobility
and received recruits from every quarter of the Roman world, it

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[1] Suet., *Tib.* 25.

came to look upon the emperor with the eyes of provincials, and it became his willing subordinate. As part of the machinery of government it could now be fitted more and more closely into the vast bureaucratic system by which the administration of the Empire was increasingly concentrated in his office.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE CENTRAL GOVERN-MENT UNDER CAESAR

THE growth of autocracy, being mainly due to the pressure of circumstances, consisted less in a modification of the theory or nature of Caesar's office than in his increasing control of the machinery of government. To trace this development it is necessary to enter into details of administration.

When the constitutional organs of the 'res publica' had been restored in 27 B.C., provision had been made at the same time for an authority which should unify and harmonize their action by setting up alongside of them a princeps invested with a 'superior' imperium which should enable him not so much to govern the state as to co-ordinate government by senatorial magistrates and promagistrates. But in order to secure the authority of the princeps, it had been necessary, from the beginning, to withdraw from the senatorial sphere, and to subject to his direct control, all those provinces of the Empire in which troops were stationed. The princeps thus played a dual role; within the senatorial sphere he did not govern but supervised government; within his own provinces, on the other hand, he was himself governor. The senatorial sphere, however, was gradually assimilated to the imperial provinces through the senatorial magistrates and promagistrates being reduced, like the legates of senatorial rank who acted for Caesar in his own provinces, to the position of Caesar's mandatories. That was the first stage in the process of unification. The second stage consisted in the transference of administration from senatorial mandatories or legates of Caesar to an imperial civil service, formed from the equestrian order on a bureaucratic model supplied by the Graeco-Oriental or Hellenistic kingdoms, especially by the Ptolemaic system. That twofold process was assisted throughout by administrative pressure, by the force of public, especially provincial, opinion, and by Caesar's command of material resources.

THE EMPEROR AND THE SENATE

The assembly (*comitia*), usually composed of the city populace, had long ceased to be representative of the Roman people, and an attempt made by Augustus to restore its effectiveness was not a success. At the beginning of the reign of Tiberius it lost the power of electing the magistrates, and in the course of the first century it ceased to serve as an organ of legislation. Under the Empire it existed for little else than to ratify formally, and so translate into a 'law', the decree of the senate conferring the imperial powers upon successive emperors. Except for that act of popular confirmation, it was now the senate that spoke for the 'res publica'.

Though much impaired in its dignity by the manner in which it had recently been recruited, the senate preserved from its achievement in the past a prestige which still influenced even those who had least reason to look upon it with gratitude. This prestige Augustus desired to associate with the new régime. The senate was indeed necessary as the only continuous body that now existed to represent the permanent identity of the Roman state; and its members were the only class which had any tradition or experience of public service. The senate and its magistrates, therefore, remained alongside Caesar, and had to be associated with him, and subordinated to him, in the system of government.

The association of the senate with the emperor as his subordinate was brought about through a gradual change in its composition. This occurred in two ways. Firstly, many of the old senatorial families had died out during the civil wars and proscriptions, and the strife between Augustus's immediate successors and an irreconcilable element in the senate further reduced their number. Not many of the old families survived into the Flavian period. But, secondly, the composition of the senate was changed by the deliberate exercise by the emperors of certain powers vested in them or assumed by them. The military commission as a legionary tribune, which was now a regular preliminary to candidature for the senatorial magis-

tracies, was in the gift of the emperor as commander-in-chief of the armies. He controlled, as we shall see, election to the quaestorship, the lowest magistracy which gave admission to the senate. More important still as a method of controlling the composition of the senate was the imperial exercise of 'allection' (*allectio*).

Under the Republic the drawing-up of the graded senate list had been a censorial function which carried with it the power to 'allect' a man to a given grade without his necessarily having held the qualifying magistracy. Exceptional after Sulla's time, the censorship had lapsed altogether in the civil wars. Augustus assumed that the lapsed censorial function had passed back into the consular imperium from which it had originally emerged (435 B.C.), and accordingly, when consul, he revised the senate list without reviving the office of censor. From 23 B.C. onwards Augustus ceased to be consul, and his imperium, now defined as proconsular, did not carry with it censorial power; nor was such power expressly conferred by any of the measures subsequently passed to amplify his imperium or his tribunician power. He therefore assumed a consular imperium for the purpose when he revised the senate list on two occasions subsequent to 23 B.C. (8 B.C.; A.D. 13). Claudius, on the other hand, revived the actual office of censor in A.D. 47. The action of Claudius the following year in getting the senate to allow the chiefs of the Gaulish Aedui to become candidates for its magistracies was more important for the history of the composition of the senate than anything he seems actually to have done as censor. With Vespasian, however, the revival of the censorship became a very real thing. As censor with his son Titus in 73, he used the power of allection so acquired greatly to modify the composition of the senate. Domitian carried the matter a stage farther by getting himself made censor for life without a colleague in 85, and thereafter the censorial function is tacitly assumed to be inherent in Caesar's office. Allection might, of course, be used simply to promote a man already in the senate by dispensing him from a grade or grades of magistracy, but when exercised, as it commonly was, in favour of a man not in the senate, it meant

that the emperor was controlling the composition of the senate and the personnel of the senatorial administration.

Already in the first half of the first century one finds Italians entering the senate whose names are unknown to the senatorial records of the Republic. Then the decree of the senate passed, at the instance of Claudius, in favour of the Aedui gave a precedent for the free admission of provincials. Both Tacitus and Suetonius note that the reign of Vespasian brought a marked change in the composition of the senate through the introduction of new men from the provincial as well as from the Italian municipalities. Their evidence is confirmed by numerous inscriptions, which also show that many now raised to the senate were equestrians who had previously been in the immediate service of Caesar as imperial civil servants.

The effect of this change in the composition of the senate was manifold. It meant a social revolution. It placed at the disposal of the state a wide range of administrative talent, and as its members came to be drawn freely from the provinces, the senate became a body really representative of the whole Roman world. The equestrian order became a 'nursery of senators',[1] and the distinction between the senate and the imperial civil service, which was recruited from the equestrian order, gradually disappeared. But what particularly concerns us here is that with this change in its composition the attitude of the senate to the emperor changed also, hostility and suspicion giving place to a ready acquiescence in the subordinate role now assigned to it and to its magistrates.

CAESAR'S COUNCILLORS

Theoretically, the right of advising the emperor, as of advising every holder of the imperium, belonged to the senate. As the senate became subordinate to Caesar, however, there was no need for him to go through the formality of consulting that unwieldy body unless he desired to do so for some reason of his own—as a mark of deference to the order, for example, or to

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[1] *Vit. Alex. Sever.* 19.

make it responsible for a decision affecting its own members or
its own provinces, or to shelter himself behind its opinion in
measures likely to provoke odium. Nor was any regular council
of state created to take the place of the senate as an advisory
body. It is true that Augustus had made use of a council ap-
pointed twice a year, in order the better to control the senate's
proceedings, and a council for affairs of state had been given
a more permanent character by Tiberius. After Tiberius, how-
ever, it ceased to exist. An advisory council set up in the reign
of Alexander Severus, before the emperor came of age, may not
have outlasted his minority, and certainly did not outlast his
reign.

The fact that an effective council of state was never established
as a permanent institution was not due to any opposition offered
by the senate to such a project as an infringement of its own
rights as an advisory body. On the contrary, it is significant
that the project of a council of state finally disappeared in the
period (after Alexander Severus) when Caesarism was most
affected by the influence of personal monarchy. The truth is
that the Caesars, having freed themselves from interference by
the senate, had no intention of embarrassing themselves with
a smaller and more effective council. Such a body had no doubt
been useful in the early days of the Empire as a means of regu-
lating the proceedings of the senate, but it became unnecessary
when the senate ceased to require a watchful control. It is true
that the advice which was no longer sought from the senate had
to be looked for elsewhere, but to have set up a permanent body
for that purpose would have been to create a sort of privy council
or cabinet which would have tended to acquire constitutional
rights and to have limited Caesar's power. Such a council the
senate, conscious that its own function as an advisory body had
gone for good, would not have regarded with disfavour, and
indeed the reign of Alexander Severus, when a council of state
was set up for the last time, was a period when senatorial influ-
ence had, for a moment, revived.

The successors of Alexander resumed the practice of earlier
emperors. That practice was to employ as councillors of state

not only the chief officials of their bureaucracy, notably the praetorian prefects, but also their 'friends' and, when they were out of Italy, their 'companions', who, as we have seen, were of equestrian as well as of senatorial rank, and to associate with them, according to the nature of the case, men of local or of technical experience. Since these councillors were not organized as a permanent body, the influence which they were enabled to exercise upon imperial policy is a matter of general, rather than of constitutional, history. But it must be noted here that the disregarding of the senate as an advisory body and the employment in matters of state of councillors who never formed a regular and permanent body, who varied according to the will of every emperor and who were either in his service or attached to him by a personal relationship, tended to free Caesarism from its magisterial limitations and allowed of its development towards a personal autocracy.

There was one department, indeed, in which a regular council (*concilium principis*) did come to be set up. In the exercise of jurisdiction the emperors, in accordance with Roman practice, made use of a number of assessors. Up to the time of Trajan the emperor's assessors, like his political councillors, were simply an informal group made up from his 'friends'. Hadrian, however, set up a regular council, on which he gave a place to jurists as well as to his 'friends' and 'companions'. If its members (*consiliarii Augusti*) had any influence upon imperial policy, it was only indirectly. Their actual function was to give legal advice to the emperor in the drafting of imperial constitutions and in the exercise of jurisdiction.

JURISDICTION

Under the early Empire there were three high courts at Rome. The jury courts (*quaestiones*), under the praetors or other presidents, continued to meet, as under the Republic. These were the ordinary courts. In addition, two extraordinary courts were now established—the senate, sitting as a body of assessors to the consuls, and the tribunal of the emperor himself. The

jurisdiction of these three courts was exercised in cases which could not be tried by the municipal courts of Italy, and in cases which provincial governors were not competent to deal with or which were referred by them to Rome or appealed from their decisions. In virtue of the more ample imperium of their presidents (consuls or emperor) the two extra-ordinary tribunals could revise the procedure of the magistrates in the ordinary courts, or could exclude cases from their jurisdiction. In these circumstances the ordinary courts steadily declined in importance, and indeed they ceased altogether to act as criminal courts in the course of the third century.

Meanwhile the senatorial (or consular) court was more and more controlled by the emperor or displaced by the emperor's tribunal. We have seen that the emperor determined the composition of the senate and the personnel of the magistracy. He could himself preside at any trial before the senate, and though the president was bound by the senate's decree, if that decree were allowed to stand, the emperor could use the right of 'intercession' which he possessed in virtue of his tribunician power to annul the decree, and have the case re-tried before the senate or re-try it himself. In virtue of his supreme imperium he could not only re-try cases in which the decree of the senate had been annulled, but could exclude senatorial jurisdiction from the beginning, in any case in which he thought fit, and take cognizance himself. The result was that the senate, though not an imperial court, became, in fact, an imperial instrument, trying such cases as the emperor might assign to it. In this form, in which the senate deals with certain cases, mostly political, remitted by the emperor, its jurisdiction survived into the system of the fourth century. Long before that, however, it had become quite exceptional.

In the early Empire the imperial jurisdiction was sparingly exercised. The emperor was not obliged, any more than the senate was, to take cognizance of a case submitted to him, but his jurisdiction, in fact, steadily extended. Unlike the senate and the ordinary courts, the imperial tribunal could take action in criminal cases without an accusation having to be made. In

both civil and criminal cases it was more free in procedure and interpretation, and could exercise a wider discretion; and it did not involve the same publicity as either of the other courts. But the general tendency to have resort to the imperial tribunal was probably due mainly to the reliance placed upon it by public opinion. For this extending jurisdiction provision was made by delegation: delegation of a particular case, usually a civil case, to a consul or praetor or a judge specially appointed (*iudex datus*); general delegation to the city prefect (*praefectus urbi*) and to the prefects of the praetorian guard (*praefecti praetorio*). The general delegation made to these officials was the most marked feature of the imperial jurisdiction and the principal instrument of its extension.

The city prefect. In the early period of the Republic the consuls had nominated a prefect to act for them when they were absent from the city. With the institution of the urban praetorship in 367 B.C., this had become unnecessary, but it had persisted as a ceremonial observance on the occasion of the Latin Festival, when the consuls had to leave the city and be present upon the Alban Mount. Augustus revived the practice in something like its original form, and on more than one occasion he appointed a city prefect for varying periods during his absence from Rome. Tiberius followed his example, and in his reign the city prefect became in fact a permanent official as a result of the emperor's retirement to the island of Rhodes in A.D. 26. Thereafter the office was recognized as a regular institution, the prefect continuing to act even when the emperor was himself in Rome. The essential function of the city prefect, who had three 'urban cohorts' under his command, was the maintenance of public order. In connexion with this function of police, he exercised a summary jurisdiction in criminal cases. This jurisdiction he exercised not as a magistrate but on the emperor's mandate, and it was therefore capable of an extension limited only by the emperor's own jurisdiction. In effect, the cases assigned by the emperor to the jurisdiction of the city prefect became more and more various and important, until his competence in criminal cases within his own area was recognized to cover the whole

range of the imperial jurisdiction; and though theoretically there was a right of appeal from his judgement to that of the emperor himself as the source of delegation, such appeals were accepted only as a special act of grace, so that the decision of the prefect was virtually final in all cases which came before him. A corresponding jurisdiction in civil cases was delegated to him from the time of Severus onwards. By then, however, his jurisdiction, which had hitherto covered Italy as well as Rome, had been limited to the capital and a circuit of a hundred miles around by a delegation of jurisdiction from the emperors to the prefects of their praetorian guard.

The praetorian prefects. The praetorian prefects were usually two in number up to the time of Commodus, thereafter sometimes three. The guard which they commanded was employed as a police for Italy, and, as in the case of the city prefect, it was in connexion with their duties of police that they had criminal jurisdiction delegated to them by imperial mandate. By the early part of the third century they had received a general delegation of civil as well as criminal jurisdiction. The tribunal of the praetorian prefects was then concurrent with that of the city prefect, but, as has been explained, the two jurisdictions were territorially delimited from one another. While Rome and its neighbourhood was subject to the jurisdiction of the city prefect, that of the praetorian prefects covered the rest of Italy. From their judgements there was a right of appeal to the emperor's personal tribunal, but it would have defeated the purpose of delegation if such appeals had been frequently accepted. In cases appealed from the provinces and tried by the praetorian prefects it was very exceptional for a further appeal to the emperor to be allowed. In such cases they came to be regarded as judging not as the emperor's delegates but 'in place of' (*vice*) the emperor, and therefore were not appealable. This capacity of the emperor not only to delegate his authority but also to act by representation, to multiply himself, as it were, was to be further developed in the system of the fourth century. Meanwhile his complete control of jurisdiction had been effectively secured in practice before the end of the third.

LEGISLATION

Closely connected with the emperor's exercise of jurisdiction
was his power of legislation, for throughout the history of the
Roman state one of the principal influences upon the growth of
the law was the administrative action of the magistrate who
applied it. In the Republican period the magisterial edict,
which was properly an application of law, had served as a kind
of experimental legislation (*ius honorarium*). That was especially
true of the praetorian edict, the edict, that is, of the urban
praetor, who was head of the civil judicature at Rome. Some
influence upon the growth of the law was also exercised by the
decrees (*consulta*) of the senate, especially from the time of the
Carthaginian wars, when the senate became predominant and
presented its decrees not as mere advice to the magistrate (or
promagistrate) but as instructions binding upon him and making
precedent. Much more important than the decrees of the
senate, more important even than the administrative action of
the magistrate, was the influence of the jurists, whose responses
greatly contributed to the body and growth of the civil law by
the interpretation which they built up upon the customary and
statutory elements which composed it. The statutory element
was indeed comparatively limited right down to the close of the
Republican period, for the continuous and, as the expression
went, the 'living' sources of law which have been referred to had
the effect of restricting the amount of formal legislation enacted,
that is, 'leges' passed through the popular assembly (*comitia*) on
the proposal of a magistrate or through the plebian assembly
(*concilium plebis*) on the initiative of a tribune.

'*Leges.*' Under the Empire formal 'legislatio' of this kind dis-
appeared altogether in the course of the first century. A number
of 'leges' of the old type were passed in the reigns of Augustus,
Tiberius, and Claudius, but thereafter, except for a single 'lex'
enacted under Nerva, the assemblies ceased to serve as an organ
of legislation, except for the formal translation into a 'lex' of the
'senatus consultum' decreeing the conferment of the imperial
powers upon the emperor.

'*Senatus consulta.*' Among the powers conferred upon the emperor was the magisterial power of edict, but, even in the emperor's hands, the edict long retained its administrative character as an interpretation or application of law. In order to promulgate decisions which modified the existing law and had a general bearing, the emperors, having dispensed with the popular assemblies as organs of legislation, had recourse to the senate, regarded in this matter, as in others, as representing the people. But if the decrees of the senate were now allowed to assume the character and force of laws, that was because the senate was under imperial control. It was not likely to pass decrees which the emperor disapproved of, and, if it did, he could use his tribunician power to annul them. In these circumstances it is not surprising that, after the time of Hadrian, no one except the emperor appears to have submitted to the senate any legislative proposal. An emperor's proposal to the senate, set forth in an 'oratio', was invariably accepted, until it came to be regarded as inadmissible to reject it. The result was that the emperor was described as the 'author' of the 'senatus consultum', his 'oratio', now always written, took more and more the form of an order, and its translation into a 'consultum' became so much a matter of form that the jurists tended to cite the imperial 'oratio', rather than the subsequent 'consultum' which made it effective, as the real source of law. The last recorded occasion on which the senate went through the form of confirming and registering an imperial ordinance by means of a 'consultum' belongs to the reign of Probus (276–82). Thereafter it is only as one method of publication that the emperor communicates to the senate his legislative proposals, which are now presented to it in a form closely assimilated to that of the edict.

Imperial constitutions. The edict was the instrument by which a magistrate invested with the imperium published his ordinances. An edict might relate to a particular case, but the standing edict (*edictum perpetuum*) in which a magistrate laid down the rules according to which he proposed to apply the law during his term of office took a more or less general form. We have seen that in the Republican period the magisterial edict, especially

the praetorian edict, though properly only an application of the law, had served as an instrument of the growth of law. Under the Empire it was the emperor who was looked to for an authoritative statement of the law. The result was that the praetor's edict, and the edicts of the other magistrates, ceased to embody changes in the application of the law, and became 'perpetual' in the sense that they were stereotyped. In this sense the praetorian edict was made 'perpetual' by a 'senatus consultum' passed in the reign of Hadrian. As drawn up in its stereotyped form by the jurist Julian (Salvius Iulianus), the praetorian edict was a kind of codification of praetorian law or *ius honorarium*, the history of which now comes to an end, subsequent modifications of the law through administrative action proceeding by imperial constitution.

The different forms of imperial constitution were, besides the edict, the 'decree', or judicial decision, the 'rescript', or decision communicated in writing, and the 'mandate', or administrative instruction to an official. All those imperial ordinances were made binding by a comprehensive clause of the law of investiture, conferring upon the emperor 'the right and the power to accomplish whatever acts he shall decide to be for the good of the republic and to accord with the majesty of things divine and human, public and private'.[1] These 'acts' (*acta*) of an emperor continued to be valid under succeeding emperors, unless they were expressly revoked, while the oath taken annually by magistrates and senators to observe the laws now bound them also to conform not only to the 'acts' of the ruling emperor but to those of his predecessors as well, unless they had been annulled and not subsequently renewed. Their impingement upon the sphere of legislation was all the greater that the general validity accorded to them by the law of investiture was taken advantage of by the emperors to adapt the existing law with increasing freedom to changes of circumstance and to the demands of equity.

The clause cited from the law of investiture did not confer legislative power upon the emperor, but its declaration that imperial 'acts' were binding amounted to a recognition that

[1] *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani.*

they were authentic interpretations of the law. So an imperial decision, provided it was not a special grant of privilege or immunity, not only decided the case to which it related but was regarded as settling the juridical principle involved, and therefore admitted of immediate generalization. It was mainly with reference to this regulative effect of the imperial constitutions that the jurists in the Antonine period began to speak of them as having 'the force of laws'. In practice their regulative effect was guaranteed not only by the fact that ruling emperors observed the 'acts' of their predecessors and that magistrates took an oath to conform to them, but also, and above all, through juristic interpretation. This generalizing of imperial decisions through juristic interpretation was encouraged and controlled by the emperors, who licensed certain jurists and gave their responses binding force. The result was the growth of a body of law based on the imperial constitutions regarded not as mere administrative acts or simple precedents but as acts of authoritative interpretation, of which the general implications were drawn out by licensed jurists. With the middle of the third century juristic science declined. The legislative force which it had occupied itself in showing to be implicit in the imperial constitutions was now to appear in the terms of the constitutions themselves. Already a tendency had shown itself among the jurists of the second and third centuries to enlarge the theoretic basis of the constitutions, to look beyond the clause in the law of investiture, and to invoke the emperor's imperium as conveying to him the old legislative power of the people in all its plenitude. By this theory they prepared the way for the legislative omnipotence of the fourth-century Caesars.

THE EMPEROR AND THE SENATORIAL MAGISTRATES

Besides exercising for a time, through its 'consulta', something of the legislative function which, under the Republic, had belonged to the popular assemblies, the senate of the Empire took over from the 'comitia' the power of electing the magistrates. The change took place at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius. Great as was the breach it made with the Republican

past, it was regarded by the people with indifference. Their indifference was due to the fact that the election of the magistrates had already been reduced to a mere form by the control over the elections now exercised by the emperor, as well as to the decreased importance of the magistracies themselves in the presence of Caesar's imperium.

'*Nominatio*.' The emperor's direct control over the magistrates was exercised in two ways—by his power to decide the elegibility of candidates and by his right to 'commend' candidates. Under the Republic one or other of the consuls had presided at elections for the higher magistracies, and one of the functions of the presiding consul had been to decide upon the elegibility of the candidates. This power to draw up a list of qualified candidates ('nomination') had been exercised by Augustus as consul up to 23 B.C., and after he had resigned the consulship in that year he continued to exercise the power along with the acting consuls. To be given a place on the emperor's list conferred upon a candidate a privileged position which, in practice, ensured election. By making the number of qualified candidates on his list equal, or approximate to, the number of vacancies at each grade of magistracy, the emperor could control the elections to any extent that he desired. In particular, it was always the practice for the emperor to nominate two candidates, and two candidates only, for the two consulships, until, with the reign of Nero, the consular elections came to be controlled through the emperor's right of 'commendation'.

'*Commendatio*.' The imperial power of 'commendation' was a development of a Republican usage. Under the Republic the favour and interest of leading citizens had had a decisive influence upon the choice made by the popular electorate. Under the Empire this power to determine the choice of the electorate is translated into a legal right when it is exercised by the emperor. A precedent had been given by a law of 44 B.C. which conferred upon Julius Caesar for one year the right to make certain recommendations binding upon the electorate. In 27 B.C. the right to 'commend' candidates whom the electorate was bound to accept became a part of the constitution of the principate. Under

Augustus himself and his immediate successors this right of 'commendation' was exercised only to a limited extent as regards the magistracies up to, and including, the praetorship, while in respect of the consulship there is no proof that it was exercised at all, the imperial control of the consular elections being secured by means of 'nomination' only, up to the time of Nero. Before the end of Nero's reign, however, 'commendation' was being exercised in respect of the consulship as well as of the other magistracies, and in the law conferring the imperial powers upon Vespasian it is granted in an unlimited form. Thereafter the consuls were invariably chosen according to the emperor's 'commendation'. In respect of the other magistracies the right was still exercised only to a limited extent, as is shown by the continued use, in regard to them, of the expression 'candidates of Augustus' to distinguish those elected on the emperor's 'commendation' from those not so elected. With the third century, however, our authorities speak of all magistrates alike as owing their election to the emperor.

Decline of the senatorial magistracies. Meanwhile the presence of the emperor's imperium in Rome inevitably depressed the urban magistracies of every grade. In ascending order these were the quaestorship, the tribuneship and aedileship, the praetorship, the consulship. Of the twenty quaestors two now acted simply as intermediaries between the emperor and the senate, and four as intermediaries between the consuls and the senate. The two urban quaestors ceased to perform any duty of importance after Nero's reign, when they lost the charge of the senatorial treasury, which Claudius had restored to them when he did away with the last of the Italian quaestors. The provincial quaestors, who were in charge of the financial administration of senatorial provinces, retained their functions into the third century, but did not outlast Diocletian's reorganization of the provincial system. It was only in connexion with the organization of games in the capital that the quaestorship survived into the fourth century. Already in the early period of the Empire, the aedileship, which formed a college of six members, lost all its administrative importance, and in the first half of the third century it disappeared altogether.

The tribuneship, a college of ten members, disappeared as
an effective magistracy about the same time, and indeed the
authority of the tribunes had all along been so overshadowed
by the tribunician power of the emperor that their office had
been merely titular. In the same period, as we have seen, the
jurisdiction of the praetors, who varied in number from twelve
to eighteen, became more and more restricted. In the early part
of the third century they ceased to act as presidents of criminal
courts. About the same time the 'peregrine' praetor disappeared
altogether, while the jurisdiction of the urban praetor, increas-
ingly effaced in the course of the third century by that of the
city prefect, did not survive the reforms of Diocletian. In the
fourth century the praetorship is merely a municipal office
mainly concerned, like the quaestorship in that period, with the
organization of games at Rome. It was also as a mere municipal
magistracy that the consulship survived at Rome (and at Con-
stantinople) into the fourth century. Already in the first three
centuries the function of the consuls was virtually confined to
presiding over the proceedings of the senate, and, as the senate
lost its independence, the importance of their office declined,
while the practice of appointing from three to six pairs of consuls
in a single year not only lessened the political importance of the
magistracy but deprived it also of much of its social dignity.
The reason for this multiplication of consulships was the need
for providing a supply of men qualified by their rank for certain
administrative positions which were reserved for ex-consuls
('consulars'). Indeed the importance of the senatorial magis-
tracies in general, in the first two centuries, consisted not so
much in their actual functions as in their being necessary stages
towards qualifying for the charge of administrative departments
which, while reserved for senators, did not now belong to the
acting magistrates but were assigned to ex-magistrates—to
ex-quaestors, ex-praetors, or ex-consuls (*quaestorii, praetorii, con-
sulares*), or to senators who, without having actually held the
qualifying magistracy, were given one or other of those grades of
rank by imperial allection. And even as steps to administrative
positions the urban magistracies lost their importance in the

third century, in the course of which senators were practically eliminated from the administrative system. For the unification of administration under Caesar proceeded in two stages: firstly, by the transference of administrative functions from acting magistrates, responsible to the senate, to ex-magistrates appointed by Caesar and responsible to him; and, secondly, by the creation of an imperial civil-service, which at first shared administration with those senatorial officials and finally supplanted them altogether.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

This dual process can be clearly traced in financial administration. From the time of Augustus most of the revenues of the Empire were collected, or their collection supervised, by imperial officials. But although this system of collection marked out the emperor, from the beginning, as the centre of the financial system, it was only gradually that the actual administration of the revenues as a whole came under his direct control. Until the third century a large proportion of the revenues continued to be paid into the 'treasury of Saturn' (*aerarium Saturni*), which had been the sole treasury of the Republican period and which was still administered in the name of the senate. It drew revenues from the taxation levied in senatorial provinces, from the rent of 'public land' in those provinces and in Italy, and from certain miscellaneous dues (fines, confiscated property, escheated estates). It also derived a revenue from a monopoly of coinage in bronze, and received the proceeds of a water-rate and a municipal toll at Rome.

In A.D. 6 Augustus had founded, and himself endowed, a military treasury (*aerarium militare*) for the pensioning of the troops. It was maintained by a 1 per cent. tax on auction sales and by a 5 per cent. duty on inheritances payable by all who possessed the Roman citizenship.

From the beginning there were revenues which went direct to the emperor. These were divided, at least from the time of Claudius, between two treasuries—the 'patrimony of Caesar' (*patrimonium Caesaris*) and the 'fiscus' (*fiscus Caesaris*). The 'fiscus',

the state chest of the emperors, received, along with certain dues from the senatorial provinces, the taxation levied in the imperial provinces (except the two taxes which went to the military treasury) and the rent and other revenues (notably from mines) of 'public land' in the imperial provinces, such land being treated as imperial (fiscal) domain. The 'patrimony' comprised land and other property bequeathed to the emperors, or other members of the imperial family, or otherwise acquired by them, whether in Italy or in senatorial or imperial provinces. To it were assigned the revenues of Egypt, which was treated, as we shall see, as an imperial (patrimonial) domain.

Imperial control of the 'aerarium militare' and the 'aerarium Saturni'. The military treasury, though an imperial creation, was treated, to begin with, as a branch of the senatorial treasury, and was administered by three prefects of senatorial rank chosen by lot. These prefects, however, though senators, were not annual magistrates responsible to the senate, but ex-magistrates (ex-praetors) who held office for three years and were responsible to the emperor. In the course of the third century the revenues which had been paid into this treasury came to be administered directly by imperial officials by being transferred to the 'fiscus', in which the military treasury was then merged.

Meanwhile much the same thing had been happening with the senatorial treasury, the 'aerarium Saturni'. Depleted during the civil wars, it had received assistance on several occasions from Augustus, and similar contributions were occasionally made by succeeding emperors. This naturally led to a certain measure of imperial control. Under Claudius its administration was taken from the two praetors to whom Augustus had entrusted it in 23 B.C., and in A.D. 44 it was put in charge of two quaestors, as in the Republican period, but with this difference—that the quaestors were now nominated by the emperor and held office for three years instead of one. Though appointed by the emperor, these quaestors, as acting magistrates, were still nominally responsible to the senate. It therefore marked a further stage in the imperial control of the 'aerarium' when Nero, in 56, put it under the charge of two prefects who, though senators, were not

acting magistrates but ex-magistrates (ex-praetors) appointed by the emperor and directly responsible to him.

There was administrative justification for this assertion of imperial control over the 'aerarium'. Although the senatorial provinces, which paid tribute and other taxes into it, were the richer provinces of the Empire, the expenditure which it had to meet was much less heavy than the burden borne by the 'fiscus', which was charged not only with the provisioning of the capital, the upkeep of the great military roads, and the public post, but with the cost of the huge imperial establishment, which included the whole salaried civil service of the Empire, and, above all, with the maintenance of the army. In these circumstances there was bound to be adjustment as between the 'aerarium' and the 'fiscus', whether that took the form of assigning to the 'fiscus' a proportion of the taxation of the senatorial provinces, or of specific grants to the 'fiscus' from the 'aerarium', or of direct payment from the 'aerarium' of a part of the fiscal charges. There is, in fact, some evidence for all three modes of adjustment. The truth is that as the emperors' control over the 'aerarium' had extended, the distinction between it and the 'fiscus' had tended to become unreal. Dio Cassius notes that there was no real distinction between the two as far as expenditure was concerned, and he remarks that the emperor might deal with the funds of the 'aerarium' as he willed, though theoretically it was a public or senatorial treasury. Still, so long as the 'aerarium' was theoretically a senatorial treasury, the expenditure of its funds, at least any extraordinary expenditure, would require that an emperor who desired to show due consideration for senatorial susceptibilities should proceed by 'senatus consultum'. Thus Dio, in a passage in which he repeats that the emperor could, in fact, expend the funds of the 'aerarium' as he pleased, records that Marcus Aurelius, in drawing upon it for a contribution to the expenses of his war against the Quadi, asked the senate to authorize the grant. By then the 'senatus consultum' was a mere matter of form, but it was a form which involved delay, some degree of publicity, and other inconveniences. On the other hand, it would not have done to have

turned into an imperial chest a treasury with the senatorial and Republican traditions of the 'aerarium Saturni'. Nor was that necessary. As with the military treasury, the direct control by the emperor of the revenues of the senatorial treasury, and their administration by imperial officials, could be more effectively secured by their transference to the 'fiscus'.

The separation of the revenues of the 'aerarium' and the 'fiscus' had, in fact, become artificial as well as administratively inconvenient, and already by the time of Tacitus transference from the one treasury to the other is represented as little more than a matter of book-keeping. As early as the reign of Tiberius the 'aerarium' had begun to be deprived of its miscellaneous sources of revenue, and by the early part of the third century it had lost them all. Meanwhile the emperors had intervened more and more in the administration of 'public land' outside the imperial provinces. In the Republican period the control of such land had been a censorial function, and it was the emperor alone who exercised that power in the imperial period. As censor Vespasian had ordered all 'public land' in Italy and in the provinces to be remeasured. Of the 'public land' in Italy, he and Titus, and after them Domitian, sold or gifted what was cultivable, and placed what remained (pasture and forest) under the charge of imperial procurators. In the senatorial provinces imperial control over the 'public land' ended, with Septimius Severus, in all such land passing to the emperor, along with the industrial concerns associated with it, notably mines. In the course of the third century the taxes of the senatorial provinces went the way of their 'public land'. The decisive change came with Gallienus. When, in the great military crisis of the mid-third century, he transferred the senatorial provinces to the direct control of the emperor, he transferred at the same time all their revenues to the 'fiscus'.

Within the following decade the senate lost its right of coinage. According to the arrangement made by Augustus in 15 B.C., coinage in gold and silver had been reserved for the emperor, while the issue of copper coinage had been assigned to the senate. The issue of this token currency represented, to begin with, an

important source of revenue for the senatorial treasury, until, in the course of the third century, it was increasingly forced out of circulation by the debased silver issued from the imperial mints. Finally, in 274, Aurelian made all coinage an imperial monopoly.

The senatorial 'aerarium' was now reduced to its local sources of revenue—the water-rate and municipal tolls of the capital. Henceforth it was, in fact, no more than the municipal chest of the city of Rome, and all the financial resources of the Empire were now under the direct control of the emperor and administered by imperial officials.

The imperial treasuries. The revenues administered by the emperor were not formally divided into the two departments of 'fiscus' and 'patrimonium' until the time of Claudius. It was the theory of the Augustan settlement that the princeps was simply a citizen invested with the imperium, and such revenues as he held on trust for state purposes were controlled and protected by him as his private property, just as money derived from the sale of booty (*manubiae*) had been so treated by a general invested with imperium in the Republican period. So, in his own account of his reign, Augustus describes all the funds which he controlled, whether derived from public or private sources, as 'my patrimony', 'my money' (*patrimonium meum, pecunia mea*); and Tacitus uses similar expressions when speaking of the Julio-Claudian period. There was, of course, a moral obligation to use state revenues for state purposes, and from the beginning public and private accounts must have been kept separate by the secretaries of the imperial household, but it was not until the emperor began to be identified with the state that a financial department within his household could be recognized as a state chest and distinguished from the 'patrimonium'. That took place in the reign of Claudius, when the 'fiscus Caesaris' was organized under the charge of an imperial procurator.

In this growing identification of the emperor with the state, the personality of the emperor, until the close of the Antonine period, was assumed to be merged in the state. A consequence of this was that he tended to be regarded as incapable of holding

private property, and the 'patrimonium' no less than the 'fiscus' passed to the successor. With Septimius Severus, however, the reverse side of this identification began to come uppermost; the state tended to be regarded as merged in the personality of the ruler. This conception made itself felt in finance as elsewhere, and here, as in other administrative departments, the system which the Romans had found in Ptolemaic Egypt exercised an influence and supplied a model. Egypt, as has been said, had been assigned to the 'patrimonium'. But there we find a further distinction between the bulk of the land, which was treated as 'royal land' (γῆ βασιλική) belonging to the 'patrimony' of the Caesars as the successors of the Ptolemies, and imperial estates (οὐσίαι), the revenues of which passed into a 'private exchequer' (ἴδιος λόγος) administered by an official called the 'idiologus', who had already been charged under the Ptolemies with the administration of the royal domains. This distinction was applied by Severus to the Empire as a whole, and a 'private exchequer' (res privata principis) was established as a separate department. All such acquisitions as had hitherto gone to the 'patrimonium' now went to the 'res privata', and before long the 'patrimonium' disappeared altogether. The new treasury even encroached upon the 'fiscus'; in particular, it appears to have absorbed the revenues of all imperial domains alike, fiscal as well as patrimonial.

This strengthening of the emperor's personal control over finance by the institution of the 'res privata' was of more than practical importance. It was an assertion of the personality of the emperor, of his capacity to hold property as a person. Indeed, when the extent and sources of the 'res privata' are considered, the creation of this department is seen to amount to an assertion that the emperor held state revenues as personal property. When Ulpian now describes even the 'fiscus' as being, in a sense, the private property of the emperor, he means something different from the fiduciary treatment of state revenues as private property in the early and inorganic stage of the principate, for that rested on the theory that the princeps was no more than first citizen; and he implies something different also from

the recognition with Claudius of a department of the imperial household as a state treasury (the 'fiscus'), for in that identification of the emperor with the state the personality of the emperor was assumed to be so merged in the state that even his 'patrimony' was to be regarded rather as imperial than as personal property. When, with the third century, imperial revenues were being assigned to the 'res privata' of the ruler, and the 'fiscus' was described by the jurists as being in a sense his personal property, the identification of emperor and state was tending to merge the state in the personality of the ruler, and the way was being prepared in the financial sphere, as elsewhere, for the conception that the Empire was not only ruled by the emperor but belonged to him as its 'dominus'.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF ROME AND ITALY

The capital. The city from which the Empire had grown, as from a cell, had undergone this monstrous expansion at the sacrifice of its own autonomy. The humbler classes did indeed play some part in the corporate life of the fourteen 'regions' into which Augustus divided the city, or at least of the quarters (*vici*) into which these regions were subdivided, but this corporate life was of a purely religious and ceremonial kind. Nor was any important part now assigned in the administration of the capital to the senatorial magistrates.

Certain departments of administration which, in the Republican period, had belonged to the censors were organized by Augustus as special charges (*curae*) under curators—roads, public works, and the water supply. To these charges the regulation of the Tiber banks was added at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, and under Trajan the drainage of the city was included in this department. The curators, though senators (ex-praetors or ex-consuls), were nominated by the emperor and were responsible to him.

A still greater encroachment upon the sphere of the magistracy was the appointment of a city prefect, occasional and temporary under Augustus, regular and permanent from the latter part of

the reign of Tiberius onwards. Besides appropriating much of the jurisdiction of the praetors, the city prefect took over functions which had belonged to the consuls and aediles by reason of the general charge which he exercised over the city (*tutela urbis*), for which he had three 'urban cohorts' placed under his command in the first century. Much more important, however, than these 'urban cohorts' were the seven cohorts organized by Augustus as a city watch (*vigiles*) and the nine cohorts of the praetorian guard; and whereas the city prefect, though appointed by the emperor as his representative, was always a senator (a consular), the commanders of the watch and of the praetorian guard were equestrian prefects in the emperor's service. The object of this arrangement was to ensure that the emperor should have direct control of the armed forces of the capital. In one branch of home administration not involving military control the same precaution was taken. That was the vital matter of the corn supply, which had been the most important of the charges assigned to the aediles. Before the end of the reign of Augustus this charge also had been put into the hands of an equestrian prefect. By these measures the administrative system of the capital was assimilated to that which had been applied by the Ptolemies to Alexandria.

Italy. In the administration of Italy also the senate lost its privileged position in the course of the first three centuries. The institution by Augustus of special curators to take charge of the roads had limited the sphere of its magistrates. A further limitation came with the appointment by Hadrian of four 'consulars' for jurisdiction in Italy. Discontinued by Pius, these judges reappeared and became permanent with Marcus Aurelius under the more specific name of 'iuridici', being now regular circuit-judges for certain departments of civil jurisdiction. Their jurisdiction greatly encroached upon that of the praetors at Rome, and, though these 'iuridici' were senators (ex-praetors), they were appointed by the emperor and acted as his delegates, their decisions being appealable only to the imperial tribunal, where such appeals were usually heard by the praetorian prefects.

Meanwhile the emperors had been taking over from the senate the supervision of the Italian municipalities. In the first century the autonomy of these municipalities was, in general, respected, and such intervention as took place was usually invited by the cities themselves. In these cases it was normally the senate that intervened, but occasional instances of imperial intervention in the first century are recorded, and with the second century imperial control over the municipalities came to be exercised in a regular and permanent form through the institution by Trajan of curators (*curatores rei publicae*), usually of senatorial rank to begin with, appointed by the emperor to supervise the affairs, especially the financial affairs, of one or more local communities. Still exceptional under Trajan, these 'curatores' became general in the course of the Antonine period, after which the proportion of senators among them diminishes. They now tend to become localized into mere municipal functionaries, and in the third century the agents of imperial supervision are new officials styled 'correctores', who are assigned a much wider sphere. Towards the end of the reign of Caracalla, a 'corrector' · was appointed for the whole of Italy. Another 'corrector' appears under Gallienus, again for the whole of Italy. That is the only recorded instance of such an official between Caracalla and Aurelian, but with Aurelian the office became a permanent and regular one, and it was then divided among a number of 'correctores', each assigned to a particular region of Italy. These 'correctores' had much greater power, as well as a much wider sphere, than the 'curatores'. Their appearance in Italy under Caracalla would seem to have been occasioned not only by the difficulties of the municipal towns but also by the prevalence of brigandage, while the revival of the office by Gallienus and its establishment as a regular institution by Aurelian would seem to have been connected with the danger of barbarian raids that now threatened Italy. The 'correctores' exercised criminal jurisdiction without appeal—a power that had hitherto belonged only to the praetorian prefects; and they were invested with imperium. They were, in fact, virtually governors, and though they were chosen from the

senatorial order, they were appointed by the emperor and were his representatives.

The institution in Italy of 'correctores' who were virtually governors put an end to the distinction between Italy and the provinces as well as to senatorial privilege in Italian administration. Italy had long been distinguished from the provinces not only by the absence of a governor but also by immunity from the land-tax and exemption from occupation by legionary troops. To give Italy a privileged position alongside Rome had been the deliberate policy of Augustus. If in that respect he went beyond the narrow 'municipalism' of the old senatorial oligarchy of Rome, he stopped short of the imperialism of Julius, and his Italianist idea expressed itself, in contrast with the policy of Julius, in his unwillingness to extend citizen rights to provincials. It was the liberal policy of Julius, however, that prevailed, and the distinction between Italy and the provinces gradually disappeared. As it happened, the distinction was obliterated not only by raising the status of the provinces but also by depressing that of Italy. In the second and third centuries the series of administrative changes which has been referred to assimilated Italy to an ordinary province, and it was now ready to take its place in the reformed administrative system of Diocletian, under which it was to be divided into two groups of regional units, in no way differing from the ordinary provinces of the new system. At the same time it ceased to enjoy immunity from the land-tax, and by now it had lost its privilege of exemption from the encampment of legionary troops. The establishment of two praetorian fleets at Misenum and Ravenna, both commanded by imperial prefects, can hardly have been felt to impair the privileged position of Italy in this respect, since the fleets had brought a real benefit by guaranteeing the security of the surrounding seas. In the interior of Italy the only troops actually quartered, with a few temporary exceptions, had been the praetorian guards, and up to the time of Severus the presence of these troops was the less felt as coercive that they were recruited mostly from Italy itself or from the Alpine provinces, differing

in this respect from the legionaries, who, from the Flavian period onwards, were rarely Italians, and, from the time of Hadrian, were mostly recruited from frontier areas. With Severus not only did this distinction between the guards and the legionaries disappear, but legionaries were now quartered in Italy, one of the legions then newly enrolled, the II Parthica, being assigned permanent quarters at Albano. The immediate purpose of Severus was to provide (what was greatly wanted from the military point of view) the nucleus of a central reserve, but events were soon to show that Italy was not to maintain over the provinces even the advantage of security from barbarian inroads. Twice Aurelian had to clear barbarian raiders out of Italy, and the building of his great wall around Rome showed that the centre of the Empire must now be included with the provinces in the system of imperial defence.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES

The Imperial provinces. We have seen that in 27 B.C. the provinces reserved to the emperor and distinguished from the senatorial or public provinces included those in which legions were stationed. To this arrangement there was, for a time, an exception. Along the Numidian frontier of the province of Africa it was necessary to station a legion to prevent trouble from the nomad tribes of the desert. In spite of this, the province was predominantly civil, and Augustus had left it in the hands of the senate. In the reign of Caligula, however, an imperial legate was appointed to relieve the proconsul of the command of the African legion, the III Augusta, and with Septimius Severus the military area was detached as a separate province—the imperial province of Numidia.

The Republican practice of reserving to senators the command of legions and the government of provinces continued to be observed under the Empire, even in the emperor's own provinces. But the dual process of unification which has been noted in other departments of administration is to be seen here also—the process by which senators charged with administrative functions were first brought under the control of the emperor and

finally displaced by imperial officials. In the imperial pro-
vinces the governors and the commanders of the several legions,
though senators, were legates of the emperor (*legati Augusti*),
that is, the imperium which they exercised was the delegated
imperium of the emperor, by whom they were appointed and
to whom they were responsible. This was the normal system
until the third century, when the second stage in the process of
unification came about.

From the beginning the imperial provinces had shown ex-
ceptions to the rule that the command of legions and the govern-
ment of provinces should be reserved to senators. Certain small
frontier provinces, which did not require the presence of legionary
troops but were garrisoned by auxiliaries, were governed by
imperial procurators (*procuratores praesides*). This employment
of procurators as governors was occasionally extended as a
temporary measure to one or other of the larger imperial pro-
vinces, where the procurator in charge of finance (*procurator
provinciae*) might be appointed to act as governor. Such ap-
pointments became not uncommon in the second quarter of the
third century. Still more important as an anticipation of the
change that was to come was the exceptional system that had
been applied to Egypt since the time of Augustus. There, as we
shall see, the governor was an imperial prefect, who ranked
next to the prefect of the praetorian guard in the hierarchy of
the imperial bureaucracy, while each of the four legions which
he had at his disposal was commanded by a legionary prefect
(*praefectus legionis*) of equestrian rank, who owed allegiance to
the emperor as a professional soldier and had indeed commonly
risen from the ranks. In the reign of Septimius Severus this
system was extended from Egypt to the newly constituted, or
reconstituted, province of Mesopotamia; it was put under the
charge of an equestrian prefect, who had under him two
(equestrian) legionary prefects in command of the two newly
enrolled legions stationed in the province, I and III Parthica.
The innovation was carried farther by Alexander Severus, who
in certain imperial provinces replaced senatorial legates by
equestrian governors, and finally the practice was resumed and

generalized by Gallienus, who, by an edict of 261, which ex-
cluded senators from military commands, extended the system
to all the imperial provinces. Gallienus was not a bitter enemy
of the senate, and it was no personal feeling but the circum-
stances of the time that demanded the replacement of senators
by professional soldiers. The great military crisis through which
the Empire passed shortly after the middle of the third century
had shown the need for legionary and provincial generals of a
quality and experience not to be found among members of the
senatorial order. The object of the change was to put in the
hands of men (equestrians) of military training the command of
the legions and the government of provinces in which troops
were required, and as every imperial province was now, or
might at any moment become, the seat of war, the change
applied to all. Their governors (*praesides*) were now imperial
(equestrian) officials with (equestrian) legionary prefects as
their divisional commanders.

The senatorial provinces. The same military crisis as caused the
removal of senators from the command of legions and from
the government of imperial provinces also brought to an end the
separate existence of senatorial provinces. At no time, indeed,
had the separation of senatorial provinces from the sphere of the
emperor been absolute. We have seen that the taxation in
senatorial provinces, as well as in imperial provinces, had been
collected, or its collection supervised, by imperial officials; that
from the beginning certain dues from senatorial provinces were
paid to the fisc and that these dues steadily increased; and that
from the Flavian period onwards the emperors controlled the
administration of the 'public land' in senatorial provinces, until,
with Septimius Severus, such land went to swell the domains
which the emperors had already acquired in such provinces by
inheritance or otherwise. In these circumstances an increasing
share in the administration of a senatorial province fell to the
provincial procurator who was in charge of the emperor's
interests there.

The actual governors of senatorial provinces, it is true,
differed from the governors of imperial provinces in that they

were not legates who exercised an imperium delegated to them by the emperor, but proconsuls who, like the emperor himself, received their imperium direct from the senate as representing the people. Theoretically, therefore, it was to the senate and not to the emperor that they were responsible. In reality the emperor controlled the proconsuls both directly and indirectly. He controlled them indirectly through his influence with the senate. For one thing, by means of 'commendation' and 'allection' he gave to men of his own choice the necessary qualification for the governorship of a province, and the annual list of qualified men submitted to the lot which decided the allocation of the senatorial provinces was drawn up by him. By the time of Dio Cassius the number of qualified men whose names were submitted to the lot was made equal to the number of vacancies. That amounted to collective designation by the emperor. Even individual designation (*extra sortem*), notably for the consular posts, was not uncommon, especially after the death of Marcus Aurelius. Again, the emperor exercised a large measure of control over the senatorial provinces by his influence upon the decisions of the senate itself as embodied in its decrees (*consulta*), for these, as we have seen, came to be little more than a mode of registering imperial decisions.

But the emperor had the right as well as the power to exercise a more direct control over the senatorial provinces. It will be remembered that, when the imperium of Augustus was defined as proconsular in 23 B.C., it was at the same time defined as 'superior' to that possessed by the several proconsuls of the senatorial provinces. This right to override the authority of the proconsuls was exercised from the beginning. At Cyrene, for example, a series of edicts recently discovered shows us Augustus, as early as 7–6 B.C., regulating the judicial and financial affairs of the senatorial province (Crete and Cyrenaica) to which Cyrene belonged, and expressly representing himself as being, no less than the senate, a final authority to which the people of that senatorial province were to look. Augustus's intervention in Cyrenaica had been invited by embassies from the province. As time went on, however, the emperors intervened more and

more freely in senatorial provinces on their own initiative, and the proconsuls came to be, in fact, little more than their mandatories. By the time of Dio, proconsuls, no less than legates, took out with them to their provinces the emperor's written instructions (*mandata*).

Meanwhile it had become a regular practice for the emperor to intervene directly in the affairs of the local communities of senatorial provinces. Apart from the power of general supervision inherent in his 'superior' imperium, the emperor had a direct relationship with the local communities of the Empire as alone having the power to issue the charters (*leges datae*) which regulated their status. The cities had made intervention necessary by their mismanagement of their own affairs. This was particularly true of the 'free' communities, which invited imperial intervention all the more that they lay technically 'outside the province' (*extra provinciam*), and the proconsul would therefore have caused friction by interfering with them. To begin with, imperial intervention took the form of sending out special commissioners to regulate the affairs of the 'free' cities, or even all the local communities, of a whole province. This practice began with Trajan. Since in his own provinces the emperor had his legate to act for him in this matter, and since in these provinces the cities did not play so important a part as in the more urbanized provinces of the senate, it was in senatorial provinces that such special commissioners as we have record of (with one exception) were appointed. Again, it was especially in the eastern provinces that the cities were important and that 'free' cities were numerous, and it was therefore to the East that the commissioners were sent. In 108, Trajan commissioned a Messius Maximus, a man of praetorian rank, to regulate the affairs of the 'free' cities of Achaea. The mission on which the younger Pliny (then of consular rank) was sent by Trajan to Bithynia (at that time a senatorial province) in 111 was especially concerned with the financial affairs of the cities, including all the cities of the province and not the 'free' communities alone.

Before the end of Trajan's reign the imperial supervision of local communities was being extended to Italy and the senatorial

provinces in the West, where, as in the East, local autonomy
had resulted in financial disorder. Here intervention took the
form of instituting officials of a more regular kind, but with a
more restricted sphere, than the special commissioners who had
been sent to the East. 'Curatores' (*curatores rei publicae*) were
appointed by the emperor to supervise the affairs, especially the
financial affairs, of a single community or, less commonly, of
two or three communities. Still occasional under Trajan and
Hadrian, the appointment of such 'curatores' became in-
creasingly frequent in the course of the second century and the
first half of the third. In the second half of the third century,
however, their office changed character; from being an imperial
charge it became a municipal function, and as such it was now
extended to imperial provinces. But so long as it had remained
an imperial charge in senatorial provinces, it had greatly re-
stricted the sphere of proconsular supervision.

Meanwhile the wide powers exercised in the East by the
original commissioners had passed to officials (usually styled
ἐπανορθωταί or διορθωταί) who regulated the affairs of the free
cities of a whole province or a considerable part of a province.
Unlike the 'curatores', these officials, who were of high senatorial
rank (praetorian in the second century, consular with Severus
and Caracalla), exercised jurisdiction and had coercive power;
they were invested with the imperium and wielded the five
fasces, like the governors of imperial provinces. Under the
Latin name of 'correctores' such officials were appointed for
Italy, as we have seen, from the reign of Caracalla onwards. In
Italy the 'correctura' remained alongside of, and distinct from,
the institution of 'curatores', and while these became localized
into municipal functionaries, the 'correctores', as has been ex-
plained, acted virtually as governors. In the eastern provinces,
on the other hand, at the very time when, with Severus and
Caracalla, they became numerous, they tended to lose the ex-
tensive powers which they had hitherto exercised, and gradually,
under the name of 'logistae' (λογισταί), they were assimilated to
the more restricted 'curatores' long familiar in Italy and the
West. The appointment of officials of the older type, who had

taken over from the proconsuls a large part of the government of the eastern senatorial provinces, became unnecessary when all the senatorial provinces were transferred to the emperor soon after the middle of the third century.

In virtue of his *maius imperium* an emperor had sometimes appointed his chief procurator in a senatorial province to act temporarily as governor there on the death of the proconsul during his period of office, and occasionally a province had been transferred, temporarily or permanently, from the senate to the emperor, usually for military reasons. Such practices prepared the way for a system under which the separate existence of senatorial provinces came to an end, and the governors of these provinces became imperial officials. This change, like the corresponding change in the government of the imperial provinces and in close connexion with it, came with Gallienus. In the great military crisis which reached its height during his reign, barbarian raids and civil war had penetrated every province of the Empire. The senatorial provinces ceased to be distinguishable as 'peaceful' from the imperial provinces, and the military situation demanded a strictly unified control for all the provinces alike. Accordingly, those which had hitherto been governed by proconsuls nominally responsible to the senate were now put under the direct government of the emperor, and the system at this time applied to the imperial provinces was extended to them, that is, they were governed by equestrian officials in the emperor's service.

Equestrian governors. The term by which the imperial officials who now governed all the provinces were described was not *praefectus*, as in Egypt and Mesopotamia, but *praeses*. It was the term which had come to be specially applied to the imperial procuratores by whom certain small provinces had always been governed, but it had never been appropriated to the official titulature of the equestrian hierarchy, and it might be applied to any type of governor. It was doubtless its vagueness which now recommended its employment as a title for the new type of provincial governor, as not emphasizing the drastic change which had been made. The drastic character of the

change was not, indeed, at first apparent, because the new system was represented for a time as being a temporary measure, and, to begin with, the imperial officials who now governed the provinces were described officially as 'acting praeses' (*agens vices praesidis*), just as the legionary prefects were described as 'acting legate' (*agens vices legati*). But the soldier emperors who succeeded Gallienus were not the sort of men to restore administrative privilege to the senate, and in any case the administrative necessity which justified the change outlasted the temporary crisis that had occasioned it. Except for a brief period of senatorial reaction in 275, the system established by the Edict of Gallienus in 261 was that by which the appointment of provincial governors was normally regulated until the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine. By this system the unification of provincial government under Caesar was complete. All provinces were under his direct control; all provincial governors (*praesides*) as well as legionary commanders (*praefecti legionis*) were his immediate officials.

EGYPT

The system applied by Septimius Severus to Mesopotamia and extended by Gallienus to all the provinces had been originally confined to Egypt. From the beginning the governor there had been an imperial prefect of equestrian rank, while military (equestrian) prefects had commanded the several legions which the governor had at his disposal. The governor of Egypt, then, and the legionary commanders subordinate to him were not senators, and indeed senators were excluded from Egypt altogether. This exceptional treatment of Egypt was due to a combination of circumstances—its great wealth, its importance as a source of the supply of grain, and its strategical position at the heart of the Empire, flanked by deserts and accessible from the sea only by the two harbours of Alexandria and Pelusium. The importance of Egypt had shown itself in the civil wars, and indeed Julius Caesar was credited with the design to make Alexandria the capital of the Empire; its incorporation in the Empire was synchronous with the establishment of the Augustan

principate, and the exceptional treatment given to it is noted by Tacitus as 'one of the secrets of despotism'.[1]

But the exceptional treatment given to Egypt was due, not merely to its economic and strategical importance, but also to its political history and to the character of its inhabitants. Its vast population, which had an evil reputation for seditiousness, had had no experience of constitutional government, and monarchy was the only form of rule which it understood. To legitimize his authority in Egypt, Augustus figured there as the successor of the Ptolemies. The prefect of Egypt acted as a viceroy. In Egypt the Roman emperor was king. Indeed he was a god, and the Egyptian priests transferred to him the worship which had been paid to the Ptolemies and, before them, to the Pharaohs. As the divine source of all increase as well as authority, the Egyptian monarch had always owned as well as ruled the land. Under the Caesars the land continued to be 'royal land' ($\gamma\hat{\eta}\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$); it was treated as an imperial domain and attached to the 'patrimony of Caesar'.

The result of this treatment of Egypt was that the Graeco-Oriental tradition of monarchy and administration lived on within the actual framework of the Roman Empire. The Oriental influence which came into the Empire from across its eastern frontier hardly made itself felt until the third century, when the Persian dynasty of the Sassanids established itself upon the Parthian throne and made a unified Persian empire conterminous with the Roman. That influence, then, came late, and it was an influence from outside. But the influence of the Ptolemaic system acted from within the Empire itself and at the very moment of the formation of Caesarism. Other Hellenistic kingdoms had indeed been incorporated within the Empire, notably the Syrian kingdom of the Seleucidae, but, though this created populous provinces responsive to Graeco-Oriental methods of government, such methods had been supplanted by the proconsular government of the Republic long before the time came for the institution of Caesar's office. The Ptolemaic system, on the other hand, had survived more or less intact up to the time

when Augustus took in hand to centralize the Roman state under the authority of an individual. In this system, skilfully elaborated through a long experience of government, he found ideas of authority and methods of administration which not only suited the Egyptians themselves but were capable of a wide extension in an empire whose richest and most populous provinces, outside Egypt, were Asiatic regions which, like Egypt itself, had formed part of Hellenistic kingdoms and of the great monarchies which had preceded them. The Egyptian notion of the divine monarch influenced Caesarism from the beginning, and it was the administrative counterpart of such a notion that the royal authority radiated through an elaborately articulated bureaucracy, centred in the basileion. In this Ptolemaic bureaucracy Augustus found a system which he could employ as a model for the imperial civil service which now became necessary to deal with the enormous burden of administration and supervision which rested upon his shoulders and which he proposed to transmit to a line of successors. We have already seen how imperial officials at first existed alongside of a body of senatorial administrators, and how they gradually displaced these as the unification of administration proceeded.

THE IMPERIAL CIVIL SERVICE

In supplementing and finally displacing administrators of senatorial rank, the emperors drew into the public service the second of the two upper classes of Roman society—the knights (*equites*) or equestrian order, which conserved the name given in the earlier period of the Republic to the propertied class qualified for service in the state cavalry, but which, in the later Republic, had little or nothing to do with the army. It was simply a class composed of men who had a minimum fortune of 400,000 sesterces (about £4,000) and who were not in the senate; and, in fact, its members were largely engaged in the commercial undertakings (such as farming the revenues) from which senators were excluded. That Augustus and his successors should look to this class for administrators was natural. It cherished no such tradition as made the senatorial nobility a

danger in the early days of the Empire; indeed it had commonly been' at issue with that nobility in the later period of the Republic. Suitable men with the property qualification were to be found in all the provinces as well as in Italy, and provincials were attached to the principate. It was a class primarily interested in sound administration, and administration was the principal task and achievement of the Empire.

The transformation of the equestrian order into an official class was begun by Augustus. With him the revision of the equestrian list became a reality, and henceforth admission to the order depended upon the emperor. Augustus renewed the connexion of the knights with the army by forming from them a corps of officers, and the military commissions which now formed the introduction to the official career were in his gift as commander-in-chief. The whole career of those permanent salaried officials was arranged in a hierarchy, every stage of advancement depending upon the emperor, whose agents they were. After the military service came the procuratorships, which included the government of a few of the smaller provinces and (later) secretaryships within the imperial household, but were mainly concerned with financial administration. At the head of the career came the great prefectures—the prefecture of one or other of the two praetorian fleets, of the watch, of the corn-supply, of Egypt, of the praetorian guard.

The subordinates of these equestrian officials, so far as they were not soldiers, were imperial freedmen or imperial slaves. To begin with, however, there were certain offices dealing with state business which were regularly entrusted to imperial freedmen who were not subordinated to equestrian superiors but were directly responsible to the emperor himself. These were the secretaryships within the imperial household. A central bureau had inevitably taken shape from the necessity of co-ordinating and supervising the vast administrative work that was now carried on all over the Roman world, either by senators' more or less directly controlled by the emperor, or by the emperor's equestrian civil service. Its most important departments appear to have been formally organized in the reign

of Claudius, largely no doubt because of the influence of the
imperial freedmen at that time and the high competence of
some of them, notably Narcissus and Pallas. The chief officer of
the fiscus was the 'a rationibus'. The drafting of imperial re-
scripts was entrusted to the departments of the 'ab epistulis' and
the 'a libellis', the former dealing with the emperor's corre-
spondence with officials, the latter replying to requests ad-
dressed to the emperor by communities or individuals. The 'a
cognitionibus' received appeals to the imperial jurisdiction and
made the necessary inquiries, while the 'a studiis' conducted the
historical and juridical researches required for the work of the
other departments. Under Severus a procurator (or 'magister')
of the 'res privata' appeared alongside the 'a rationibus', while
with Caracalla (at latest) the department 'a cognitionibus' was
supplemented by a department 'a memoria', which seems to
have drafted constitutions prepared by the older department.

The reason why such secretaryships, to begin with, were in
the hands of the emperor's own freedmen was that the imperial
household was originally modelled on that of the ordinary
senator. But the posts held by the freedmen secretaries within
the imperial household were virtually secretaryships of state,
and they came to be treated as such. By Nero's time their
exceptional character was so far recognized that it could be
represented as treasonable presumption in an individual to
style the freedmen of his household 'a rationibus', 'a libellis', or
'ab epistulis', these being now 'titles of the supreme office'
(*nomina summae curae*).[1] That represents Nero's point of view,
but Roman society on its side was now demanding that those
posts should be recognized for what they were, and taken out of
the hands of freedmen. The change came with Vitellius, who, at
the beginning of 69, gave secretaryships within the household to
equestrian officers who had shown zeal on his behalf. During
the Flavian period those offices were still not infrequently held
by freedmen, notably in the reign of Domitian, when the
influence of the imperial freedmen revived, as we know from
Martial and Statius. But even in Domitian's reign inscriptions

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 35.

mention equestrian as well as freedmen secretaries. With Trajan's accession the imperial freedmen recede into the background, and after Hadrian's reorganization of the bureaucracy the principal imperial secretaryships are regularly in the hands of equestrians. As recognized stages in the equestrian career they now ranked next to the high prefectures.

This measure marks a decisive stage in the development of bureaucratic government. It brought the equestrian civil service into organic connexion with the imperial household. To begin with, it had been just the inorganic character of the principate that had connected the state with the imperial household. The notion that the princeps was no more than first citizen implied that he should employ his own servants upon his business, and led to imperial slaves and freedmen being engaged all over the Empire in the administrative work for which the emperor was directly responsible. Still, in all the more important administrative departments these imperial slaves and freedmen had been subordinate to equestrians who, though acting as the emperor's agents, were outside the household. The effect of Hadrian's reform was to link up the equestrian service with the household through the imperial secretaryships. Ostensibly he might appear to be satisfying the demand that public business should be kept separate from the emperor's domestic establishment; in reality he gave to the connexion between the 'res publica' and the imperial household an organic and permanent form. The secretaryships, in passing to the equestrian service, did not, in effect, pass out of the household. The effect was the reverse—the equestrian service was brought into the household and centred there. The importance of this change became more and more apparent as the equestrian service, by the process which we have described, increasingly absorbed the whole administrative work of the Empire.

It only remained for the imperial bureaucracy to attach to itself the titles, and with them the tradition and prestige, of the senatorial order. This was a development which had long been prepared for. The frequent exercise of allection in favour of equestrians, translating them into the senate, usually with

praetorian rank, had done much to break down the distinction
between the two orders. The gifting to equestrians of praetorian
or consular insignia and the granting to praetorian prefects of a
seat in the senate had contributed to the same effect. From the
time of Constantine onwards senatorial titles regularly adorn
the higher administrative offices, while the old equestrian titles
disappear. It shows the tenacity of the senatorial tradition that it
should have tended all along to disguise under its own titles the
encroachments of the equestrian service and should have ended
by appearing to assimilate it. But this did not mean a restora-
tion of senatorial privilege; on the contrary, it was really the last
stage in its elimination. The senatorial order of 'clarissimi' now
consists simply of the higher officials of the imperial bureaucracy,
and its ranks are regularly entered from the lower grades of the
bureaucracy by a purely formal allection. Henceforward the
distinction between senatorial and equestrian offices gives place
to a distinction between military and civil offices, both alike
held by imperial functionaries. And since, from the time of
Hadrian, the imperial functionaries had had their centre within
the household and since the heads of the great household de-
partments, once freedmen, then equestrians, are now 'clarissimi',
all public service and dignity are not only a radiation of
Caesar's imperium but a projection of the palace.

CAESAR AND THE BUREAUCRACY

So Caesar's office, which had originated as a measure of
centralization demanded by an administrative emergency, had
developed, under the continuous pressure of circumstances, into
a complete absolutism on the administrative side. The tendency
which we have described in the previous chapter to shift the
theoretical basis of the office was the counterpart of this ad-
ministrative development. With the growth of the bureaucratic
system, itself modelled on that of Hellenistic monarchy, Graeco-
Oriental forms and notions had increasingly attached themselves
to Caesar's office. Yet the tendency to assimilate it to a personal
monarchy did not, in fact, result in transforming completely its
theoretic basis. On the administrative side also, the assimilation

was incomplete. Nothing brings out more clearly Caesar's position as responsible magistrate than the absence, during the first three centuries, of general ministers at the head of great departments of state. Those who governed or administered, commanded troops or exercised jurisdiction, whether as senatorial mandatories or legates of Caesar, or as officials of his bureaucracy, were simply regional or divisional officers, from whom there was continual reference or appeal to Caesar himself; and a personal exercise of military command, a personal concern with the details of administration and an active exercise of jurisdiction were always characteristic of the better emperors. It is true that a personal exercise of the imperium on a scale at all commensurate with the sphere within which it was applicable continued to be possible only for emperors of exceptional energy and ability, and even for them it became more and more difficult with the increasing pressure of imperial business in the third century; and in the third century not many of the emperors were able or energetic. The result was that government tended to pass from Caesar to his bureaucracy, the chief officials of which came to be regarded as acting for the emperor (*vice imperatoris*). This is especially seen in the position allowed in the third century to the praetorian prefects, whose capacity to represent, or impersonate, the emperor in jurisdiction showed itself in the fact that their judgements were normally unappealable, and who, in the reign of Alexander Severus, were empowered to exercise the imperial prerogative of legislating by general edict. The appearance of this practice of vicarious government, or government by representation, marks a point at which the progressive centralization which has been described begins to negative itself. In the third century, however, a real balance and flexibility was still maintained as between the magisterial and bureaucratic elements which made up the institution of Caesarism. On the one hand, enough survived of the magisterial tradition of the immediate exercise of the imperium to allow play to the personality of a vigorous emperor, and a Claudius, an Aurelian, or a Probus could energize the whole system of government in a remarkable degree. On the other hand, the

bureaucracy provided a machinery of administration which worked tolerably well even under feeble or ephemeral emperors. Though it derived its power and its sanction from Caesar's imperium, it was now something more than the individual Caesars. They came and went; its action was continuous. Indeed it was often the bureaucracy rather than the ruling Caesar that exhibited the 'majesty of the imperium', and one is struck by the contrast between the precarious reigns of most of the third-century emperors and the authoritarian language of the constitutions which issued from the imperial chancellory. The bureaucracy of the Caesars did not indeed escape the evils commonly found in such a system, and we hear of frequent complaints of the corruption of its officials; but in the course of its gradual growth it had steadily accumulated an administrative experience which enabled it to maintain, through long periods of disturbance, a certain standard of ordered, if mechanical, administration. It was largely because this continuous action of the bureaucracy supplemented Caesar's magisterial power that the Empire survived the administrative crises of the third century, which presented in the gravest form the two great problems which Caesar's office had been instituted to deal with —the maintenance of the internal unity of the Empire against military challenge, and the provision of a stable and efficient system of military and provincial administration.

THE PROBLEM OF INTERNAL UNITY

When one considers the immensity of the Empire, the half-century of its history which preceded Octavian's victory at Actium and the continued necessity of entrusting generals with large military commands, it must be allowed that the maintenance of internal unity was a formidable difficulty. That difficulty Caesarism met, not without success, for more than two centuries and a half. During that long period peace was only twice interrupted by internal warfare—by the civil wars (68–9) which succeeded one another after the death of Nero and ended with the accession of Vespasian, and the four years' struggle (193–7) between Septimius Severus and his rivals which

followed upon the death of Commodus. And in neither case did internal warfare break out as a challenge to a living Caesar; it took the form of a dispute about the succession. What was at fault here was not any insufficiency of Caesar's authority but the fatal neglect to regulate the succession which gave play to the particularist feelings of the armies and the personal ambitions of their generals. It may be doubted, however, if this defect of Caesarism played more than a minor part in the prolonged period of military anarchy which began when the Severan dynasty came to an end with the death of Severus Alexander in 235 and lasted until the restoration of unity by Aurelian in 273. No doubt the strife which marked that period raged mainly round the succession, but even if there had been a fixed rule to regulate it, this would hardly have prevented candidates from being put forward and fought for by the several groups of frontier legions which had become more and more localized in composition and in feeling since local recruiting had become a regular practice with Hadrian. The problem of the third century was not so much to check the ambitions of generals ready to exploit military feeling as to control a military particularism now so strongly developed that it impelled the frontier armies, and especially the Danube army, to act upon their own initiative and to make of their generals the mere instruments of their own demands. For this the military system, and in particular the practice of local recruiting, has been blamed, but the system was probably the only one which would have met the military necessities of the Empire. Ultimately it was the sheer size of the Empire that was the cause of the trouble—the vast extent of its frontiers and its regional diversities. Indeed the military particularism of the third century was but one expression of a general tendency which, sooner or later, was bound to end in the disintegration of the Empire as a political unity— the tendency towards the formation within it of self-conscious regional units. The proclamation of Postumus as emperor by the Rhine legions in 258 set up an 'Empire of the Gauls' which maintained itself for fifteen years. The invasion of Egypt by a Palmyrene army in 269 and the occupation by the Palmyrene

king Aballath not only of Syria and the adjoining provinces but of the greater part of Asia Minor, if immediately due to the ambition of his queen, Zenobia, to rule a Graeco-Oriental state, was also an expression of regional feeling. The whole balance of conditions upon which the Empire depended for its existence was losing its equilibrium; the problem of maintaining internal unity had changed character since Caesar's office was instituted, and was taking a form in which, in the long run, it was to be insoluble. It was almost beyond solution in the third century, when internal disunity was aggravated by a long series of barbarian inroads upon a formidable scale and by the aggressive action of the highly organized state of Persia upon the eastern frontier. Yet, in spite of the incapacity of many of the Caesars of that time and in spite of the brief period, usually terminated by a violent death, during which most of them occupied the throne, the threatened disintegration of the Empire was prevented, and the restoration of unity under Aurelian prepared the way for a systematic reconstruction by his successors which postponed the final collapse for centuries. If that result was achieved mainly by the vigour of individual emperors, much was due also to the action of the bureaucracy in keeping the machinery of government in working order. And in the preceding centuries its efficient service as a central bureau had given to the government of the Caesars continuity and system, and had thus enabled them to accomplish the second of the two great tasks for which, we have said, their office was created—to provide a stable system of administration for the Empire as a whole, and, above all, to organize the defence of the frontiers against the barbarians. To estimate the measure of their success we must now turn to the provinces and the frontiers.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE SECOND CENTURY

PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION
SENATORIAL AND IMPERIAL PROVINCES

WHEN the constitution was restored in 27 B.C., government by senatorial proconsuls was re-established in the provinces. At the same time, however, those provinces in which troops were stationed were withheld from the senatorial sphere, and subjected directly to the proconsular imperium of the emperor. The result was that the agents of the central government differed in the two classes of provinces. The governor of a senatorial, or 'unarmed', province received the proconsular imperium direct from the senate and therefore had the title of 'proconsul', whether his province was, like Africa and Asia, consular (assigned to a consular, or ex-consul) or, like all the other senatorial provinces, praetorian (assigned to a praetorian, or ex-praetor). To assist him in jurisdiction a proconsul could appoint one or more legates (*legati proconsulis pro praetore*). These were regularly ex-quaestors. It was one of the quaestors in office who went out (with the title *quaestor pro praetore*) to look after the interests of the 'aerarium', to which the land-tax of a senatorial province was paid. Alongside these senatorial officials there was always an imperial procurator, who had under him subordinate procurators collecting the indirect taxation of the province as well as the various dues that went from a senatorial province to the 'fiscus' or 'patrimonium'.

The proconsular imperium to which the imperial provinces were subject was that of the emperor. Like the proconsul of a senatorial province, the emperor delegated his imperium to legates (*legati Augusti*), but whereas in a senatorial province the legate (of the proconsul) was simply an assistant of the proconsul, who governed the province, the legate (of Augustus) of an imperial province was the actual governor. As governor of his province, he was naturally of higher rank than a proconsul's legate; while the latter was only an ex-quaestor, a provincial legate of Augustus was a consular (ex-consul), if his province

contained more than one legion, otherwise a praetorian (ex-praetor). Whether a praetorian or a consular, he was not described, like the praetorian or consular governor of a senatorial province, as acting 'pro consule', since, unlike the proconsul of a senatorial province, he did not himself possess the proconsular imperium to which his province was subject, but merely exercised it by delegation from the emperor. In an imperial province it was the emperor himself who acted, as it were, 'pro consule', and accordingly the action of his legates was on a lower grade; like the legates of the proconsuls, they were described as acting 'pro praetore' (*legati Augusti pro praetore*). In an imperial province, such as Numidia, where there was only one legion, the legate of the legion was also the legate of the province; where there was more than one legion, the provincial (consular) legate had legionary legates (*legati legionis*) of praetorian rank subordinate to him; these were not, however, *his* legates, since a delegated imperium could not be further delegated; like himself they were legates of Augustus. The same is true of the official (*legatus Augusti iuridicus*) who was occasionally appointed to assist the legate of an imperial province in the exercise of jurisdiction, where the amount of legal business justified it. The finances of an imperial province were under the charge of a provincial procurator with minor procurators subordinate to him. In both classes of province each of the major officials had his 'office' with a staff of non-commissioned officers and clerks. Both types of governor, proconsul, and legate of Augustus, had a suite of civilians of rank, who assisted them in jurisdiction and other civil functions and formed a kind of court, just as Caesar had his 'consiliarii', 'amici', and 'comites'. Such was the normal system up to the Edict of Gallienus of 261. To that system two permanent exceptions have already been noted. Certain of the smaller imperial provinces, in which a garrison of auxiliary troops was found sufficient, were governed by imperial procurators (*procuratores praesides*), while Egypt was withdrawn altogether from the regular provincial system, being treated as a patrimonial domain and governed by an equestrian prefect, with legionary prefects, also equestrian, subordinate to him.

THE UNIFICATION OF MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

The allocation to the emperor of all the provinces in which troops were stationed had the effect of unifying military administration. In the conduct of military affairs the emperors were no doubt informally advised by their 'friends', and there is evidence to show that in this matter some of them relied for general assistance upon their praetorian prefects. But in accordance with the magisterial tradition of the personal exercise of the imperium by Caesar, there was nothing in the imperial system of the first three centuries corresponding to modern ministers of foreign affairs or of war, or to a chief of staff, nor were there even general officers charged with large departments of military administration. The legates of imperial provinces in which more than one legion was stationed commanded the group of legions in their province simply as part of their general function as governor, and their command did not become really effective except when the legions were mobilized for a frontier campaign by the emperor's mandate. The highest regular military grade was that of divisional commander, or legate of a legion (*legatus legionis*). The intention of this system was to leave the emperor in an unchallenged position as commander-in-chief of the armies, and, in effect, there is no department of state in which the personal action of individual emperors can be more clearly recognized. In the first three centuries there was not even a department within the palace exclusively charged with military matters, which seem to have been distributed, according to the nature of the case, over the various secretariates. These, however, must have been in close touch with one another in regard to military correspondence, records, and the like, for the most obvious feature of the military administration of the Empire is its uniformity. In this or that province successive armies, often after long intervals, move along identical lines and use the same sites for their encampments. Such coincidence need imply no more than the permanent storing of topographical records in the legate's office of that particular province, but there is also a close similarity of system as between one frontier

area and another. Though regional differences can be noted, especially when the opposite extremes of the Empire are compared with one another—the Euphrates frontier with the Tyne-Solway area, the Danube provinces with the Numidian frontier or with Egypt—there is a remarkable, even a mechanical, uniformity. In spite of the absence of military schools and of a general staff, in the modern sense, it seems clear that in every legion young officers received much the same training, and that there was a recognized set of rules and regulations applied on every frontier. There was now a continuous frontier policy, a uniform recruitment and organization of the army and a systematic distribution and employment of the troops, all adapted to the particular character of the frontier problem which confronted the Roman government.

THE FRONTIER PROBLEM

The expansion that marked the Republican period is now at an end. With the first Augustus the army is thought of definitely as an instrument of defence, and such forward movements as still take place can be explained as defensive measures—the movement east of the Rhine under Augustus, Claudius's annexation of Britain, even Trajan's creation of a province of Dacia and his eastern conquests.

With a land-frontier thousands of miles in length, the Roman government was conscious of the magnitude of the problem which confronted it. In the introduction to his *History*, Livy speaks of the Empire as 'labouring under its own weight',[1] and Augustus at his death bequeathed to his successors 'the policy of confining the Empire within its existing boundaries'.[2] But one must not exaggerate the problem, as it presented itself in the first two and a half centuries of the Empire, by thinking of it in terms of modern European warfare. The comparative smallness of the army which sufficed for the military needs of the Empire during that period is significant. It is true that all the troops were available for frontier defence. Rome had so pacified or conciliated her provinces that no garrisons were required to

[1] *Praef.* 4.   [2] *Tac. Ann.* i. 11.

maintain internal peace. Josephus remarks that 'the whole of Gaul, no enervated or degenerate country, voluntarily obeys twelve hundred Roman soldiers';[1] and what he says of Gaul is true of the interior of the Empire as a whole. In a town like Lyons or like Nicomedia there would indeed be troops, but they would be a mere handful of men acting as a bodyguard to the governor and other officials. In such civil areas as required protection from brigandage and the like, a municipal militia was organized. Mommsen's remark that the Roman army was the sum of the frontier garrisons emphasizes this absence of troops from the interior of the Empire in the first three centuries as well as the lack of any real central reserve. But while all the troops were available for frontier service, their total number was comparatively small. The whole military establishment of the Roman Empire probably never reached an actual strength of 450,000 men at any time during the first three centuries. It was as large a professional army as the Roman state could support permanently in the economic conditions of the time; it is the largest permanent professional army the world has ever known —the largest organized force of any sort that was ever at the disposal of any civilized state up to the nineteenth century. Nevertheless it is so small compared with the extent of the frontier which it successfully maintained for centuries that the question at once arises: What was the exact nature of the frontier problem that the Roman government had to deal with?

The Roman Empire was not holding interior lines against a ring of hostile states. In such conditions a force of less than 450,000 men could not have held a land frontier thousands of miles in length. And a glance at the distribution of the Roman troops is enough to show that the problem was quite a different one. The Parthians were indeed allowed to be 'the rivals of the Roman Empire',[2] but Parthia was internally weak and was never dangerous for long. There was no great permanent state confronting the Roman Empire until, with the dynasty of the Sassanids, Persia succeeded Parthia upon the eastern frontier in 227. Elsewhere there was a meagre population of shifting

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[1] *Bell. Iud.* ii. 16.　　　　　　　[2] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 13.

tribes. In time the Roman frontiers were to feel the pressure of large movements (originating ultimately from the grasslands), but for a long period what the government had to deal with was simply a medley of restless tribes, occasionally a temporary confederacy, never a great power. What it had to do was to police the frontier. That accounts for the comparative smallness of the force that was maintained and also for the method of its employment. As a frontier police it was distributed in small units along the whole length of the frontier lines. Occasionally a movement on a larger scale than usual, some temporary confederacy, called for the mobilization of a field force and a regular campaign. But ordinarily the function of the Roman troops was to police and patrol the frontier—and efficient policing would of itself usually prevent the development of formidable movements. Not only was the Roman frontier system based upon these conditions, but the very existence of the Empire depended upon them. 'Against powerful barbarian peoples', says Tacitus, 'there is nothing that assists us more than their incapacity for united action. . . . If they will not love us, long may they continue to hate one another. Since destiny has placed upon us the burden of empire, fortune can send us no greater gift than disunion among our enemies.'[1]

The fact that the Empire had not to deal with great permanent states simplified the frontier problem in another way. There was no clash of corporate wills, no conflict of nationalities. Nor was there any definite conflict of race. The Roman that the Parthian confronted on the Euphrates was a Syrian or other Asiatic akin to himself, as the Roman that the German confronted on the Rhine was, like himself, a northerner—a Celt or even a German. The Roman, on his side, did not distinguish his neighbours across the frontier from himself as Germans or Orientals but as barbarians. The Roman Empire was civilization confronting barbarism; and between those modes of life there was no such fixed antagonism as existed, and exists, between (say) Christendom and Islam, or even such antagonism as may exist between two matured national identities.

[1] Tac. *Agric.* 12; *Germ.* 33.

The barbarian that the Empire had to deal with along its frontiers was not the true nomad who hates civilization as such. He was much the same as his neighbour on the Roman side of the frontier, though he lived in more primitive conditions. He could not remain long in contact with civilized life without seeing in it a more desirable condition for himself.

Correspondingly, the barbarians were regarded by the Roman government simply as more or less desirable recruits for civilization. So long as they were prepared to live an orderly life, they were welcome enough within the Empire as individuals, and indeed they might be admitted as communities. Julius Caesar had acquiesced in the settlement of certain Suevian communities on the left bank of the Rhine. In 38 B.C., Marcus Agrippa had moved the Ubii to the Roman side of the river at their own request, while Tiberius transplanted to territory north of that of the Ubii the greater part of the tribe of the Sugambri. In the latter part of the third century, after great areas had been depopulated by war and pestilence, this practice of settling barbarians within the Empire *en masse* was resumed, and in the following century the government looked to the tribes across the frontier to provide the bulk of the recruits for the auxiliary units.

During the first three centuries these units were recruited mainly by drawing into the military service the subject population of the frontier area, which was thus disciplined and trained for citizenship. So the Roman army was not only a policing force; it was a great instrument of Romanization. With reference to this dual activity we must now consider the frontier policy of the emperors and the establishment of the frontier lines, the recruitment and organization of the army, and the distribution and employment of the troops in the frontier system.

FRONTIER POLICY. THE FRONTIER LINES

Under the Republic frontier regulation had been intermittent and haphazard, and had consisted largely in a precarious adjustment of client states. Augustus, realizing what the barbarian

menace was to mean, made the regulation of the frontiers one of the principal tasks of his life, and the work was continued by his successors. With combined caution and resolution a great strategic scheme was realized. The object of the frontier policy of the early emperors was to occupy, with due regard to the limitations of a Mediterranean power, a framework of natural lines. In outline the framework was largely fixed by Augustus himself. With the second century its exact delimitation was completed. Up to the accession of Hadrian the occupation of this framework meant, along certain sectors, a considerable expansion. But the intention was definitely and consciously defensive, the object being to secure a more defensible line; and the expansion consisted less in the annexation of independent territory than in the gradual absorption of client states.

The Atlantic and the African desert. On the west the obvious limit was the Atlantic. This had already been reached before the time of Augustus, who had merely to complete the pacification of Aquitania and north-western Spain and to give to Gaul and to the peninsula their provincial organization.

On the south the natural limit was equally clear; it was the line of the desert from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, with a salient enclosing the fertile region of the Nile. When Augustus dealt with this frontier, the Roman influence already extended (roughly) to that limit, and the occupation of a final frontier here was mainly a matter of substituting gradually direct for indirect control. After the organization of Mauretania by Claudius, the chain of provinces from the Atlantic to the Red Sea was complete.

The eastern frontier. Armenia. On the east the frontier which suggested itself was a line along the edge of the Arabian-Syrian desert to the Euphrates, then along the upper Euphrates and so across to the eastern end of the Black Sea. Already in the Republican period the Roman sphere of influence did extend to that line, but its direct control touched it only on one sector; that was where the north-eastern frontier of Syria, as the result of Pompey's operations in 64 B.C., ran along the Euphrates. Elsewhere there was a string of client states. Under the Empire

THE NORTHERN FRONTIER OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
(FIRST HALF OF THE THIRD CENTURY)

The border
Worth–Lorch under taken construction of Odde-Lorch ◆◆◆◆◆◆
Roads ▬▬▬▬
Ptolemy's bordering ▬ ▬ ▬ ▬

English Miles

NORTHERN FRONTIER OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

AGRI DECUMATES	A.3–B.3	MAIN, R.	B.2
ARAE FLAVIAE	B.3	MAINZ	B.2
ARGENTORATE	B.3	MARCOMANNI	C.2
AUGSBURG	C.3	MORIA, Inf.	F.4
AUGST	A.3	„ Sup.	D.4, E.4
		MOSELLE, R.	A.2
BALTIC SEA	C.1	NECKAR, R.	B.3
BOHEMIA	C.2	NORICUM	C.3
BONN	A.2		
BROHL	A.2	ODENWALD	B.2
		ODER, R.	C.1–D.2
CANNSTATT	B.3	PANNONIA Inf.	D.3
CHATTI	A.2	„ Sup.	C.3
COBLENZ	A.2	PONTUS EUXINUS	E.3, G.4
COLOGNE	A.2		
CONSTANCE, Lake	B.3	QUADI	C.2
DACIA	E.3, F.3	REGENSBURG	C.3
DALMATIA	C.3, D.4	RHAETIA	A.3–C.3
DANUBE, R.	B.3–C.3	RHINE, R.	A.1–C.3
		ROTTWEIL	B.3
ELBE, R.	B.1	STRASSBURG	B.3
FAIMINGEN	B.3	TAUNUS Mts.	B.2
FRIBII	B.1	THEISS, R.	D.2
		TUTTLINGEN	B.3
GERMANY, Lower	A.2		
„ Upper	B.2	VINDONISSA	B.3
		VISTULA, R.	B.1–D.1
LETYCES	B.1		
		WELZHEIM	B.3
KESSELSTADT	B.2	WINDISCH	B.3
		WÖRTH	B.3
LORCH	B.3	XANTEN	A.2

these were gradually absorbed. The process was complete when Vespasian created the province of Little Armenia between the Euphrates and the Black Sea, and Trajan added the province of Arabia in the south.

The sector between the Euphrates and the Black Sea offered no natural line, but Parthian territory was here separated from the Empire by the kingdom of Greater Armenia, which served as a buffer state between the two powers. So the problem of the eastern frontier was the problem of controlling Armenia. In this Roman diplomacy never quite succeeded, and the Parthian influence in Armenia, as was to be expected from the kinship between the two peoples, was usually predominant. Trajan decided upon a bold solution of this problem. In 113 he annexed the kingdom of Armenia as the province of Greater Armenia, and by creating a province of Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and a province of Assyria between the Tigris and the mountain chain which flanks it on the east (the Kurdistan Highlands), he blocked at its upper end the Tigris-Euphrates valley which forms a great highway from the Orient to the eastern Mediterranean. He actually made Parthia itself a vassal state. But the military effort required for the consolidation of these conquests was too great, and Hadrian at once gave them up, no doubt believing that the internal weakness of Parthia which had made them possible also made them unnecessary. Marcus Aurelius, however, had to resume operations against the Parthians, and under Septimius Severus a province of Mesopotamia was again created, on the frontier of which, in the reign of Alexander Severus, the Parthians were displaced by the more formidable Persians.

The Danube frontier. Dacia. That a Mediterranean power like Rome, in responding to immediate military necessities, should have been drawn into Mesopotamia shows the difficulty of fixing a final frontier on the east. The same difficulty was felt in the north. The great mountain zone that separates the Mediterranean basin from the northern plain could be defended only along the northern side of the watershed. Its own broken and irregular masses on that side offered no practicable line, and

Augustus decided that the most simple and effective frontier .
would be the line of the Danube, especially as this was the
natural prolongation eastwards of the line of the Rhine, which
Julius Caesar had already marked out as the only defensible
frontier for Gaul. The establishment of the Danube frontier
began with the annexation of the region between the upper
river and the Alps. This was carried out by Augustus's step-sons,
Drusus and Tiberius, in 16–14 B.C., when the provinces of
Rhaetia and Noricum were formed. Before the death of Augustus
a series of Danubian provinces had been created which carried
the imperial boundary along the line of the river to its mouth,
though the client state of Thrace was not absorbed until the
reign of Claudius.

But in occupying the line of the Danube, natural and even
inevitable as it was, Rome had passed out of the sphere of a
Mediterranean power. The Danube basin had had a distinctive
prehistoric culture of its own. All this region had a character,
as it had a geography and a history, different from that of the
Mediterranean basin. And this unified area included both banks
of that great waterway. The influence of a Dacian king like
Decebalus was not confined to the north bank of the river.
Domitian had to intervene on the farther bank, and in 107, after
two Dacian wars, Trajan created a province of Dacia north of
the Danube. This province, forming a curious salient beyond
the Danube line, could not be permanent, and Aurelian (270–5)
decided to give it up. Yet the occupation of this trans-Danube
area may well have been useful, if not necessary, to prevent the
formation of a Danube kingdom or confederacy astride the river.
In any case the story of its creation and abandonment tells of the
difficulties of a Mediterranean power that finds it has become,
almost in spite of itself, a central European power as well.

The Rhine frontier. Britain. If the occupation of the Danube
area made Rome a central European power, the occupation of
the line of the Rhine made her a north European power. Yet
here again advance, once begun, could not stop. For the
security of Italy Rome had intervened in the Rhône valley, and
she had occupied eastern Spain originally to prevent a revival

there of the power of Carthage. Eastern Spain and the Rhône valley belong to the Mediterranean sphere, but the necessity of protecting the line of land-communication connecting these areas with one another and with Italy drew Rome out of the Mediterranean sphere into south-western Gaul, and once that step had been taken, Julius Caesar realized that there was no natural line to rest upon until the Channel had been reached, and that the Germans, for the ultimate safety of Italy itself, must be confronted on the Rhine. But if the occupation of the line of the Rhine appeared to Caesar to be necessary for the security of Italy, yet in advancing into northern Gaul and the region of the lower Rhine he had passed into the centre of a new world that stretched from the Auvergne and the Eifel to the Welsh hills as one great valley with the Channel stream running through the middle; and the incorporation of north Gaul meant the annexation of Britain. With Hadrian the frontier of Britain was fixed at a line from Tyne to Solway, supplemented during the Antonine period by a line from Forth to Clyde.

The angle between Rhine and Danube. The German Limes. The Roman advance into the lands about the Channel has been condemned as undue expansion. On the other hand, it has been held that the Roman government did not go far enough—that the German plain should have been incorporated and the frontier moved eastward to the Vistula. As it happened, the incorporation of the German plain was at one time proposed. The upper Rhine and the upper Danube, it was realized, could be easily crossed, and, meeting at an angle which enclosed a great wedge of territory, they formed an unduly long line. At one period it was the design of Augustus to run the frontier from the middle Danube along the Elbe, with the mountains of the Bohemian quadrilateral to close the gap between the rivers. Twice an attempt was made to realize this large scheme (by Drusus in 9 B.C. and by Tiberius in A.D. 5), and both times it failed when success seemed certain. Then in A.D. 9 came the great disaster of the Teutoburg forest, where Quinctilius Varus was waylaid by the German prince Arminius, and his three legions lost. The scheme was given up, and Augustus, when he

died, left behind him a warning to his successors not to extend ·
the boundaries of the Empire. Tiberius followed his advice.
There were still dangerous elements west of the Rhine, which
could not have been altogether denuded of troops, and Tiberius
must have regarded a movement beyond the Rhine as still
premature. The project was never renewed, and indeed it is
doubtful if it would have strengthened the defensive framework
of the Empire to have moved the frontier line nearer the source
of pressure—the great grasslands that extended westwards from
central Asia to the Carpathians. There are modern historians
who picture the German plain as a great corridor inviting the
barbarians into the western Empire, or as a great wedge that
only wanted an impact from the grasslands to split it asunder.
The Roman government seems rather to have seen in this vast
tract of swamp and forest a breakwater, or outlying shoal, on
which the waves of pressure spent themselves. In any case the
line of the Vistula would not have been a final frontier. It was
easily turned by the Baltic, and beyond lay Scandinavia and all
the possibilities of northern sea-power and piracy.

Still, the unsatisfactory character of the long Upper Danube–
Upper Rhine frontier continued to make itself felt. It was
especially realized in the year 69, when a great revolt broke out
on the Rhine. The experience of that year impressed the Roman
government with the necessity of direct and rapid communica-
tion between the legionary stations on the Rhine and those on
the Danube. Accordingly, in 73-4, under Vespasian, the angle
between the rivers was blunted and communication made more
direct by the laying out of an artificial frontier line (*limes*), con-
sisting of a road guarded by forts, from Strassburg (Argentorate)
to the Danube at Tuttlingen. This enclosed the Black Forest
region. Under Domitian and Trajan the angle was further
blunted by the laying out of a *limes* from about Rheinbrohl (at
the mouth of the Vinxtbach, near Bonn) round the Taunus and
across the Main valley over the Odenweld to the Neckar (the
Upper German Limes), and from the Upper Neckar about
Cannstatt to the Danube at Eining, near Regensburg (the
Rhaetian Limes). Along the whole line, except on the Neckar,

Hadrian ran a continuous barrier in the form of a palisade. Between the Main and the Rhaetian Limes Antoninus Pius moved the frontier farther east to form what is called the Outer Limes. By the time of Caracalla, the continuous barrier, along the Upper German Limes, had taken the form of a ditch (Pfahlgraben) with earthen mound or rampart, while along the Rhaetian Limes it had become a stone wall (Teufelsmauer). Soon after the middle of the third century, however (c. 260, in the reign of Gallienus), the Limes and the trans-Rhenane area which it enclosed was given up, and the frontier once more ran along Rhine and Danube.

The framework of frontier lines. So the main framework of frontier lines upon which the Roman Empire rested was, on the west, the Atlantic; on the south, the desert; on the east, the desert, the upper Euphrates, and a line across the mountainous country of Armenia to the eastern end of the Black Sea; on the north, the Danube and the Rhine. At four points these lines were, at one time or another, overstepped. But Trajan's eastern conquests, his occupation of Armenia and of the upper part of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, were given up at once, and the Mesopotamian area reoccupied from the time of Severus onwards was little more than a fortified glacis precariously held against the Persians without determinate limits. Trajan's province of Dacia beyond the Danube lasted hardly more than 150 years. The occupation of the angle between the Rhine and the Danube did not last quite so long. Only the projection formed by the province of Britain was solidly and permanently incorporated in the Empire, and to the lines that have been named we must add the line of Tyne–Solway, supplemented during the Antonine period by a line from Forth to Clyde.

THE RECRUITMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY

It was by destroying the naval supremacy of Carthage that Rome had secured command of the Mediterranean, and upon her control of that central waterway her Empire depended; but that control was sufficiently assured by the incorporation of all the surrounding lands in her provincial system and the success

with which she pacified and conciliated these provinces. Within the Mediterranean no more naval strength was required than such as would keep the sea free of piracy. Nor was any real naval strength required outside the Mediterranean, in Atlantic waters, at least in the first two and a half centuries. The function of the two main fleets, that at Misenum and that at Ravenna, as well as of the various minor fleets (the *classis Syriaca*, the *classis Britannica*, &c.) was to police the seas and protect the shipping of grain and other supplies. They did not represent naval power. So far as they entered into the defensive scheme, they were a part of the military machine, and their part in that was a minor one. The Roman defensive organization was a system of land armies.

These land armies consisted almost entirely of forces stationed at, or near, the actual frontier. It is true that the praetorian guards, with other household troops, were increasingly employed as the nucleus of a central reserve, and that from Severus onwards a legion, the II Parthica, was stationed in Italy at Albano. But the creation of regular field reserves belongs to the later defensive system. During the first three centuries we are concerned essentially with armies permanently stationed along the frontiers.

The legions. Recruitment. These frontier troops were of two kinds —legionaries and auxiliaries. Theoretically the legions preserved the old connexion between the army and the citizen body. They were recruited from the citizen communities of the Empire. If a recruit was accepted for legionary service who was not a citizen, he received the citizenship on enlistment. Every citizen was liable to serve, but forced levies of legionaries were rare in Italy and exceptional in the provinces. With the progressive extension of the citizenship the area from which legionaries could be recruited was steadily enlarged, and the conditions of service were attractive enough to produce voluntary recruits in sufficient numbers to meet, for a long time, the military needs of the Empire. The period of service for legionaries, as fixed by Augustus in A.D. 6, was twenty years, with five years in the reserve; later (after Hadrian) the whole period of twenty-

five years was served with the colours (*sub aquila*). The pay, which was 225 *denarii* (over £8) under Augustus, 300 *denarii* (over £10) with Domitian, was supplemented by special donatives, and at his discharge a man received a bounty of 3,000 *denarii* (over £100)˙ or, in lieu of a bounty, a grant of frontier land. Men promoted from the ranks to be junior officers received a much higher rate of pay.

But these conditions of service were not such as to induce many from the centre of the Empire to spend the best part of their lives on a distant frontier. The result was that the legions came to be recruited more and more from near the frontiers. From the beginning of the Empire the eastern legions had been recruited from the East, the western legions from Italy and the latinized West. Owing to the decline of the free population of Italy, Vespasian seems to have discouraged the recruiting of Italian legionaries. At all events, Italians serving in the legions from the Flavian period onwards come almost exclusively from the Transpadane district, and even these become increasingly rare. With Hadrian, local recruiting, as far as was possible, became the rule. The legions were now recruited from the citizen communities near the frontier where they were serving. Such citizen communities were either towns (*coloniae*) mainly inhabited by discharged veterans, or they were settlements (*canabae legionis*) that grew up alongside the legionary fortresses themselves. Before the end of the second century legionary recruits were largely of this class of *castrenses*, as they were called— that is, sons of soldiers and of local women. The officers, however, did not become localized in the same degree as the rank and file in the first two centuries. They were freely transferred not only from legion to legion but from frontier to frontier, and they came mostly from the more latinized provinces and from Italy itself. Until the third century they did much to maintain the unity of the armies.

The organization of the legion. The legion was organized as a tactical unit, though detachments (*vexillationes*) would be detailed for service under a separate standard (*vexillum*), as occasion required—to form part of a field force, to build great

works like Hadrian's Wall between Tyne and Solway or the
Antonine Wall between Forth and Clyde, to construct roads,
forts, and the like. As a tactical unit the legion had its own
permanent head-quarters (*castra stativa*, *hiberna*)—a fortress of
some fifty acres. It was a body of heavy infantry, with a handful
of mounted men (120 in number) to act as dispatch-riders and
scouts. Its nominal strength was 5,600 men. It was divided into
ten cohorts, of which the first was a thousand strong and the
others five hundred. The cohorts were subdivided into centuries
—five for the first cohort and six for each of the others, making
fifty-nine centuries in all. The term 'century', it will be seen,
now simply indicated the tactical subdivision of the cohort, and
might consist of more or less than one hundred men.

The fifty-nine centuries were commanded by centurions, who
were arranged in grades up to the 'primus pilus' of the first
century of the first cohort. Above these came the legionary
'primus pilus', making sixty centurions in all. These centurions,
who were frequently men who had risen from the ranks, were
the backbone of the army.

It was usually a soldier of experience promoted from the
centurionate that held the office of 'camp prefect'. This officer,
who was in charge of fortifications, buildings, and supplies, was
originally connected with a particular stronghold rather than a
particular unit, but from the time of Domitian onwards, when
each legion regularly had its own permanent quarters, he be-
came more like a divisional officer, and from Severus onwards
he is usually styled 'prefect of the legion'. With Gallienus he
took over the command of the legion from the senatorial legate
who had been commander ever since the military reorganization
of Augustus.

Under the Republic there had been no regular divisional
officer, the command of a legion being held in turn by each of
six military tribunes. Under the Empire these were junior
officers doing military service, usually administrative work, as a
preliminary to entering upon a senatorial or equestrian career.
A regular legionary commander, or general of division, was
created by Augustus. This was the 'legate of the legion', a

senator of praetorian rank. In a consular imperial province, where more than one legion was stationed, he acted as a check upon the provincial legate, who had a less complete control over the individual legions now that each had a regular commander of its own. But though the appointment of legionary legates served this political purpose and, from the military point of view, must have been an improvement upon the Republican system, yet these senators were found to be unsatisfactory officers in the great military crisis which reached its height in the reign of Gallienus, and one of the effects of the edict by which that emperor excluded senators from the army was to replace the legate by the 'prefect of the legion', a professional soldier whose grade carried with it equestrian rank.

The auxiliaries. Recruitment. Alongside the legions auxiliary troops were already serving in the late Republic. These had consisted mainly of contingents supplied by allied states, but partly also of levies from subject peoples. During the first century of the Empire contingents from allied states continued to be employed, notably in the East, but not to any great extent. To supply the frontier armies not only with cavalry and such special corps as regiments of archers but also with a large number of regiments of light infantry, the plan adopted by Augustus was to enlarge and systematize the practice of raising auxiliary troops from subject, or non-citizen, communities within the Empire. For raising and maintaining a large body of troops well suited to frontier work this was an economical and easy method, for these auxiliaries could be drawn from a wider area than the citizen legionaries, they served for a longer period (twenty-five years) than did the legionaries in the first century, and for less pay. The terms of service as fixed by Augustus included a grant of the Roman citizenship on discharge, and were attractive enough to non-citizens to enable the auxiliary units, like the legions, to be kept up to strength mainly by voluntary enlistment. By the Antonine period, indeed, as a result of the progressive extension of the citizenship, men of citizen origin were finding their way into the auxiliary service. The conditions of service were also designed to attach the auxiliaries to

the central government, to which, and not to their general, they now looked for payment. They were also given a more Roman character in organization and equipment than had been possessed by the subject levies of the Republic by being formed into cohorts of infantry and 'alae' of cavalry on a Roman model.

These regular cohorts and 'alae', however, still preserved something of the character of the subject levies of the Republic. Like these, they were raised territorially, that is, an auxiliary cohort or 'ala' was raised from a particular city state (only in Syria) or tribal community (Vardulli, Treveri, &c.), or from a larger ethnic group (Hispani, Galli, &c.), whose name they bore, along with a distinguishing number, when, as commonly happened, more than one regiment was raised from the same territory. Besides being territorially recruited, they were, as a rule, recruited locally under the Augustan system, each frontier being supplied with its auxiliary units from neighbouring communities. And though these locally recruited territorial units were normally commanded, from the time of Augustus onwards, by tribunes and prefects who were Roman citizens of equestrian rank and were not of local origin, yet some of them, notably Batavian and other Rhenish units, were allowed for a time to retain their local character so far as to have their own tribal chiefs as commanders. Indeed some use continued to be made of irregular troops who were not only commanded by their tribal chiefs but were equipped and organized in native fashion, like the auxiliary levies of the Republic.

This system of combining local with territorial recruiting for the regular auxiliary units and even allowing certain of them to be commanded by their tribal chiefs, and the practice of supplementing these regular 'auxilia' by the occasional employment of local irregulars had an obvious convenience, but it soon proved to be dangerous. A serious revolt that broke out in Pannonia in A.D. 6 began with the disaffection of native (Dalmatian) irregulars, who were promptly joined by regular territorial units locally recruited. Again, the leader of a great revolt on the Rhine in 69, Julius Civilis, was an officer of Batavian origin in command of Batavian troops, and his temporary

success was due to the disaffection to his standard not only of the Batavian regiments but of other territorial units locally recruited and in some cases commanded, like the Batavians, by native officers. As a result of those experiences changes were made in the auxiliary system. After the accession of Vespasian (A.D. 69) we hear no more of the use of native militia or irregulars of the type hitherto occasionally employed, nor do we find any of the regular territorial units hereafter commanded by tribal chiefs. The practice of local recruiting was also modified. A first step in this direction had already been taken in Pannonia after the revolt of A.D. 6–9; there we find that before the Flavian period a number of auxiliary units that had been recruited elsewhere, mostly from Spain, had been imported into the garrison of the province, while Pannonian and Dalmatian regiments had been sent to other frontiers. The same thing happened on a larger scale on the Rhine after the revolt of Civilis in 69; a number of the auxiliary units there, including all the Batavian regiments, were disbanded or transferred, their place being taken by units recruited in the Danube region, in Spain, and in other provinces. Our evidence relates mainly to the Rhine and the Danube, but there are indications that in varying degrees a similar transference took place on other frontiers in the Flavian period. For this change of system there was the more reason that after the middle of the first century it had become a common practice to pacify disturbed areas by impressing the native youth to form regular auxiliary units.

From the time of Hadrian onwards, however, forced levies from disturbed areas and from the more barbaric frontier regions, such as it was advisible to send elsewhere to serve, were not enrolled as regular auxiliaries but were formed into small corps of irregulars (*vexillationes*, *numeri*). The object was to supplement the regular auxilia, now more or less romanized, by a type of troops as well suited to the rougher conditions of frontier work as the native levies occasionally employed in the pre-Flavian period had been, while avoiding the danger of local recruiting. Like the earlier native levies, the new corps of irregulars were allowed, and indeed encouraged, to retain their

native character, and for that reason they would seem to have been maintained by territorial recruiting, even when this meant obtaining periodic drafts of recruits from an area far from the frontier where they were stationed. We have evidence, for example, for the composition of corps of Palmyrene irregulars serving in the West, and it shows that, in their case, the original character of the corps was, in fact, carefully maintained. The same was true of certain widely distributed regular regiments, notably Oriental regiments, which possessed a native skill in archery.

But for the great majority of the regular auxiliary units the practice of recruiting in one province and employing in another was too inconvenient to be maintained. In Pannonia, for example, local recruiting, suspended after the revolt of A.D. 6–9, was resumed very soon after its interruption; we have evidence that the Spanish units sent there after the revolt were receiving Pannonian recruits before the end of the reign of Tiberius. On the Rhine also, and elsewhere, where local recruiting had been suspended after the revolt of Civilis in 69, it was gradually resumed. In the second century, with the progress of romanization in frontier areas, the decreasing danger of disaffection and the increased readiness of the subjects of the Empire in such areas to enlist voluntarily for local service, local recruiting became general. From Hadrian onwards it was the normal method of recruiting the regular auxiliaries as well as the legions. Since new units continued to be raised territorially in the first instance, the period between Hadrian and Diocletian presents us with examples of regular auxiliary units which, as under the Augustan system, were both territorially and locally recruited. But most of the recruiting was, of course, simply to keep the existing units up to strength. Under the system of local recruiting that meant that recruits enrolled in a frontier area were drafted into the regiments already serving there. As a result of the extensive transferences that had taken place in the first century, and especially in the Flavian period, these would commonly have a territorial title derived from another province. In such cases the effect of local recruiting upon the existing regiments was to

destroy the territorial character which they had had at their
origin and to which they owed their titles, these now simply
indicating the territory from which the regiment was originally
raised.

In spite, then, of certain variations according to period and
type of unit, the practice was to maintain the auxiliary units, so
far as was possible, by local recruiting. By the second century
these regular auxilia, more or less romanized in culture as well
as in organization and equipment, and commanded by Roman
citizens who were doing military service as a stage in the
equestrian career, were not likely to show any disaffection to the
Empire. But they became localized in feeling as in composition,
and this greatly reinforced the political danger caused by the
localization of the legions. From the purely military point of
view, however, the system had obvious advantages. It meant a
great saving in the cost of transport and maintenance. Again,
men recruited locally would be accustomed to the climate and
familiar with the country where they served as well as with the
tribes with whom they had to deal. And the system facilitated
recruiting. Indeed it is unlikely that the terms of service, even
though these included a grant of the citizenship on discharge (a
strong inducement in the first two centuries to non-citizens)
would have attracted an adequate number of voluntary recruits
if enlistment had not been for local service.

The organization of the auxilia. The regular auxiliary regiments
were of two kinds—'alae', or cavalry regiments, and cohorts, or
regiments of light infantry. Either might be 500 or 1,000 strong.
An 'ala', which was commanded by an equestrian prefect, was
divided into 'turmae', each of some 30–40 men under a decurion.
A cohort was divided into centuries, each of about 80 men under
a centurion. A cohort might be 'equitata', that is, it might con-
tain a proportion of mounted men, numbering 120 in the smaller
size of cohort, 240 in the larger. The smaller size of cohort, that
consisting of some 500 men (*cohors quingenaria*), was commanded
by an equestrian prefect, a cohort 1,000 strong (*cohors miliaria*)
by an equestrian tribune. For field service a group of auxiliary
regiments would be attached to a legion as occasion required,

but normally each regiment was quartered permanently in its own fort (*castellum*).

The 'numeri' or 'vexillationes' of irregulars which appear alongside the regular auxilia from Hadrian onwards, though divided into centuries or 'turmae' as the case might be, could not have numbered more than 200 to 300 men, to judge by the smallness of the accommodation given to them in German forts. In keeping with the small size of the unit, the officer in command, usually styled 'praepositus', ranked below the commander of a regular cohort or 'ala'. Recruited, as their titles show, from the outermost limits of the Empire or from uncivilized or disturbed areas within it, largely by forced enlistment, they were invariably sent to serve elsewhere. Amid the voluntarily recruited and comparatively romanized and uniform auxilia of the second century these irregulars provided, as has been said, a variety of troops suited to the rougher conditions of frontier work, and it was for that reason that they were allowed to retain a more native character.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TROOPS. THE FRONTIER SYSTEM

The legions and auxilia differed from one another not only in recruitment, terms of service, and organization, but also in their distribution and in the parts assigned to them in the frontier system. The Republican period had been a period of field armies. The system of the Empire with its fixed frontiers was a cordon system. The initial reform was due to Augustus, who quartered the standing army which he had created in permanent stations established along the whole length of the frontier. The development of this system in its completeness, like the exact delimitation of the frontier lines, was the work of his successors, especially of the Flavian and Antonine Caesars.

A series of bases was provided by the legionary fortresses. Where a formidable defence was supplied by a river, as on the lower Rhine and on the middle and lower Danube, these fortresses were placed on the river-bank; they were connected by roads with auxiliary forts at frequent intervals, and bridgeheads were maintained at suitable points for the penetration of enemy

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country. Elsewhere the frontier formed a zone of greater depth. Along the back of the zone were the legionary bases, from which ran out lines of penetration maintained by auxiliary forts. Such a line was a 'limes' in its original military sense—a made road, with the ground cleared on each side, penetrating an enemy country. This system of penetrative lines was characteristic of the period up to Trajan, when the Roman command was always prepared to anticipate trouble by taking the offensive.

As the frontiers became stabilized, they came to be thought of less as a zone of penetration and more as a transverse belt. Though outposts still kept open penetrative 'limites' into barbarian country, the term 'limes' was now applied particularly to the cross-road linking together the outer forts of the frontier zone. As in the technical language of land-allotment a 'limes', or cleared path, indicated a boundary, so in its military usage a 'limes' came to mean an artificial frontier-line, the essential feature of which was a road, with a series of forts strung along it, defining the frontier zone where there was no river.

This development was completed by a feature characteristic of the reign of Hadrian; the 'limes' was reinforced along suitable sectors by a continuous barrier. 'In many places', Hadrian's biographer tells us, 'where the barbarians are not divided from us by a river but merely by a limes, he separated off the barbarians by driving stakes deep into the ground and connecting them with cross-pieces so as to form a wall-like fence.'[1] That this is literally exact has been shown by investigation along the German Limes, where the Domitian–Trajan line from Rhine to Danube has been found to have been reinforced by Hadrian with a continuous wooden palisade. Hadrian's biographer, then, or his source, seems to have had the German Limes specially in mind, but the continuous barrier which he records as beginning with Hadrian might take other forms, such as the stone wall which Hadrian's legate Platorius Nepos built from Tyne to Solway, or the turf wall constructed by Pius's legate Lollius Urbicus from Forth to Clyde.

The appearance of the continuous barrier or wall does not

[1] Spart. *Vit. Hadr.* 12.

indicate increased pressure from enemies concentrated upon the
frontier. The barrier was not intended to be continuously
manned, like the rampart of a fort, against an enemy massed
outside it. It was simply to secure that the line should be care-
fully patrolled, customs collected, and smuggling checked, raid-
ing bands dealt with and all traffic back and forward (and the
barrier implies a good deal of such traffic) supervised and con-
trolled. The same purpose is indicated by the minor posts, the
mile-castles and turrets, placed at regular intervals between the
forts along Hadrian's Wall. The second-century limes, with all
its organization, did not contemplate war but peace, though the
disturbed peace of a frontier area. The stable conditions of
the second century had now brought to its full development
the distributive policing system, the system of the cordon.

As it happened, the system had hardly been perfected when the
conditions began to change. Already in the reign of Marcus
Aurelius there was a great movement of the Marcomanni and
other German tribes on the Danube, due to pressure from the
barbarians beyond. In the third century there is the Goth and
the Persian. No doubt a rigorous system of policing, such as
Hadrian provided for, was likely to prevent a frontier area itself
from blazing up, but that danger was passing, and the move-
ments that were now threatening the frontiers were movements
that originated and gathered strength well beyond the range of
the Roman control. It is true that the policing system was so
designed that it could be rapidly transformed into a system of
defence upon a large scale, for the rapid mobilization of a field
force was provided for by the network of communications,
supplemented by fire and beam signalling, that linked up the forts
with one another and with the legionary bases in the rear, upon
which the system, as a defensive system, reposed. But the second-
century organization did not contemplate large movements as
normal. As they became frequent, a mobile field reserve became
essential. A central reserve was in some degree provided in the
first two centuries by the praetorians and other household troops
that accompanied the emperor when he took the field, and from
Severus onwards a legion, the II Parthica, stationed in Italy at

Albano, was available for that purpose. But what was now required was a mobile reserve within striking distance of each frontier. As we shall see, this was provided by the reformed system of Diocletian and Constantine.

THE LOCALIZATION OF THE FRONTIER ARMIES

There was another problem that the military reorganization of Diocletian and Constantine sought to deal with. That was the military particularism which so distracted the Empire in the third century—the tendency of the several frontier armies to act independently of one another and of the centre, and especially the tendency, encouraged by the lack of a fixed law of succession for the principate, to put forward candidates of their own for Caesar's office. This particularism was the result of the localization of the frontier armies. Indeed localization led step by step to 'the barbarizing of the Roman army'. But that is only one side of the picture. This localizing and barbarizing of the Roman army meant also the romanizing of the barbarians. It was part of that incorporative action which, as has been said, supplemented the policing activity of the frontier troops.

From the beginning a Roman encampment would attract a host of traders. Soon it would gather round it a community of women and children. The Republican rule forbidding marriage on active service remained technically in force, but the men, now that they were stationed in permanent quarters, did in fact form permanent unions with local women, and, in the changed conditions of service, these unions were acquiesced in by the government, which accepted the sons of legionaries as eligible for legionary service and gave them the citizenship on enrol- ment, while the auxiliaries, when they received the citizenship on their discharge, received also a special grant of 'conubium' which not only legalized a future marriage but legalized, as from that time onwards, any union they might already have formed. Up to the time of Pius, indeed, the inclusion in the grant of citizenship to an auxiliary of any children or other descendants he might already have really made the grant of 'conubium' retrospective in effect. This settlement of women and children

and of traders occupied an annexe attached to the camp and under its protection, often indeed being included with it in the system of fortification. From the time of Severus onwards it would appear that the soldier went to camp only to perform his military duties; he lived with his wife and family in the adjoining civil settlement or annexe. Alongside the great legionary strong-holds such settlements, 'canabae legionis', as they were called, grew rapidly to the dimensions of towns. At Xanten (Castra Vetera), for example, we know from Tacitus that by the accession of Vespasian there were 'buildings near the camp which had grown to look like a municipal town during the long years of peace'.[1] In spite of their provisional character and their dependence on the legionary fortress, the 'canabae' soon acquired a corporate organization with a council and magistrates. Sometimes, indeed, as a settlement became more stable, and developed a life of its own so far independent of the troops that if these were transferred it would still remain, it received municipal status and organization as a 'municipium' or 'colonia'. At Lincoln, for example, when the head-quarters of the legion (the IX Hispana) was transferred to York, the settlement remained and received the status of a 'colonia'. At York, in its turn, the status of 'colonia' was given to the civil settlement that grew up on the right bank of the Ouse, opposite the legionary fortress. Alongside the auxiliary forts similar, though of course much smaller, settlements grew up. These reproductions in miniature of the 'canabae legionis' organized themselves as village communities (vici).

The close relation between a Roman frontier force and the native population to which these settlements bear witness soon had the effect of localizing the several army groups. As early as Nero's reign Italian veterans were tending to settle down where they had served, and Tacitus tells us that attempts to remedy the depopulation of Tarentum and Antium by settling veterans in these cities failed because the veterans tended to 'slip back to the provinces where they had done their military service'.[2] That this tendency was due to local attachments formed with the

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[1] *Hist.* iv. 22.   [2] *Ann.* xiv. 27.

native population of the frontier area is shown by the reason
which Tacitus gives for the resentment of the Syrian legions
when a report reached them that Vitellius intended to transfer
them to Germany. 'The provincials', he tells us, 'were ac-
customed to the soldiers' company and liked to have them
quartered there, and many were bound to them by ties of
intimacy and kinship, while the soldiers during their long term
of service had come to know and love their old camp like a
home.'[1] Such was the relation between a Roman army of oc-
cupation and the native population of the occupied area as early
as the year 69. This localization developed rapidly with the
growth of the civil settlements in the second century and the
local recruiting which they facilitated, the recruits coming
largely from the class of 'castrenses', that is, the sons of soldiers
and local women.

A further development is associated with the Severan dynasty.
It had been the practice to give a man on his discharge a piece
of frontier land in lieu of a bounty. Septimius Severus adopted
the policy of giving holdings within the military territory to men
on active service, and with Alexander Severus such land was
made heritable on the condition that the heir undertook military
service. The frontier troops now began to assume the character
of a local peasant militia, inhabiting a military territory more or
less self-sufficient and but little connected with the civilian area
behind. Indeed the military population, being now local, tended
to have a closer connexion with the kindred people across the
frontier than with the provincials of the interior. The military
necessities of the fourth century, as we shall see, were to deepen
this cleavage between soldier and civilian, and were to reinforce
the connexion between the military areas and the barbarians.
This, in turn, was to lead to the barbarizing of the Roman
armies and was to determine the mode in which the dismember-
ment of the Empire took place. In that process the localization
of the armies in the first three centuries was the first stage, and
indeed this localization of itself, though it had great military
and other advantages, had seriously imperilled the unity of the

Empire by associating with provincial governors a force which they might use, or which might use them, to dispute the succession or even to challenge the authority of a ruling Caesar.

THE POWERS AND DUTIES OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS

Even under the centralized system of the Caesars, the magnitude of the Empire and the conditions of travel of those days made it necessary that provincial governors should still be entrusted with the power to act for, and as, the state. This power, imperium, whether conferred upon a proconsul by the senate, as in a senatorial province, or delegated by the emperor to a legate, as in an imperial province, included within itself all the functions of government. A provincial governor was at once general, judge, and administrator.

His prime duty was to guard the frontier of his province (if it was a frontier province) and to maintain order within it. For these purposes he commanded all the troops stationed there. In an imperial province containing a single legion, such as Numidia, the governor was the commander (legate) of the legion; in an imperial province containing more than one legion, each legion had its own commander (legionary legate), but the governor, or provincial (consular) legate, was general in command of the group of legions as a whole. If the power of a general was mainly exercised by the legates of imperial provinces, that was simply because these included all the frontier provinces and therefore all those in which there were considerable bodies of troops. It was the same military power that was exercised by the governors, the proconsuls, of senatorial provinces, when they took action to keep the peace of their province, to suppress disorder, brigandage, and the like, for which purpose they might have soldiers, detached from a neighbouring frontier army, placed at their disposal.

When a Roman province was created, a civil constitution (*lex provinciae*) was drawn up, dividing it into districts for the collection of imperial taxation, into assizes (*conventus*) for judicial purposes and into units of local administration. A provincial governor had nothing to do with fixing the amount of the

taxation; that was done by the central government on the basis of a census of the province carried out by imperial officials. Nor had the governors much to do with the collection of the taxes. Under the early Empire indirect taxes (*vectigalia*) were still, to some extent, farmed out, as under the Republic, but from the beginning imperial procurators were also employed, and, from the time of Hadrian onwards, the collection of most of the indirect taxation was in their hands. The land-tax (*tributum soli, stipendium*), supplemented by a tax on other forms of property (*tributum capitis*), was also farmed for a time to companies of publicans, but after the first century it was collected by the local communities, all of which, with very few exceptions, were responsible for a fixed quota, whether they were of citizen or of non-citizen status. In an imperial province this direct taxation was paid to the procurator of the province; in a senatorial province it was received by the quaestor, but here also its collection was largely supervised by imperial officials.

The principal civil function of a governor was the exercise of jurisdiction in cases which lay outside the competence of municipal or other local authorities. He not only sat in judgement in the capital of his province but also held assizes (*conventus*) in its principal towns. In an imperial, or frontier, province the amount of civil jurisdiction was naturally less than in a senatorial or 'peaceful' province, but sometimes it was considerable enough to require the appointment of an imperial legate (*legatus Augusti iuridicus*) to assist the governor in this department. In a senatorial province the proconsul could himself delegate civil jurisdiction to a legate of his own (*legatus proconsulis*).

The general supervision which a governor exercised over his province was largely concerned with its municipal or local administration. In senatorial provinces, however, this supervision, as we have seen, was increasingly transferred to officials appointed by the emperors from Trajan onwards.

The measures taken under the Empire to subordinate the imperium of provincial governors to the imperium of Caesar, both in theory and in practice, have already been described.

The control thus secured was directed not only to ensuring the authority of Caesar but also to safeguarding the interests of the provincials. The care of individual emperors for the provinces is admitted even by unfriendly historians, while administrative rules preserved to us in the writings of the jurists give a high idea of the principles upon which the imperial government acted.

THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

The observance of administrative rules laid down in the interest of the provincials was secured not only by the vigilance of the central bureaucracy but also by recognized organs of provincial opinion. These were the provincial councils (*concilia, communia, κοινά*), which we have described as instituted to maintain the religious cult of Rome and Augustus. This cult symbolized the unity of the Empire as a whole, but, since it was organized in regional units, it also expressed, and reinforced, the unity of a province or of a homogeneous group of provinces, just as a religious cult supplied a focus of unity to a family or to a city.

Unions of groups of local communities had already existed in Greek lands. These were reorganized and adapted to the new purpose, and the institution was extended to the West. The organization of the concilia varied from East to West, but fundamentally it was the same. The concilium of the Three Gauls at Lyons, instituted in 12 B.C., is the best known to us of the concilia in the West, and it may be taken as a type.

The concilium at Lyons did not meet in the actual territory of the 'colonia' there but on ground of its own within the junction of the Rhône and the Saône. It was attended by deputies from the local communities of the Three Gauls. The deputies were elected for one year by, and from, the decurions of the communities which they represented. As a concilium they met under the presidency of a priest, probably elected by the deputies from their own number. He was a man of importance in the province who had held the chief magistracies in his own community and had sometimes received equestrian rank. In a latinized province like Gallia Narbonensis he was called 'flamen', his office being modelled on that of the Flamen Dialis at Rome.

At Lyons, the centre of the Three Gauls, he was called by the more general term of 'sacerdos'. In addition to the 'sacerdos' the inscriptions tells us of officials who were in charge of an 'arca', or chest. Besides defraying ordinary expenditure, the 'arca' might be drawn upon to pay the expense of a deputation to Rome. It was through their power to send such deputations that the provincial concilia played a part in the administrative system.

Since the deputies were decurions of their communities and the 'sacerdos' was a man who had held local magistracies, a concilium was a gathering of public men well aware of the needs and desires of their province. As such, it was permitted, and indeed expected, to act as an organ of provincial opinion, to keep the government in touch with local circumstances and even to act as a check upon government officials. For that purpose it was given direct access to the central government at Rome.

After the religious festival was over, the concilium, meeting as a secular body, would discuss the condition of the province, and it might decree that a deputation should convey a petition to Rome—to explain economic or other difficulties, to ask for a remission of taxation or the like.

The concilium might also express its attitude to an outgoing governor. It might vote the thanks of the province to him, and a deputation would convey its decree to Rome. This of itself gave the provincials a negative means of criticism, for a refusal, or even omission, to decree thanks would at once attract the attention of the central government. If there was evidence strong enough to justify it, a deputation might be sent to Rome to lodge a formal complaint against a governor and to petition that he be put on his defence in a court of law. No ancient writer explains the procedure followed in such cases, and it has to be inferred from scattered allusions. It would appear that each community instructed its deputy, or deputies, at the concilium either to commend or to complain of the governor. The prevailing feeling decided what action should be taken, and a decree was passed embodying the decision. If it was decided to 'institute an accusation', a deputation was sent to Rome with a

decree to that effect. If the deputation came from an imperial province, it went before the emperor; deputations from senatorial provinces might address themselves to the senate, but they also came increasingly before the emperor, especially after the end of the first century. The function of the deputy was to work up the case and lay it before the emperor, who allowed or disallowed a trial. If the case proceeded, a senator was appointed to conduct the prosecution for the provincials. He was instructed by the deputy according to the mandate received from the concilium. The strict limitation of the deputy's discretion was the more necessary that he might be acting unwillingly, for he could not refuse to serve. We know from the jurists that stringent measures were taken to prevent the intimidation of deputies and to ensure that they spoke freely. And every facility was given for procuring evidence, witnesses summoned from the province being compelled to attend. Such cases not infrequently ended in the condemnation and punishment of governors and other important functionaries.

The powers of the provincial concilia and indeed their very existence show how securely the Roman government felt itself to be established in the goodwill of its provincials. It is indeed remarkable that from the very beginning of the Empire a government which looked upon all organized association with suspicion should have made into an official institution provincial councils which, being composed of local notables from all the communities of each province, offered to disaffection an obvious opportunity for conspiracy. Yet the confidence of the Roman government was not misplaced. The sacrifice of the deputies at the altar to Rome and Augustus was an expression, in a religious form, of a genuine political loyalty. There is no evidence to suggest that the concilia ever directed against the Empire the power which it allowed to them.

The limits of their power must be recognized; it was simply a power to petition. They could deal with the emperor direct, and among the imperial constitutions cited by the jurists as authoritative are rescripts addressed to provincial concilia. In particular, their direct access to the emperor was a protection

against maladministration. But while the concilia were an organ of provincial opinion, they were not an organ of actual government. They had no jurisdiction. They had no power to legislate for their province. They had no control over its finance.

Again, it must be noted that such power as was allowed to them implied no recognition of provincial rights. In the Roman conception of government there was no admission that regional units, any more than individuals, had rights against the state. The state was absolute. When the provincials make a complaint against the agents of the central government, it is the government that examines into their complaint and gives judgement. It was simply because experience had taught it the wisdom of associating with itself the goodwill of those whom it governed that it allowed the provincials the privilege, or rather imposed upon them the duty, of explaining to it their attitude to its functionaries. The concilia, the organ through which they expressed their criticism, was also the organ through which they expressed their obedience to the state—to Rome and Augustus. If the emperors had had reason to believe that it was for the interest of the state that the concilia should cease to exist, they would have been suppressed at once, without any regard to provincial rights. As it happened, they persisted to the end of the Empire. Their privileges are affirmed and safeguarded in the Theodosian Code. There are references to them in the letters which Sidonius Apollinaris wrote towards the close of the fifth century, with the German kingdoms forming around him. For the national states which these kingdoms prefigured the concilia had perhaps helped to form the mould by awakening or reinforcing regional consciousness.

Provincials and government. Though an assembly of representatives elected by local communities was the organ devised for the common action of a province, such a system was not applicable to the Empire as a whole. In a unit so vast in scale, with the great diversity of its parts and their remoteness from one another, the difficulties of travel and the consequent localization of life, the periodic election by the local communities, or by the provinces, of representatives to act for them in the Roman senate

was impracticable. It was by other means that provincials were associated with government. For one thing, there was the function assigned to the concilia and the direct access they were allowed to emperor and senate. Again, the equestrian order, from which the heads of the chief departments of the central bureau were drawn from the time of Hadrian onwards, as well as the agents who acted for Caesar all over the Empire, was more and more recruited from provincials. So also was the senate, and therefore the whole body of administrators of senatorial rank, these including, up to the reign of Gallienus, all commanders of legions and the governors of all the provinces except a few of the less important. In A.D. 48 Claudius had urged that provincial origin should not be a bar to entrance into the Roman senate, and the policy he advocated was soon given effect to. Already by the accession of Vespasian (A.D. 69) a Roman general could be represented as saying to the Gauls: 'You yourselves frequently command our legions; you yourselves govern these (the Gaulish) and other provinces; we have no exclusive privilege.'[1] As the result of the imperial exercise of 'allection' in the Flavian period, the senate at Rome had become largely a committee of provincials by the time that a provincial, in the person of the Spaniard Trajan, ascended the throne. And the functions appropriated by the central government were limited by the large measure of autonomy granted to the local communities not only in Italy but in the provinces.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

The grant of local autonomy, like the function assigned to the concilia, was not due to any recognition of rights, but to a practical recognition of the fact that government to be successful must depend, in the long run, on the willing co-operation of those governed; that historic units did in fact desire to manage their own affairs, and that everywhere life was corporate in the local community; that anyhow the scale of the Empire and its local diversities necessitated a large measure of devolution. Local autonomy was not so much conceded as a right or privilege

[1] Tac., *Hist.* iv. 74.

as imposed as a duty. Just as the provincial concilium had imposed upon it the duty of being the organ of provincial opinion, so the local community had imposed on it the duty of securing good government in its own local affairs in accord with local conditions. To the central government at Rome belonged frontier defence, appellant jurisdiction, and imperial finance, but in all other branches of administration it was content to supervise and co-ordinate. The main function of the central bureaucracy was not so much actual administration as the exercise of vigilance; it was to see that the agents of the central government in each province did their duty. In each province the number of such agents was very small, as judged by the standard of a modern state, and the field covered by their action was correspondingly limited. Besides collecting taxation for the central government, they exercised jurisdiction in cases which could not be dealt with by the municipal, or local, magistrates, and, in frontier provinces, they commanded the troops. But otherwise their function, like that of the central bureau itself, was mainly a function of vigilance. They were there to see that the magistrates of the local communities carried on administration honestly and efficiently. Indeed the constituent parts of the Empire were not so much its provinces as its local communities. In the pre-Roman period the life of all that area which was to become the Roman Empire had been organized in local communities, and in incorporating these the Empire itself became a vast complex of such communities. In origin a province was no more than a group of local communities so delimited as to provide (what was the original meaning of 'provincia') a proper sphere for a governor. No doubt, in the delimiting of the provinces natural and racial boundaries were followed, so far as was possible, and this delimitation of a given area as an administrative unit tended to give to it a life and character of its own, or to reinforce such unity as it already possessed. But, to begin with, the provinces were simply convenient administrative circumscriptions. The living cells, as it were, of the vast organism of the Empire were the local communities.

Citizen and non-citizen communities. Every province, by its

constitution, was divided into a fixed number of communities, each with a defined territory, which were recognized as units of local administration, subject to certain general rules which the constitution of the province laid down. These units of local administration might be either citizen or non-citizen communities. The citizen communities were urban units of one or other of two types—'coloniae' or 'municipia', each of which had a definite form of local self-government prescribed by a charter (*lex data*), though in jurisdiction the more serious cases lay outside the competence of the local magistrates and came before the governor of the province. On the other hand, the non-citizen communities or 'civitates' were mostly 'tributary communities' (*civitates stipendiariae*), which were directly subject to the governor in every respect. In practice, however, these also were allowed, or rather expected, to manage their local affairs. A certain number of non-citizen communities were 'free states' (*civitates liberae*), some of these having their 'freedom' ratified by an alliance made with Rome before the organization of the province in which they were situated (*civitates liberae et foederatae*). Theoretically these 'free' communities were 'outside the province' (*extra provinciam*), and therefore they were not only exempt from tribute (*immunes*) but were recognized as autonomous in the full sense that they were allowed, within their local sphere, not only to administer the law themselves but to use their own law. Such communities, however, were few in number, and gradually they were absorbed in the general provincial system. These various types of community, citizen and non-citizen, cease to be distinguishable, except in name, after the Edict of Caracalla of 212, which granted the Roman citizenship to all free men within the Empire.

Urban and non-urban communities. Meanwhile another distinction had been gradually disappearing by the assimilation of non-urban to urban units of local administration. In the Mediterranean area the non-citizen communities, whether tributary or 'free', were city-states no less than the 'coloniae' and 'municipia'. A city-state was an urban community which governed a defined territory, its sub-units being 'vici' (κῶμαι), villages which had an

organization of their own and minor administrative functions. The civilization of Greece and the Mediterranean, and of all those areas outside the Mediterranean basin where Greek influence had penetrated, was a civilization of such city-states. This urban system Rome inherited and conserved, and she extended it to regions where it had not existed before. In Thrace, in the basin of the lower Danube, and in the interior of Asia Minor she furthered the process begun under Greek influence by founding cities to which large territories were assigned for local government. In Syria she continued the urbanizing policy of the Seleucid monarchs. In Egypt no such urbanization had been attempted by the Ptolemies, and for long the Roman government accepted the traditional system there. The land, we have seen, was treated as imperial domain, as it had been royal land (γῆ βασιλική) under the Ptolemies. No 'coloniae' were planted. In the period of the early Empire, as under the Ptolemies, there were but three cities in Egypt—Naukratis, Ptolemais, and Alexandria—and though Naukratis and Ptolemais had a civic organization of the Greek type, Alexandria remained, as before, a capital without the organs of self-government until Septimius Severus granted it a municipal senate. The rest of the country was divided into territorial units, or nomes, each containing a number of villages (κῶμαι), the village which was the administrative centre of the nome being described as its metropolis. Both in nome and village the chief official was merely an imperial agent. Septimius Severus, however, gave to the metropolis of each nome, as he gave to Alexandria, a council of the municipal type, and thereafter these towns were gradually assimilated to municipalities, incorporating as their territory the nome with its villages.

In the western provinces, as in Egypt, Rome found no urban tradition to build upon, except where Greek or Carthaginian had founded cities within the Mediterranean basin. In the West, however, this absence of urbanization did not, as in Egypt, represent an immemorial mode of settled life such as a government concerned for stability would hesitate to interfere with. On the contrary, it was an expression of the undeveloped

condition of settled life. In the West, therefore, the Roman government did not hesitate to promote the growth of towns and to make of them the units of local government. In doing so, however, it showed a prudent regard for native traditions, where these were strong enough to deserve respect, and it proceeded not merely, or even mainly, by intruding citizen settlements but also by encouraging native communities to urbanize themselves gradually from within.

It is true that in the military areas of the Rhine and of the upper and middle Danube, and in the mountainous region of the Alps, the conditions were not such as to favour the development of the native tribes into urban communities, and the cities there were military colonies. In Gallia Narbonensis also urbanization had begun by the foundation of military 'coloniae', but here the circumstances were different. From time immemorial the Rhône valley had been open to Mediterranean influence, and in the later period of the Republic there had been a considerable infiltration of Italian immigrants. In founding cities in this area the Roman government was not intruding into it an alien system but rather supplying it with a mode of organization which suited it and to which it rapidly responded. From the very beginning of the Empire all Gallia Narbonensis was completely municipalized. In that respect, as in others, it was, in the words of the Elder Pliny, 'rather a part of Italy than a province'.[1]

In Spain, on the other hand, both methods of promoting urbanization were employed. In the south and on the east coast, where the way had been prepared by Greek and Phoenician settlements, civil 'coloniae' were founded, and there were military 'coloniae' in the interior and in the mountainous region of the north-west. But in general the government was content to encourage the native communities to urbanize themselves. This change came about the more easily that the natives were not organized in powerful tribes but in small groups centred in an 'oppidum'—a township or stronghold. Urbanization must already have made considerable progress before Vespasian completed the process by granting to the whole peninsula the 'Latin

[1] Plin., *Nat. Hist.* iii. 5.

right', which resulted in its division into local self-governing communities under the municipal title and organization.

In Africa also the dual method of urbanization met with a quick response. All along the strip of land that extends from the high plateaux of the Atlas range to the sea, and in the regions between that range and the northern and eastern coasts of Tunisia, an area brought to immense fertility by plantation and irrigation, settled life was highly developed and urbanized. Here there were Roman 'coloniae', but these were not, as a rule, fresh foundations but a reinforcement, by romanized settlers, of Carthaginian cities, previously hellenized in varying degrees by Greek traders. But most of the towns which received citizen rights as 'municipia' or titular 'coloniae' had grown from purely native roots—either from communities which had already urbanized themselves in some measure under Carthaginian influence or from the rural 'pagi', or territorial units, into which the Romans found this area divided. These seldom contained more than the merest sprinkling of romanized settlers from outside Africa. It is true that many of the 'pagi' which grew into municipalities were inhabited by discharged soldiers, but although, at the beginning of the Empire, these were Italian veterans of Julius Caesar and of Augustus, later they were drawn from the army of occupation, and from the end of the first century onwards it was from natives that the army in Africa was recruited. And if many of the native communities which were accepted as units of local government (*civitates*) never received the technical designation of 'municipium' or 'colonia', yet it is clear from inscriptions which record their corporate acts, as well as from their architectural remains, that they were largely urbanized upon the municipal model. On the other hand, no attempt was made to attach to urban communities, for the purpose of local government, the tribes that lived a pastoral life on the slopes and outrunners of the Atlas range. Their grouping in tribes (*gentes*) was conserved under Roman rule. Under the general supervision of an imperial official, each tribe was ruled by its chief (*princeps*) with whom was associated a tribal council.

The life of the pastoral tribes within the provinces of Africa

contrasted with the settled agricultural life of the coastal area, and an urban system would have been alien to it. In the three provinces of 'long-haired', or barbaric, Gaul (*Gallia Comata*), on the other hand, the life of the people, though mainly pastoral, was of a settled type which admitted of urbanization; and the same was true of the kindred province of Britain. Throughout all this Celtic area, however, the Roman government acted with a careful regard for native tradition. In the interior of the Three Gauls (Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica) the only 'colonia' of settlers from outside Gaul was Lyons, and its foundation belongs to the time of the conquest before the beginning of the imperial period. It was also as part of the process of conquest that the only corresponding settlement in Britain was established—Camulodunum (Colchester), where a 'colonia'· of veterans was founded in the reign of Claudius. The Three Gauls and, in its measure, Britain were transformed from within.

In the Three Gauls the Roman government found strong tribal units still commanding native loyalty. These units it accepted, and upon them it based the system of local government. A tribal unit was a territorial community whose life was corporate in the tribal organization, the 'civitas' being defined by the name of the tribe (*civitas*, or *res publica*, *Helvetiorum*, &c.) just as an urban 'civitas' was defined by the name of the town or townspeople (*respublica Prusensium*, *civitas Nicomediae*, *Nicomedensis*, *Byzantiorum*, &c.), and whereas the subdivisions of an urban 'civitas' were themselves small urban units, or 'vici' (villages), a tribal territory was subdivided into territorial 'pagi'. These tribal territories the Roman government left under the rule of the tribal aristocracies, but gradually this rule was regularized, on the municipal model, into a system of council and magistrates with well-defined functions and duties. This process by which tribal 'civitates' were municipalized is well illustrated by the inscriptions of the Three Gauls.

Municipalization of tribal communities in Gaul and Britain. Julius Caesar notes that in his time the Gaulish tribe of the Aedui was governed by a single supreme magistrate called 'vergobret'. Under the early Empire this office survived under its native

name in western Gaul; we have evidence of this survival for the tribal states of the Santones (around Saintes) and the Lexovii (around Lisieux). We have also evidence for the survival of the office in the tribal state of the Bituriges Vivisci (around Bordeaux), though there the name is latinized to 'praetor'. A little later, and one looks in vain for such survivals. The single magistracy has disappeared from the Three Gauls, and everywhere one finds as chief magistrates the collegial duumvirs of the Roman municipal system. In the reign of Vespasian, for example, one of the presidents of the concilium at Lyons, in dedicating an altar there to Jupiter, describes himself as 'duumvir in the state of the Sequani', a tribal community dwelling in the south of Gallia Belgica between the Jura and the river Saône. The tribal unit, then, remains, but its chief magistracy has become municipalized. Nor was it only the chief magistracy that changed form in such Gaulish states. With duumvirs appear other magistrates (aediles, quaestors), as well as a senate (*senatus*, *curia*, *ordo*) of 'decurions', of municipal type.

An analogous change took place in Britain. There also the tribes were accepted as the units of local government, but it is clear from the architectural remains of towns like Calleva of the Atrebates (Silchester, near Reading), Venta of the Silures (Caerwent in Monmouthshire), Viroconium of the Cornovii (Wroxeter, near Shrewsbury), that the tribal capitals became urbanized. Nor is epigraphic evidence altogether lacking in our province for the municipalizing of the tribal authority. This development is implied, for example, in an inscription from Wroxeter recording the building of the forum there and its dedication to Hadrian by the corporate act of the tribal state of the Cornovii, and it is clearly proved by an inscription from Caerwent which the tribal state of the Silures put up in honour of a governor of the province in the reign of Alexander Severus 'by decree of its senate' (*ex decreto ordinis*).

With the municipalizing of its governing authority the tribal unit itself tended to approximate to the municipality in its structure. This stage also of the municipalizing process is well illustrated by the inscriptions of the Three Gauls. Hamlets

situated in the territorial 'pagi' into which the tribal 'civitates' were divided grew into small urban communities, which received the name and organization of 'vici', and came to displace the 'pagi' as the sub-units of the 'civitas'. In particular the tribal capitals became important 'vici', and the magistrates who were charged with their administration came to rival the authorities of the 'civitates' themselves as the progress of urbanization and the consequent growth of their 'vici' increased the importance of their functions. Gradually the 'civitates' tended to become identified with their urban centre, and sometimes took its name. Thus the Sequani, to whom we have referred above as a tribal state whose governing authority became municipalized, came to call themselves 'Vesontienses' from their capital Vesontio (Besançon). In certain cases this process was completed by the urban centre of a tribal state receiving the status and organization of a citizen community, a 'municipium' or a 'colonia', which meant that it incorporated what had formerly been the tribal territory, and supplanted the tribe as the 'civitas' or unit of local government. That happened, for example, with Vesontio, which became a 'colonia'. The same thing happened with another tribal capital in Gallia Belgica, Aventicum (Avenches, by Lausanne), the urban centre of the tribe of the Helvetii, which had been one of the few privileged 'free' and 'treaty' states (a *civitas libera et foederata*). An inscription of the early Empire presents the Helvetii as a tribal state divided into 'pagi' as in the time of Julius Caesar. By the Flavian period we find that the 'pagi' of this tribal territory have been displaced by 'vici', and that the tribe itself has been incorporated, or submerged, in its urban centre, which now has the status of a 'colonia'. In Britain we know that a similar process went on at Verulamium (St. Albans), which, from being a native 'oppidum' and probably a tribal capital (of the Catuvellauni) had become a 'municipium' by the year 61.

Verulam, however, is the only native community in Britain which we know to have received the title and status of a 'municipium', while in the Three Gauls the transformation of native communities into 'coloniae' or 'municipia' was quite exceptional.

The rarity of municipal towns in the Three Gauls, it is often
pointed out, is reflected in the nomenclature of the towns of
France, for, whereas in the Rhône valley towns which date from
the Roman period bear the names of Roman municipalities, the
towns which originated in the local communities of the Three
Provinces have conserved the names not of towns but of tribes.
But this survival of the tribal names does not in reality mean
that the tribal system persisted throughout the imperial period.
It lived long enough to give some continuity between the Celtic
and Roman life of Gaul, but those who called themselves by
such names as 'Senones' or 'Santones' soon came to think of
themselves less as members of a tribe than as inhabitants of a
territorial unit. And these territorial units, it has been ex-
plained, became more and more urbanized. We have seen that
the territorial 'pagi' gave place to urban 'vici', and if the central
'vicus' of a tribal territory rarely received the title and status
of a municipal town, that was because it was not until the later
Empire that the process of urbanization was completed in the
Three Gauls, and by that time the creation of new 'municipia'
or 'coloniae' had ceased. Soon after 212, when the Edict of
Caracalla bestowed the Roman citizenship upon all free men
within the Empire, grants of municipal status ceased to be issued,
and indeed the very terms of 'municipium' and 'colonia' fell
into disuse. But the Edict which, by generalizing the citizen-
ship, put an end to the use of these distinctive terms for citizen
communities, was itself a recognition of a general progress of
urbanization and a guarantee of its continuance. And the pro-
cess was reinforced by the conditions of the later Empire, when
the towns assumed a new importance as strongholds or as
ecclesiastical sees. If the tribal names persisted into that period,
it was not because the tribes still dominated the towns but
rather because an urban system, in displacing the tribal or
territorial system, appropriated to itself the tribal names. Their
perpetuation does indeed testify to the tenacity of tribal memories
and to the regard which the Gauls had for their past, but it does
not indicate the continuance of the tribal organization. Trèves
(Trier), for example, preserves the name of the tribe of the

Treveri, because the name survived into the later Empire; when Constantine wrote from that city, he headed his letter 'from (the) Treveri' (*a Treveris*). Yet by then it was an imperial residence and the seat of government for the whole of the western Empire, and it had been a municipality (a *colonia*) for centuries. Here, then, the tribal organization had not survived with the tribal name. What had happened was that the municipality (*colonia Augusta Treverorum*) which displaced the tribal state appropriated its name and perpetuated it. The same thing happened all over the Three Gauls, and in a less degree the process went on also in the remoter province of Britain. Though few of the towns that appropriated tribal names in the Three Gauls or in Britain show the actual municipal title (*colonia* or *municipium*), as Trèves does, and though the urbanization of most of them came later than that of Trèves, yet the process of urbanization went on everywhere alike, and, if it rarely imported the municipal name, it proceeded upon the municipal model.

All over the western Empire, then, in spite of a flexible adjustment to native habitudes, local life was more or less municipalized. Even in Egypt there was some change in that direction, while elsewhere in the East new foundations, mostly settlements of veterans, were municipalities of the Italian type. Such settlements, it is true, practically ceased in the East after the reign of Augustus, and they were, of course, very few in number compared with the existing cities. These had originated at different periods and in different circumstances, and had developed along individual lines; and they clung tenaciously to their local usages, which the Roman government respected. The eastern cities of the Empire, therefore, present many varieties of constitution and organization. But those of them that were not Greek cities had been founded and had developed under Greek influence. For that reason they reproduced, in spite of local variations, the same general type, and to this Greek type the Italian municipality was analogous, deriving as it did from the same Mediterranean tradition. As analogous to the Greek type of civic organization as found in the eastern Empire, as the organization characteristic of civic life in Italy itself and

as the norm to ·which the local communities of the western Empire conformed or approximated, the municipal system may be taken as the mode of local self-government characteristic of the Empire as a whole.

The municipal system. The municipal system was that proper to a citizen community. Such a community might be either a colonia or a municipium. In the strict sense a colonia was a settlement of citizens who brought with them a municipal form of self-government and a certain status. A municipium was constituted when a native, or non-citizen, community, as it became romanized or urbanized, received the citizenship and with it a municipal organization. The distinction, then, was largely a matter of origin, nor was the distinction an absolute one. A native community might receive the status of a colonia, with the citizenship, when it was reinforced by settlers of citizen origin; it might indeed receive that status without any such added element (titular or honorary colonia). So it might happen that a community which was already a municipium might be given the status of a colonia. The motive for desiring such a status would be that, in practice if not in theory, coloniae enjoyed for a time greater liberty than did municipia from the intervention of provincial governors, and that, with hardly an exception, it was to coloniae that exemption from the land-tax was occasionally given, whether by a grant of immunity or by the concession of 'quiritary ownership' (*dominium ex iure Quiritium*), which meant that, by a legal fiction, their territory was treated as Italian land, which was not liable to the tax. A change to colonial status might mean that a municipium had to forgo certain privileges in the use of local laws and customs, for in such matters a measure of freedom was allowed to municipia which was denied to coloniae, these being strictly subject to Roman law. This, however, was hardly regarded as a sacrifice. Indeed, municipia, and even non-citizen communities, tended voluntarily to abandon their own usages for the Roman law, which, in the West at all events, became the uniform code for local as well as for the higher jurisdiction.

Until the Edict of Caracalla (212) conferred the Roman

citizenship upon all free inhabitants of the Empire, citizen communities, whether coloniae or municipia, might possess either the full Roman citizenship or a restricted form of the citizenship known as the 'Latin right' (*ius Latii, Latinitas*). But the main features of the municipal institution were in each case the same.

The municipal system of the Roman Empire was a continuation, subject to imperial control, of the Mediterranean system of city states. Each municipality had a definite territory assigned to it. Within this territory the smaller towns and villages (*vici, fora, castella*), with the land adjacent to them, formed administrative sub-units with appropriate organs for the management of their own immediate affairs, but in all the more important matters of local government they were subject to the municipal authorities.

The lowest place among the municipal magistrates was occupied by two quaestors. Above them came the four chief magistrates. In coloniae these were usually divided into two aediles and two duumvirs; in municipia the four usually formed one college (*quattuorviri*). This, however, was a distinction without any real difference, for where the four chief magistrates formed one college, the two junior colleagues performed the functions of aediles, the two senior those of duumvirs.

The quaestors were city treasurers. The aediles were in charge of markets, streets, and police. The duumvirs exercised jurisdiction. Every fifth year, under the title of 'quinquennales', they acted as censors. That meant not only the regulation of local taxation but also the drawing up of the list of decurions who composed the municipal council (*senatus*, more usually *ordo* or *curia*). In the period of the early Empire the decurions were ex-magistrates, to whom might be added such other qualified citizens as were necessary to make up the required number (normally a hundred).

The magistrates were not, as a rule, popularly elected. In a certain number of Greek cities, where there was a tradition of popular election, the people continued to be organized as a political body throughout the first century, while in Africa a number of coloniae still had a popular assembly in the second

century and even later. In Spain a charter conferring municipal status upon the town of Malaca in the reign of Domitian makes provision for the popular election of the magistrates, but that is the only evidence of the kind for Spain. In the Three Gauls such evidence is lacking not only from the tribal 'civitates', which had a tradition of rule by their aristocracies, but also from the municipal cities. The municipal cities of the Three Gauls, however, were few in number. More significant is the absence of evidence for popular assemblies from an area so highly municipalized as Gallia Narbonensis. There is, indeed, evidence to show the influence of the people there in municipal elections, but that very evidence implies that the populace was not organized as an electorate. From the beginning the only political body in the local communities of Gaul was the order of decurions, and in that respect Gaul was fairly representative of the Empire as a whole, especially after the first century.

Even in cities where a popular assembly elected the magistrates, it performed no other function. The controlling authority was the order or senate. To the senate the magistrates were strictly subordinated. In all matters of importance they had to receive authorization from the senate, and certain of the municipal charters which have come down to us lay down precise regulations as to the number required to be present at a meeting of the senate to authorize this or that measure for the magistrates to execute. Caesarism, which had developed from magistracy and had made the Roman senate its subordinate, made the magistracy subordinate to the senate in the municipalities.

Municipal government was not only oligarchic, it was timocratic. For the magistracy property was a necessary qualification, for the magistrate had to give security for the public funds and for the discharge of his financial obligations to the city (*munera*, λειτουργίαι). In many cities he had to pay a fee on entering upon office, and during his term of office to bear the expense of various public services and to contribute to the public games; and in all cities he was expected to give large sums for the improvement of the city and the entertainment of his fellow-citizens. From the decurions also public liberality was

expected, and frequently they were required, like the magistrates, to pay an entrance fee; and any of them who were not ex-magistrates were selected from the wealthier citizens of the community. This timocratic system, characteristic of the municipalities, was applied to all types of local community.

Oligarchic character of local government. In gradually establishing everywhere an oligarchic system of local government, Rome was not so much imposing a new system as generalizing one which she found already in existence. In the Celtic lands of the West there was a tradition of rule by the tribal nobilities, while in the cities of Africa and the Greek East governing authority, whether conferred by popular election or not, had generally been in the hands of the commercial aristocracies. The object of the Roman government was simply to secure, with the least possible interference with local usages, a stable system of local administration which could be easily supervised and controlled with a minimum of direct intervention. In limiting or excluding popular action, and so subordinating the magistracy to the council as to check individual initiative, the Roman government was putting into effect the practical lesson which, as it believed, was taught by the history of the past. In the Greek cities of the East popular political action had commonly led to disorder or revolution, and frequently it had supplied an instrument for the setting up of personal 'tyrannies'; and Rome had had her own experience, upon a larger scale, of the defects of popular assemblies and the dangers of individual ambitions. She believed that government by senate, though it had proved ineffective for the Empire as a whole, was the safest system to apply in local affairs.

In giving this oligarchic system of local government a timocratic character the Roman government was influenced by financial as well as political considerations. Its object was not only to encourage civic liberality among the rich but also to set up local authorities whom it could treat as trustees responsible for the financial well-being of their communities.

Difficulties of the local communities. There is evidence to show that in the East the financial administration of the local communities was not only incompetent and extravagant but corrupt;

the letters addressed to the emperor Trajan by Pliny, when governor of Bithynia, are illuminating in this respect. In the West the rapid progress of urbanization seems to have brought embarrassment. Associating office with obligation, the Roman government tended to transfer the difficulties of the communities to the shoulders of the governing authority. The result was that substantial citizens became unwilling to be candidates for the local magistracies or to enter the council. The municipal charter granted by Domitian to the Spanish town of Malaca prescribes a system of nomination for the magistracies if a sufficient number of voluntary candidates do not come forward. In a letter to Pliny of the year 112 Trajan anticipates that some of those whom it is proposed to enrol as decurions in the local senates of Bithynia may be put on the list against their will. These are early symptoms of a failing of public spirit in the local communities which was to end in the magistrates being nominated by the decurions from their own order and the order itself compulsorily made up to the required number by the local censors.

'*Curatores reipublicae.*' Meanwhile the financial difficulties of the local communities had forced the central government to intervene directly. In imperial provinces a close supervision was exercised by the governors. In Italy and in the senatorial provinces of the West curators (*curatores reipublicae*) were appointed from the time of Trajan onwards to supervise the affairs of a particular community, sometimes of two or three communities. The appointment of such curators became common in the Antonine period and general in the third century. In the East, as we have seen, special commissioners of senatorial rank were sent out by Trajan and his successors of the second century to regulate the internal affairs of the cities, especially .the 'free' cities, of a large area or even of a whole province. From the time of Caracalla onwards, however, the supervision of local government in the East took the same form as in the West, officials similar to the 'curatores reipublicae' being appointed to particular communities (or small groups of communities) under the title of 'logistae' (λογισταί).

As their titles imply, the 'curatores' ('trustees') or 'logistae' ('auditors') were originally appointed to look after the finances of the communities. In the second century they were usually Roman senators, sometimes equestrians towards the end of that period. From the beginning, however, instances occur in the African provinces, in the Gauls, and especially in Italy, of curators whose experience had been mainly of local administration, and with the third century that becomes the common type. Again, the inscriptions show that this type of curator, though rarely a citizen of the community to which he was appointed, commonly belonged to the same region or the same province, and at all times curators appointed to Italian cities, whatever their rank, were invariably Italians. Such evidence as to the place of origin of the curators and the various classes from which they were drawn is enough to show that, though they were appointed by the emperor, their office was not one of the regular departments of the central government. It was devised as a practical method of securing that the local communities should be supervised by men who, because of the limited sphere of their office and, latterly, by reason of their own origin and experience, would be familiar with regional or local conditions and susceptibilities. The Roman government had no desire to take the burden of local administration upon its own shoulders. The institution of curators was not intended to destroy local autonomy but to make it workable. They were not appointed, in the first instance, to supplant the local governing authority; they were appointed temporarily to see that the local decurions and magistrates did their duty, and to assist them in putting their communities in a sound financial position.

The 'curatores reipublicae' did not prove to be an effective means of securing that object. Indeed, the government might have been better advised to have left the communities to struggle with their own difficulties, and to have maintained local interest in local affairs at the price of much incompetence and some corruption. As it was, the intervention of the curator, though it sometimes brought immediate reforms and benefits, as a number of inscriptions handsomely acknowledge, also produced local

apathy. Indeed his insistence that magistrates and decurions should fulfil their financial obligations provoked deliberate and obstinate abstention. More and more the actual work of local administration passed into his hands. With this development senators and equestrians of high rank began to cease to serve as curators, and these were increasingly drawn from men whose career had lain in local administration and in a neighbouring community. With this assimilation to a local magistrate the curator came under the influence, and even control, of the decurions of the community to which he was appointed. After the reign of Alexander Severus it was not the emperor but the decurions who appointed the curator of their community, and if their choice had to be confirmed by the emperor, that made little difference. In the course of the third century the central government, distracted by military and financial problems, virtually abandons its attempt to supervise local government, and the local magnates, notably the great landowners, tend to take matters into their own hands.

Imperial domains. There was one type of community which from its nature was denied any real autonomy. Tenants of imperial domains, in all the more important matters of their local life, were under the charge of imperial procurators. Owing to a variety of causes, to which reference has already been made, the imperial domains had grown to enormous extent in the first three centuries. They were to be found in every part of the Empire, and in some regions and provinces they occupied a considerable proportion of the total area. They were not subject to the provincial governors and their subordinates, nor did they form part of the territory of the municipalities or other local communities (*civitates*) which have been described. They formed extra-territorial units of a special kind.

It has been explained that imperial domains belonged either to the fiscus or the 'patrimonium' until the third century, when all alike were assigned to the 'res privata Caesaris'. These central departments were represented locally by resident procurators. According to product and situation, mines were formed into groups, each under a procurator, subordinate to

whom were procurators in charge of particular mines. A mine might either be worked directly by imperial slaves (or by criminals) under the management of a procurator, or leased to a middleman (*conductor*), or a company of middlemen, under a procurator's supervision. It would appear that the labour employed by these middlemen was largely slave labour, but our documents indicate that to some extent free men also were engaged in the getting of the ore, and the question arises whether these had any communal organization. A fragment of an imperial constitution of the second century regulating the internal administration of the territory belonging to a copper mine (the *metallum Vipascense*) at Vipasca in southern Lusitania lays down detailed regulations as to a bathhouse for the workers as well as a fuller's shop, a cobbler's, and a barber's. There is even mention of schoolmasters, who are to be free of taxation. But by the very concern they show for the comfort of the mining community such regulations seem to imply that it possessed no powers of self-government, and in fact our evidence as to the mines makes no mention of any organ of that purpose.

Communities settled on arable or pastoral domains (*saltus*) appear to have been a little better off in that respect. Their internal administration is known to us almost entirely from inscriptions. This evidence relates mostly to Africa, where imperial domains were abundant, but the organization which it implies may be taken as the normal type.

A number of estates, at least where estates were abundant, as in Africa, were grouped together to form a 'tract', or (a smaller area) a 'region', administered by a procurator, usually of equestrian rank, who had his office in the chief town of the area. Procurators of lower rank, usually freedmen, supervised the several estates. These consisted of demesne land attached to a villa (or villas) and of land held by tenants (*coloni*), from whom the terms of their holding required not only the payment of a fixed proportion of their produce but the performance of certain services on the demesne land. The villa and the demesne land might be retained by the emperor as represented by his resident procurator. More often they were leased to a middle-

man, a 'conductor', to whom were transferred the services due by the 'coloni'. Virtually the 'conductor' became the business manager of the estate as a whole, being regarded chiefly as an agent who collected the rent (including the land-tax) of the 'coloni' on behalf of the emperor. But the management of the estate was still under the supervision of the procurator, who was the responsible administrative and judicial officer. It was he who saw to the construction of public works. It was his duty to protect the estate from external violence, and to see that the 'coloni' suffered no injustice from the 'conductor'. The estate procurator, it will be seen, and in some measure the 'conductor', took the place of the magistrates of a municipality or 'civitas'. This arrangement was not without its advantages for the 'coloni'. If the procurator was their master, he was also their protector; and if they were no more than a mere 'plebs', at least they were exempt from curial burdens. Probably it was to secure that they should bear a share of such burdens that the emperors occasionally erected a community of their 'coloni' into a self-administering 'civitas'. This, however, involved a change in their status by which they ceased to be imperial 'coloni' and became owners. So long as the land remained imperial domain and the men who cultivated it imperial 'coloni', the only political organization which they possessed was a very rudimentary one of the kind which we have described as allowed to the 'vicus', or village community. They enjoyed indeed one privilege not possessed by the 'vicus': they could petition the emperor direct, and he might reply to them direct. But that very privilege arose from their direct dependence upon Caesar, and it really illustrates their subjection. Politically they formed the lowest class among the free inhabitants of the Empire with the exception of the mining communities.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The city of Rome. The civilization of the early centuries of our era took its character from this—that it was the civilization of a world-state unified politically. That political unity depended upon two factors—Rome and the emperor. The Roman state originated as a city-state or municipality, the type of organized community native to the Mediterranean area. As it incorporated Italy, it had extended citizen rights to the Italians, but the citizenship had remained municipal; the Italians became 'citizens of Rome', and Italy was treated as municipal territory.

That development had already taken place before the close of the Republican period, and if Augustus 'made Italy in a manner the equal of Rome'[1] and looked to the Italians for senators and administrators as well as soldiers, he was not infringing the municipal idea but was simply making the Roman citizenship of the Italians effective. And when an Italian squire like the Elder Pliny ascribes to Italy as a whole what a Republican writer would have associated with the name of Rome alone, a providential mission to civilize and unify mankind as 'the common "patria" of all the peoples in the world', he is only reflecting the new importance which the municipal territory had acquired in relation to the urban centre. There was here no quasi-national conception of the state. Nor indeed would nationalism, with its racial implications, have been capable of such extension as were political rights conceived of as the citizen rights of a metropolis. A national conception of the state would have implied either the perpetual dominance of the Italians and the perpetual subjection of the provinces, or, if the provinces were to be raised to an equality with Italy and with one another, a reconstitution of the Empire as a federation of national units. Neither of those systems was in Pliny's mind, for in neither case would Italy have been a common 'patria'. That was a part

[1] Suet., *Aug.* 46.

which she could play only as the municipal territory of a city which every one could regard as his metropolis. And, in fact, it was by the application of that municipal idea to the provinces that the political unification of the Empire was brought about. The process was already well advanced by the time (the reign of Vespasian) that Pliny wrote.

In the Republican period the provinces had been regarded as subject lands. Communities of Roman citizens settled in the provinces, however, whether of urban or Italian origin, were treated as detached portions of the Roman municipality. To such colonists the rest of the provincials were gradually assimilated in political status in the imperial period.

The creating of an imperial patriotism by extending the Roman citizenship to all free men within the Empire is represented by Dio Cassius as a policy recommended to Augustus by Maecenas. In reality, Dio is expounding a policy which was not adopted until a generation or more after the death of Augustus and which only reached its full development in his own time. While Augustus looked beyond the urban population to the Italians, whose citizenship he sought to make effective, he was reluctant to extend the citizenship beyond the limits of Italy. It was not until the reign of Claudius that a more liberal policy was adopted. From that time onwards the citizenship was freely extended to provincials. As in the case of Italians it conferred upon the provincials who received it, whether Greeks, Celts, Berbers, Jews or Syrians or other Asiatics, the municipal name of 'Romans', and it gave them a double 'patria'—the city of Rome as well as their native city. When the rhetorician Aelius Aristides praises Rome for having shown that 'the earth, which is the mother of all, is also the "patria" of all', he is referring to this extension of the Roman citizenship by which the Empire became a kind of vast municipality, a municipality of municipalities. 'What each city is to its own territory', he says, 'that Rome is to the whole world. She receives the peoples of every land as the sea receives the rivers.' These words were written in the Antonine period (c. 155). In little more than half a century the Edict of Caracalla (212) had made the

Roman citizenship universal. In spite of its universal extension this citizenship was not municipal merely in name. To the jurists of the third century it was still a fundamental assumption of the civil law, and one which affected its application in many ways, that all citizens, wherever born, had the city of Rome for their common 'patria'. Nor was this a mere juridical rule. From the time of Claudius onwards it was given a political application which profoundly affected the life of the Empire; that was the admission of provincials into the Roman senate. This policy, it will be remembered, was inaugurated by a decree of the senate, passed at the instance of Claudius, which opened the senatorial career to the chiefs of the Gaulish Aedui; and we have seen that under the Flavian and Antonine Caesars the senate was freely recruited from the western provinces. It is true that up to the time of Commodus Greeks and Orientals were rarely made senators, and only, as a rule, that they might serve as administrators in eastern provinces, but in the third century they entered the senate in large numbers. By then provincials formed an actual majority of the members, and so far as its composition was concerned the senate was an imperial council. Yet constitutionally it was still the senate of the city of Rome, and it was as the Roman senate that it represented the state in conferring authority upon the magistrates, including the Caesars themselves, whose imperium was constitutionally a continuation of that of the urban magistracy of the Republic. Under the Empire as under the Republic, Rome was never merely the capital of a territorial state. It was the centre of the state in a more organic manner. It was the cell, as it were, out of which the state had grown. In a sense it *was* the state.

This municipal idea persisted to the end. The conception of Rome as a common 'patria' of all free men within the Empire is still expressed in the last days of the western Empire by the Gaulish noble, Sidonius Apollinaris, to whom Rome was 'the city where no one is alien save the barbarian and the slave'. Half a century before, his fellow countryman, Rutilius Namatianus, had summed up the achievement of Rome in the phrase that she 'had made the world a single city'. As a common

'patria' she was a powerful focus of patriotism, and that not only to the western provincials whom she had raised from barbarism. It was an·Egyptian by birth, if not by descent, the poet Claudian of Alexandria, who paid to Rome the most whole-hearted of the tributes that have survived to us:

> Alone she gathers to her bosom those
> whom late she vanquished; citizens, not foes,
> she calls them now. Their conqueror they proclaim
> mother, not mistress. So her general name
> enfellowships mankind, makes fast, with bands
> of love devout, the far-off daughter lands,
> that, whereso'er we range, 'tis all one race—
> debtors to her by whose peacemaking grace
> no place is strange but everywhere a home—
> one world-wide family all akin with Rome.[1]

To these men of the fifth century Rome still appeared to be the centre of the imperial system in a manner so vital that disaster to her seemed to involve the ruin of the whole. Some ten years after Claudian wrote his panegyric, Rome was sacked by Alaric the Goth (410). St. Augustine tells us of the profound dismay that this event produced as far away as the most distant provinces of the East. It reached St. Jerome in his retreat at Bethlehem; 'the lamp of the world is extinguished,' he wrote, 'and it is the whole world that has perished in the ruin of this one city.'[2] Yet since the end of the third century imperial residences had been established, for administrative and especially military reasons, elsewhere than at Rome; for nearly a hundred years there had been a rival capital upon the Bosporus; even in Italy the residence of the imperial court throughout most of the fourth century had not been at Rome but at Milan, and at the time that Alaric marched upon Rome it was at Ravenna. From the influence which Rome exercised upon men's minds even in these days of her decline, it can be imagined how powerful a centre of unity she was in the first three centuries, when her

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[1] *De consulatu Stilichonis*, iii. 150–60. The translation in the text is an impromptu version by the late Professor J. S. Phillimore, quoted in Haverfield and Macdonald, *The Roman Occupation of Britain*, p. 287.

[2] *Comm. in Ezech.*, prol.

position was unchallenged. During that period it is certain that the investment of the Caesars at Rome by the Roman senate, as representing the body of Roman citizens, and the exercise of their imperium from Rome and in the name of Rome, won for their government an acceptance, and gave to it a potency, which would not have been commanded, at least in the West, by a purely personal power. Even an Asiatic Greek like Aelius Aristides, in contrasting the rule of the Caesars, as it appeared to provincials in the Antonine period, with the precarious and transitory monarchies of the East, ascribes its stability to the fact that it was supported by a common patriotism which had a fixed centre at Rome.

The emperor. But if the immemorial authority of Rome gave to the Caesars something more than a personal or dynastic power, it was the rule of the Caesars that made the Roman authority effective. It was indeed as the only means of safe-guarding that authority over the vast extent of the Empire that Caesarism had been constituted out of the urban magistracy of the Republic. How Caesarism steadily developed into an administrative autocracy has already been described. To the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Empire the power which they were conscious of obeying was the power of Caesar, hardly distinguished by the eastern provincials from the Oriental and Hellenistic monarchies of the past. And if an educated provincial like Aelius Aristides understood the municipal theory of the constitution and of the citizenship, and appreciated its power as a unifying influence, yet it was in the executive system, of which Caesar was the centre, that he recognized the reality of government.

The world [he says], united in prayer that this rule may endure for ever, is now in closer unison than is a choir; so well drilled is it by its master. . . . Mainland and island—all is now one continuous land and one people, obedient in all things without demur. . . . Every command is executed on the nod, sooner than one could twang a string. If there is anything to be done, it has only to be decreed, and it is done. The governors who are sent to the cities and the provinces rule those who are placed under them, but they are them-

selves obedient subjects; and one might say that they differ from those they govern only in this—that they are the first to give an example of obedience. Such awe is instilled in them for the great ruler who administers the whole. . . . On the mere mention of his name they will rise up and sing his praises and do him reverence, and they will pray a double prayer—one to the gods for him and one to him for themselves. And if they have some little doubt on any matter concerning the suits or claims, whether public or private, of those whom they govern, then, if the suitors be worthy men, they send at once to him to ask what should be done, and they wait until he declares it to them, as a choir awaits the signal of its master. So he has no need to weary himself with travelling about the world, nor to be now here now there, confirming every particular upon the spot. Nay, he can sit still in comfort, and direct the world by letters, which are no sooner written than they are delivered, as if borne on wings.[1]

The Roman Empire, then, was a kind of vast city-state whose citizens were united in obedience to the authority of Rome, embodied in Caesar and radiating from him through a bureaucracy.

The omnipotence and divinity of the state. Those who lived in this obedience conceived of themselves as politically free. 'Though you have so great an empire and such absolute power', says Aelius Aristides in his *Panegyric of Rome*, 'you have especially excelled in this—and it is an achievement peculiarly your own —that you alone, of all peoples that have ever been, rule over free men.'[2] They thought of themselves as politically free in so far as they belonged to a citizen body which constituted the Roman state and conferred authority upon the magistrates, including Caesar himself as supreme magistrate. But this political liberty was merely theoretical. We have seen that, in fact, little or no part was played by the general body of citizens in the election of Caesar or of the other magistrates. And once a magistrate, or other representative of the state, was elected or appointed, he was ruler and master of all citizens who came within his province or jurisdiction, subject only to the control

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[1] *Encom. Romae*, 29-33, ed. Keil, pp. 100-1.
[2] Ibid., 34-6, ed. Keil, p. 101.

of Caesar, whose power was as unlimited as the sovereignty of the state. And the sovereignty of the state was absolute. There could be no opposition to the state, or criticism of it; that was treason (*laesa maiestas*). Without the permission of the state no group of citizens could meet together. Only as a magistrate could a citizen address his fellow citizens. Against a magistrate no action could be brought. If an action was raised, as it might be, after a magistrate had resigned office, it was a magistrate who was judge. A citizen could appeal from a lower to a higher magistrate, and ultimately to Caesar himself, but he could not go beyond the state to any tribunal which, in the name of justice or equity, could judge between the state and him. There was not, even in theory, any judicature independent of the state. There was nothing in the Roman system corresponding to our 'action against the Crown'. The state could not be a party to a suit. In the person of the magistrate it was always judge. All jurisdiction was administrative action. In these conditions political liberty was a fiction.

Of personal liberty as a right there was no conception, and, in effect, personal liberty practically disappeared from the Roman Empire, as we shall see, after the crisis through which the state passed in the third century. In the first two centuries there was a fair measure of personal freedom, but not of right. The state regulated the personal and family lives of its citizens so far as it thought fit. Marriage and the procreation of children were state functions regulated by the state. The state might prescribe to men and women what they should wear and what they should eat or drink. Such sumptuary legislation, it need not be said, was not always effective, but its existence shows that under the Roman Empire the whole life of a man was conceived to be contained within his life as a citizen. A conscience at issue with the will of the state was treated as a false conscience. No man could own any allegiance to anything outside the state. That meant that religious liberty did not exist. A man might worship no god not recognized by the state.

This omnipotence of the state was the less challengeable that it claimed a divine sanction. The state was protected by certain

deities whose worship was a state function exercised by an official priesthood. Not only was the cult of those deities a duty which the citizen owed to the state but obedience to the state was a duty to its gods and a mode of propitiation. Indeed, the state was not only a body of worshippers, it was itself an object of worship, a divinity, Dea Roma; and the august Caesar embodied this divinity of the state as he embodied its sovereignty. As it happened, it was to be in the field of religion that this doctrine of the state was to be challenged, and the distinction between 'the things that are Caesar's' and 'the things that are God's' inaugurated a political as well as a religious revolution.

In its doctrine of the state as omnipotent and, in some sense, divine, the Roman Empire did not differ essentially from any other ancient state or community. It is indeed probable that, in the first two and a half centuries of the Empire, the Asiatic provinces, long subject to the despotic monarchies of the East, and even the western provincials, drilled in the rigorous discipline of the tribal system and accustomed to accept kings as the elect of the gods, regarded Roman citizenship as being, comparatively, a higher degree of liberty than they had known before. Even in the Greek city-states and in the Roman Republic itself, political liberty had been largely a fiction. If the citizens of these communities elected the magistrates, they did not elect them as deputies, or even as representatives in the modern sense. They elected them as their rulers. The known opinions and sympathies of a candidate might secure him popular support, but he was not elected to carry out a particular political programme. He was elected to rule the state, or to act for and as the state, within a given sphere. The exercise of the suffrage was, in reality, an obligation upon the citizen body to provide the state with the organs of government and the means of exacting obedience. And the obedience so exacted covered every department of life—personal as well as political. In the democratic cities of Greece and in the Roman Republic, no less than under the Roman Empire, the state was omnipotent. The doctrine of 'salus populi suprema lex' was older than the Caesars.

So also were the divine sanctions on which its omnipotence rested. The Republic, no less than the Empire, had had state deities to sanction its authority as well as to guarantee its prosperity, and there is the death of Socrates to remind us that the Greek democracies had rigorously maintained the same politico-religious system. Even in making the state itself and its ruler—Rome and Augustus—the objects of an official cult the Empire of the Caesars was appealing to ancient habitudes, not all of them alien to the Graeco-Latin tradition. Corresponding to the Oriental notion of the divinity of the ruler, there was a primitive belief among Indo-European peoples in the divinity of the community. In early communities based upon kinship this was a natural extension of the belief in the divinity of the family. The human beings in whom the family was actual came and went, but the family itself had a permanent identity and a life continuous beyond the human span; it was sustained, then, by some divine principle, or genius, of which indeed it was the manifestation, this divine force being embodied in the pater-familias, who transmitted it to his descendants, as he had received it through his ancestors, from the founder of the family. This idea, as applied to the larger aggregates of kin—the clan and the tribe—made of the community an organization for the common worship of a divine force of which it was itself the incarnation. In that sense it was itself divine and the object of its own worship. This notion persisted so long as a community was conscious of itself as a body of kinsmen, and even after the formation of a localized state, secularized by the incorporation of elements from outside the kin, it survived, as it were, underground; and when the eastern provincials, exercising their Greek faculty of personifying and divinizing abstractions, erected Roma into a goddess, they presented to the Roman world something which evoked a native religious instinct and gave it form. If the divinity of Caesar owed much to the Oriental notion of the divine ruler, it also owed something to this primitive idea of the divinity of the community, for was not Caesar, as 'father of the state', the embodiment of 'the genius of the Roman people'?

The world-state. It was no new thing then that a state should

exact from its citizens a strict obedience to itself as an omnipotent and, in some sense, a divine authority. What distinguished the Roman Empire from the earlier political systems of Europe was the vastness and variety of the area which it united in one obedience. The vastness of the area and the stability of the Roman rule over it are of themselves enough to show that the obedience was voluntary. But though civic loyalty still existed and was still rooted in religion, it changed character with the expanded form of the state. It was no longer the passionate devotion *pro aris et focis* which had been felt in the past for small political units like the Greek city-states or the Roman Republic itself in its early days. The patriotism of the citizen of the Empire was rather a feeling that his life was inevitably bound up with an irresistible force, a fate. To the mass of the inhabitants of the Empire, Rome, or its embodiment Caesar, was very much what Necessity or Nature was to the Stoic. But this force, or fate, to which they resigned themselves was also a kind of Providence which protected them and regulated their lives for their own good. And that was in fact the role which Caesarism played. Whatever may be said of many of the individual Caesars, it remains true that the absolutism of the Caesars was a parental absolutism. In that sense Caesar really was 'father of the state'.

Even as applied to so vast a state the family analogy was not altogether unreal. To the paternal government of Caesar every man did feel himself to be subject. Every man was aware of an activity of government which enclosed the Empire with soldiers and permeated it through officials. And if, for two and a half centuries, the government intervened but little in the everyday life of men, it provided the framework within which that life was carried on and by which it was conditioned. That was in a particular degree true of the economic life of the Empire.

TAXATION

The military and bureaucratic organization was maintained by taxation and by various requisitions. A heavy burden which every province (and, in the first century, Italy) had to share

with the fiscus was the maintenance of the official posting-service (*vehiculatio*) within its own boundaries. In times of stress any or every province might be subjected to special requisitions of money or material, and with the great crisis of the third century such demands became a regular practice. But during the first two and a half centuries requisitions mainly affected the frontier provinces. They had to provide grain and other supplies for the army of occupation, draught-animals for transport, quarters to officers and men travelling to and from their encampments; and they had to supplement military labour in the clearing of forest, the draining of marsh, the construction of roads, and the like.

Direct taxation, or tribute, took two forms—a land-tax (*tributum soli*) and a tax on personal property (*tributum capitis*). The land-tax was a fixed amount normally representing from one-fifth to one-seventh of the yield in an average year. Until the time of Diocletian it was paid on provincial land only. With the depreciation of the currency in the third century it came to be paid mainly in kind, but in the first two centuries it was paid mostly in money. The only important exceptions during that period were Egypt and the African provinces, which paid the greater part of their tribute in grain for the provisioning of the capital.

The personal tax was levied on property other than land, being regarded as a charge for the opportunities which the government of the Empire gave for the acquisition of wealth in trade or industry. It appears to have been an annual levy on capital based on a valuation made by the officials of the census. The amount is uncertain. From this tax also citizens resident in Italy were free.

In order that Italians should make their contribution to the revenue Augustus in A.D. 6 instituted a 5 per cent. duty on inheritances, excepting small estates (under £1,000) and bequests to near relatives. This tax was payable only by those who possessed the Roman citizenship, and as the citizen body at that time was virtually identical with the population of Italy, it was upon the Italians that it originally fell. With the spread of the

citizenship beyond Italy, however, the tax fell upon an increasing number of provincials, and finally, after the Edict of Caracalla, upon all provincials. It was appropriated to the Military Treasury founded by Augustus in A.D. 6 for the pensioning of discharged soldiers. Another source of revenue appropriated to this treasury was a tax of 1 per cent. on auction sales, raised to 4 per cent. on sales of slaves.

The inheritance duty and the tax on sales were new imposts. An indirect tax which was taken over from the Republic was a 5 per cent. tax on the value of manumitted slaves. Another source of revenue which had been exploited in the Republican period was the customs duties (*portoria*). Under the Empire these were regularized and extended, and they came to be the most important of the indirect taxes. The duty was charged on goods crossing the frontier of provinces or groups of provinces. The rate varied from 2 to 5 per cent., though it may have been higher at the frontiers of the Empire. It was levied simply as a source of revenue, and was not protective in intention. The Empire did not import what it produced itself, and there was no reason for restricting the freedom of internal trade. In effect, the rate was not high enough to hamper interchange.

Reasonable care was taken in the first two centuries to secure that the burden of taxation was equitably distributed and collected without improper exaction. The distribution of the direct taxation was based on a survey and assessment begun under Augustus and periodically brought up to date. The tribute was collected by the local communities themselves. Each was made responsible for a fixed quota, and the local authorities regulated the distribution. So far, then, as direct taxation was concerned, the iniquitous system which had been employed under the Republic of collecting the revenues through powerful companies of tax-farmers came to an end under the Empire. To some extent the indirect taxes continued to be farmed out, but mostly to individual tax-farmers of modest or moderate means, and these were now supervised by imperial procurators. Gradually the collection of all revenues passed into the hands of the procurators themselves.

During the first two centuries the payment of the taxes was facilitated by a fairly stable currency. The depreciation of the currency in the economic crisis of the third century led to taxation being largely paid in kind. In the same period the continual exactions of pretenders to the throne inflicted a distressing burden upon Italy and the provinces at a time when they were least able to support it. But in the first two centuries the amount of taxation was not excessive. There were complaints about the various requisitions, but before the third century these do not seem to have been really oppressive. Nor do the indirect taxes appear to have been heavy, to judge by their rates and incidence. Their total yield it is impossible to determine. For the amount of the direct taxation, or tribute, there are certain indications which have suggested estimates of its total, and it has been reckoned that it did not come to much more than £6,000,000. It must, of course, be remembered that state lands and state monopolies, such as mines, withdrew great sources of wealth from private possession. Still, the yield of direct taxation seems small when one considers the extent of the Empire. It suggests that economic organization remained at a comparatively elementary level in spite of the favourable conditions which the Empire guaranteed for production and interchange.

CHANGED CONDITIONS OF ECONOMIC LIFE. THE ROMAN PEACE

In the Mediterranean basin the Romans found a ready-made economic unit with intercommunication rendered easy by the central waterway. But it was only under the imperial system that this economic unit enjoyed conditions which permitted of its full development. The rich Mediterranean lands had always attracted barbarian raiders and invaders; the frontier organization of the Empire warded off this barbarian danger for centuries. Within the Mediterranean basin itself there had always been war between city and city, tribe and tribe, and, within these states, internal strife; these conditions the Roman government put an end to by disarming the whole interior of the Empire and by preventing the formation of factious associations within the

local communities. At the same time piracy and brigandage, which had hitherto been the plague of the Mediterranean lands, were suppressed. The Empire thus guaranteed for centuries the peace and order which were the prime conditions of economic activity.

The Empire also assisted economic development by certain uniformities which it produced. A multiplicity of languages had been a great hindrance to free interchange. These were now virtually reduced to two—Latin in the West, Greek in the East. In Italy linguistic unity was practically complete by the close of the Republican period. In the first two centuries of the Empire the use of Latin spread over the western provinces, where it encountered only local resistances, Celtic, Iberian, and Punic practically disappearing. No attempt was made to latinize the East. There Greek was already in general use, and the Roman government looked to Greek to play the same part as was played in the West by Latin, accepting it as a second official language and encouraging its adoption in place of (or alongside) Egyptian, Aramaic, and the indigenous dialects of Asia Minor.

No less hampering to freedom of interchange than the multiplicity of languages had been a variety of local currencies. Under the Empire such coinage was still allowed to be issued in silver and bronze, but only for local circulation. There was now an imperial coinage which was legal currency throughout all the provinces and which, during the first two centuries, maintained a fairly constant standard.

Equally important was the unifying influence of the Empire in the sphere of law. Legal diversities which had hitherto made commercial dealings difficult now virtually disappeared. The Roman civil law not only was the code applied in the courts of provincial governors but steadily displaced local systems and usages in the local communities. And as its use extended it gained in comprehensiveness and flexibility. Under this equitable system, at once adaptable and uniform, and enforced by the agents of a single powerful government, trading could be carried on with confidence.

Again, the material conditions of production and interchange

were transformed by the activity of the Roman government.
Forests were cleared and marshes drained. In dry regions water
was husbanded by means of dams and cisterns, and irrigation
schemes were carried out. Through the conveyance of water
from a distance by aqueducts towns were freer to adjust them-
selves to the system of communications. Harbours were built
or enlarged, and lighthouses erected. The central highway, the
waterway of the Mediterranean, which had hitherto retained
something of the character of an enclosed lake, now reached out
in all directions by river and road. River navigation was im-
proved, and was supplemented by canals connecting river-
systems with one another and with the sea or ocean. Above all,
a great system of roads, radiating from Rome, brought all parts
of the Empire into communication with the Mediterranean and
with one another. Solidly constructed and well equipped with
bridges, these were permanent roads which made communica-
tion easy at every season and in all weathers. Originally laid
out, most of them, as military roads, they formed direct lines of
through communication adapted to the natural scheme of the
country they traversed, and so were well suited to be main
avenues of commerce to which local branches could readily be
attached.

The main roads terminated in frontier areas studded with
garrisoned forts and military colonies. This large military popu-
lation not only drew commerce to itself along the great high-
ways, but provided a local market which led to the development
of the surrounding region. Partly this development was the
work of the troops themselves, partly it was the result of the
activity of time-served soldiers who received grants of land,
partly it was due to the native population itself, with which,
indeed, these colonists freely intermixed.

For the exploitation of these and other undeveloped areas
accumulations of capital were available in the early Empire.
In the period of the later Republic the resources of the pro-
vinces had been drained to enrich Italy. Much of this wealth
had been dissipated in the civil wars, but there still remained a
substantial reserve after peace was restored. As we shall see,

Italy now offered a restricted field for investment, with the result that, if there was still a considerable flow of revenue from the provinces to Italy, there were now currents that set in the reverse direction, and in some measure capital passed outwards from Italy to the provinces. We hear of loans to provincials from Italian financiers; Seneca, the philosopher, for example, if we are to believe Dio Cassius, lent money to British notables on such a scale that his sudden calling in of the loan was one of the causes of the British revolt under Boudicca (Boadicea) in 61. But for the most part Italian capital was carried out to the provinces in comparatively small amounts by numerous investors, lenders, and traders, who carried on their dealings upon the spot. With the Italians competed Greeks and Orientals, who traded freely in the western provinces. Nor did the resources of an undeveloped region fail to attract the capital of its own more civilized and richer neighbours. In Britain, for example, economic development owed more to Gaulish traders than to Italians or Orientals.

The activity of such men of business from the more civilized parts of the Empire, and the direction of certain industrial operations, such as mining, by government officials, must have helped to develop economic organization in the more backward areas, while the import of manufactured articles, which balanced the export of the raw materials that such areas supplied, must have tended to raise the native standard of technique. Undoubtedly such results did follow in considerable measure from incorporation in the imperial system. The western Empire as a whole was brought nearer in economic level to the centre and the East. As an example of such progression in an important department of industry one may note that the importation of Italian (Arretine) pottery and a migration of potters from Italy led to a mass production of similar ('Samian') ware in southern Gaul, from which the industry passed to central Gaul and to the Rhine; and that the importation of this and other wares into Britain was presently followed by the general use there of the potter's wheel and kiln. But the improvement in technical processes which is now found in Gaul and in Britain is an improvement as

compared with the methods previously applied in those areas, not as compared with those employed in the production of the imported originals, while mass production continued to be exceptional in other departments of industry. The truth is that the greater productivity encouraged by the 'Roman peace' did not so much take the form of a greater intensity and concentration of production as of a wider diffusion of it. The result was that economic organization did not develop as one might have expected, while technical processes, if they attained a more uniform level than before, seldom improved beyond a point at which they satisfied local requirements in bulk and quality. The diffused character of economic activity under the Empire and the effects of this system will become clear from a survey of production in its several departments and of the commerce to which this gave rise.

PRODUCTION

Between the fifth and second centuries B.C. the increasing poverty of the soil of Latium, due to a variety of causes, had led to the displacement of arable farming by sheep grazing and the cultivation of the vine and olive. In these circumstances the rapid and enormous growth of the city of Rome from the second century B.C. onwards presented a very serious food problem and one which demanded immediate solution. It was solved by importing grain from Sicily, from Spain, and especially from Africa. Adequately supplied with grain by this importation, the requirements of the Roman market now simply reinforced the existing tendency towards stock-raising, the cultivation of the vine and olive, and market-gardening. A system of large ranches and plantations spread over the greater part of central Italy. For a time vineyards and olive plantations continued to extend to meet a large demand for wine and oil from outside Italy. Under the Empire, however, the introduction of the vine and the olive into provincial areas suitable for their cultivation closed that market. On the other hand, there was now a growing demand for cereals from Italy itself. The practice of importing grain was indeed continued by the government, Egypt

taking rank next to Africa as a source of supply, but this government importation was for the capital only, and the consumption of the capital, great as it was, was not one-tenth of the consumption of Italy as a whole. At the same time the power of Italy to import grain commercially was restricted by her loss of the export trade in wine and oil, and in any case the increase of population in the more prosperous provinces in the first two centuries was bound to put a limit to their exportation of cereals. In these circumstances the cultivation of cereals in Italy, encouraged by the government, began to hold its own in the first century, and in the second to recover ground. This process, by which vineyard and olive plantation tended to shrink, and the area under grain to extend, to limits set by local requirements, assimilated Italy to the provinces both in production and organization.

Most of the provinces of the Roman Empire were almost exclusively agricultural and pastoral areas. Stock-raising was actively carried on everywhere, but, in general, live stock was not much exported, though it gave occasion for a considerable industrial export—cured hams, hides, above all, wool. In agriculture there was a great extension. Forest was systematically exploited for timber, but most of this was used locally or in adjoining provinces, and only the rarer woods, such as the ebony and citrus woods of Africa, were imported from a distant province or from outside the Empire. The clearing of forest and the draining of swamps in regions of large rainfall, and systematic irrigation where the rainfall was deficient, enormously increased the area under cereals, especially in North Africa and in the western provinces. Provinces like Gaul and Spain, if they never rivalled Africa, were now able to grow grain enough for a largely increased population, and even to produce a surplus for export. Outside Africa and Egypt, however, the exportation of cereals wholesale was not normal, while the introduction of the vine and the olive into Gaul, Spain, and North Africa, and the acclimation, wherever possible, of Mediterranean and Asiatic fruit trees, such as the cherry, the plum, and the peach, rather limited than increased long-distance interchange.

Owing to the construction of permanent roads and the growth of towns, quarrying for stone became a very active industry, but the stone was generally used in the region where it was got, and only a few ornamental stones were exported from one part of the Empire to another. In the variety and quality of its metals Spain was the richest of the provinces, but the mineral resources of the Empire were well distributed, and in most regions they were, on the whole, carefully exploited.

The activity of Italy in production for export belonged mainly to the early Empire, and its contribution consisted mostly of manufactured articles. The most important area of production was Campania, of which the centre was Puteoli, the greatest industrial city of Italy and its principal emporium of commerce with the East in the first half of the first century. From the reign of Claudius onwards, however, Puteoli was supplanted as a commercial emporium by Ostia, which was now made into an adequate seaport for the capital by the reconstruction of its harbour. At Rome there was an active manufacturing activity, but this had enough to do to supply the residents of the city and its visitors, and the sea-borne trade of the capital was an import trade—grain and other food stuffs with luxury materials for its workshops. The import trade of Rome was now the only sea-trade of importance along this coast, for the Campanian production for export was declining as a result of the development of manufacturing in the western provinces.

The decline of Italian manufacturing for export is especially illustrated by the history of the pottery industry, which had its centre not in Campania but in Etruria. In the time of Augustus the finer table ware used throughout the western provinces was a red-glaze ware exported from Arezzo (Arretium). In the reign of Tiberius this Arretine ware was displaced by a similar ware manufactured at La Graufesenque in southern Gaul, which was itself supplanted in the second century by ware produced at Lezoux in central Gaul, this Lezoux ware, in its turn, having to compete with the products of Trèves on the Moselle and of Rheinzabern on the upper Rhine. Similarly, the glass industry, which had come to Campania from Syria and Alexan-

TRADE ROUTES IN THE PERIOD OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

English Miles

Trade Routes { land / sea }

Ancient names
Modern names Mosilla, PARTHIA / Zanzibar, PERSIA

Map labels: ATLANTIC OCEAN · MEDITERRANEAN · ARABIA · PERSIA · INDIA · TIBET · CHINA · ARABIAN SEA · INDIAN OCEAN · EASTERN CHINA SEA · SOUTH CHINA SEA

TRADE ROUTES OF THE PERIOD OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

dria early in the first century, soon established itself at Lyons, whence it spread to Belgic Gaul, which supplied not only the native population but also the troops on the Rhine until, at the beginning of the third century, the military market was monopolized by glassmakers who made Cologne their centre. The products of Cologne are found over a wide area, but this export was confined to the finer kinds of glass, for the commoner vessels soon came to be made locally in all the western provinces. Besides glass and pottery, Gaul produced for export woollen and linen fabrics. Its woollen trade was the more important, and indeed the woollens of Belgic Gaul, notably those of the Nervii, were so widely known that in the eastern Empire so important a centre of the wool trade as Laodicea thought it worth while to put on the market imitation 'Nervian cloaks'. Spain was renowned equally for its linen and its wool. Even the remote province of Britain came to have its share in this manufacture for export, for Britain exported cloth as well as fleeces, and indeed British cloth finds mention in Diocletian's edict 'De Pretiis', which proves that the cloth was traded at that time to the eastern Empire.

The eastern provinces, however, looked to the West rather for raw materials than for finished articles, the manufacture of which was their own special activity. Jewellery, for example, was one of the many products of the towns of Asia Minor, and it would be the skill of the silversmiths of Ephesus as well as the renown of their Diana that 'brought great gain to the craftsmen'. Another industry of Asia Minor was dyeing, which had an important centre at Thyateira, the city of Lydia, the seller of purple, whom St. Paul met at Philippi in Macedonia. The industry in which St. Paul himself was trained, that of tent-making, had its principal centre at Tarsus, where the saint was born. The towns of Syria were even more active as industrial centres than those of Asia Minor, but none of them rivalled Alexandria, the industrial capital of Egypt, where 'no one is ever idle'.[1] Most of the manufactures of Egypt, like its raw materials, were government monopolies, but private enterprise

[1] *Vit. Saturnini*, 8.

had free scope in importing the products of East Africa and of Arabia and the Far East that came by the Red Sea route, and those that came down the Nile from the interior of Africa. Most of those products were imported as materials for the workshops of Alexandria, but many also were re-exported to Rome and other cities. It was its commerce as much as its industry that made Alexandria the second city of the Empire.

COMMERCE

The volume of production for export was sufficient to give rise to a considerable activity of long-distance commerce. The principal focus of attraction was naturally the capital itself, which was the centre of the system of road communications and was connected with the sea by the reconstructed harbour at Ostia. 'He who would see all the products of the earth', says Aelius Aristides, 'must either tour the world or stay at Rome.' At the centre of the Empire one could indeed see much more than the products of the Empire itself. Commercial relations were maintained with the interior and the east of Africa, with Arabia, India, China, central Asia, southern and central Russia, Germany, and Scandinavia (for the trade-routes, see map 8). The goods offered in exchange for imports consisted to some extent in metals (tin and lead, for example, being exported to India), but to a larger extent in wine and manufactured articles. There were restrictions, however, upon the export of raw materials, notably of iron, and of such commodities as wheat, wine, and oil; and though articles manufactured within the Empire are found extensively beyond the frontiers, they are not found in such quantity as to indicate that their export balanced the imports. The commonest Roman finds beyond the frontiers are coins, and imports seem, in fact, to have been paid for mainly in cash, the gold coinage of the Empire being generally admired for its standard of purity, and accepted everywhere. In spite of complaints that this caused a drain on the currency, the import trade of the Empire was comparatively limited. With the exception of an importation of corn from South Russia, it was practically confined to certain materials of luxury to be

made up in the workshops of the Empire, especially in those of Rome and of certain cities in the eastern provinces.

This far-reaching external commerce does credit to the enterprise of the merchants of the Empire. The first direct voyage to India, in the time of Claudius, and the first passing of the Strait of Malacca, at the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, were private ventures. What we know of the coastal route to India, as well as of the trade of the Red Sea and the coast of Africa, is due to the record of a private navigator. It is from merchants' itineraries that we derive our knowledge of the overland silk-route from the Euphrates to central Asia, and it was a contractor's agent who retraced the amber route to its source on the shores of the Baltic. Strabo and Ptolemy both acknowledge how much geographers owed to the initiative of the trader. But none of these routes, except the direct sea-route to India and China, was a discovery of the imperial period. The amber route between the Mediterranean and the Baltic had been in use for ages. The trade of Egypt with East Africa was very ancient, and so was the coastal trade between Egypt and India; and both had been actively promoted by the earlier Ptolemies. Other Hellenistic monarchs had maintained communication overland with the Far East.

From these Hellenistic rulers Augustus and his successors not only inherited the trade with the Far East but also learned a lesson in mercantilist policy. It was only to a limited extent, however, that the Roman government, in dealing with the peoples beyond the borders of the Empire, was induced by mercantile motives to go beyond diplomatic action. Such motives led to the maintenance of some measure of control over the north coast of the Black Sea; to intervention in the Caucasus, perhaps intended to control a northern route to the Far East by the Caspian and the Oxus; to the exercise of suzerainty over the desert city of Palmyra on the caravan route from Damascus to the Euphrates; and, in the reign of Trajan, to the incorporation as a province of that part of Arabia which extended from the Red Sea, where shipping had been endangered by Arab piracy, northwards to Bostra and eastwards to Petra, from which several

great caravan routes radiated; and elsewhere they occasionally reinforced military reasons for frontier action, as in Dacia, where there were valuable gold mines, and in Parthian territory, through which ran the central route overland to the Far East. On the whole, they played quite a secondary role to military policy. Nor indeed were the emperors in a position to do much for external trade, which depended upon the security of routes that were beyond their control. The conditions inevitably confined it to a traffic in articles of luxury which, by the high prices they commanded, repaid the difficulty and costliness of transport.

This traffic supplied a stock theme for Roman moralists or panegyrists of Rome to embellish in their different fashions, and a review of it gives to the historian some indication of the avenues by which external influences might enter the Empire and by which Graeco-Roman civilization in its turn radiated outwards; and in particular it gives an idea of the possibilities of penetration open to a propagandist religion like Christianity. But economically its importance can easily be exaggerated. Only the eastern branch of the external commerce of the Empire was of real importance. Elsewhere much of it was in the hands of petty traffickers, who lived alongside the military encampments and under their protection. The trade attracted many Gauls, Italians, and Greek-speaking Orientals, but others were simply time-expired soldiers, and even men on active service, it would appear, took a hand in the business. Nowhere, except in the East, was it considerable enough to create of itself important towns in frontier areas. If Cologne was the commercial capital of the Rhineland that was not because it was a bridge-head giving immediate communication with the outer Germans but because it was the terminal point within an important military area of the interior communications of Gaul.

The truth is that the Empire, owing to its extent and variety, was a self-sufficient economic unit, and the really important department of its long-distance interchange was its internal commerce. The dues collected from external commerce were far less important than the duties on interprovincial trade, to say nothing of the revenue derived from imperial monopolies. It

was therefore with the internal trade of the Empire that the emperors primarily concerned themselves. Even here their intervention, though not merely fiscal, was strictly limited. It was directed to providing an adequate system of land communications, to protecting these from brigandage, and to making the Mediterranean and connected seas safe for shipping.

With the exception of two great lateral routes, the military road that followed the Danube and the Rhine 'through barbarous tribes from the Pontic Sea to Gaul'[1] and the route that ran from the Red Sea through Syria and across Asia Minor to the Pontic ports, the principal land communications of the Empire may be described as composing a system of roads, supplemented by river navigation and occasionally by canals, which traversed the provinces along lines skilfully adapted to their natural configuration in such a way as to bring their interior life into touch with the Mediterranean (see map 5).

On this system of communications the more important cities occupied commanding positions. Some of them had no immediate connexion with the Mediterranean. In the East, for example, there was Damascus, where routes converged from every direction and whence a caravan track led by Palmyra to the Euphrates; in the West there was Lyons, the centre of the road-system of Gaul, and London, the emporium for British trade with north Gaul and the Rhineland. But so closely were the communications of the Empire related to its central waterway that the greater commercial cities were those which gave to an important group of interior communications an outlet upon the Mediterranean. Such were Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, in the East; Carthage, Arles, Cadiz, in the West.

The growth of such cities testifies to a great development of commerce. Writers of the Antonine period speak of the Mediterranean as crowded with shipping, while numerous inscriptions tell us of merchants who moved along the great roads from end to end of the Empire—Italians and the Greek-speaking Orientals who increasingly displaced them. Nevertheless it is significant that before long Spanish and Gallic traders, notably Trevirans,

came forward to challenge the Syrian in the western Empire. It indicates that the West was beginning to supply most of its own needs, and implies a limitation of long-distance interchange.

No mechanical means were known of annihilating distance or defeating contrary winds. In spite of direct and carefully sur-faced roads the conveyance of merchandise overland was a slow and costly business. Overland the rate of travel was about 18 miles a day. By sea as much as 100 miles a day might be done, but only under favourable circumstances. The Etesian winds, which blew over the eastern Mediterranean from the north during the six weeks following the middle of August, practically cut off Alexandria from Rome during that period, and made the voyage from Rome to Byzantium difficult and slow, while during winter the sudden storms of the Mediterranean made all sailing perilous, and ships were normally beached for a period every year.

A distant market, and especially the Roman market, might indeed be so attractive to dealers that they would make light of formidable difficulties. Pliny tells us, for example, that geese were driven on foot the whole way from the shores of the Channel to Rome. But he mentions the fact as remarkable, and it is obvious that the conditions of travel must have imposed limits. Though a great development of long-distance commerce was the most marked change brought about by the imperial system, yet the change was not, and could not be, so great as to free economic life from the localization imposed upon it by natural conditions. Outside Egypt and Africa, it has been explained, the wholesale export of grain was not normal. Such foodstuffs and kindred commodities as were exported—oil, wine, dried fruits, cured hams, pickled fish, and the like—were of a subsidiary kind; they went mostly to the Roman market, and they were not cheap. A province like Britain, of course, had always to import its wine and oil, but the richer provinces pro-duced their own wine, and many of them their own oil. The general effect of the imperial system, while increasing long-distance interchange, was still more to increase local self-sufficiency—to enable areas hitherto undeveloped to support an

increased population at a higher standard of living than before. This was true of the manufacturing industry as well as of the production of foodstuffs and kindred commodities. The import of articles of common use into a province gradually ceased as the province became capable of supplying its own needs. Indeed regional self-sufficiency went so far that the provinces themselves tended to divide up into local units more or less self-contained. This progressive extension of production and localization of exchange had a close relation to economic organization.

Decline of the capitalistic system in Italy. In the period of the later Republic the opportunities which the expansion of the Empire gave to industry, commerce, and various forms of exploitation had resulted in considerable accumulations of capital in Italy. This, in turn, led to a more concentrated organization not only in commerce and industry but also on the land, greatly accelerating a process which had been going on since the close of the Second Punic War—the displacement of farming by a system of large plantations and ranches, worked by slave labour. At the same time the farming of certain state revenues which demanded collective capital led to the formation of societies (*societates publicanorum*) similar to modern joint-stock companies, and this in turn encouraged a development of banking in its various branches, for which a model had been supplied in the Hellenistic period by great commercial cities such as Antioch. If Italy had continued to follow this course, a capitalistic system would no doubt have been applied to the exploitation of the provinces in the imperial period. But that was not what happened.

The civil wars and proscriptions did much to dissipate Italian capital. With the establishment of the Empire tax-farming on a large scale came to an end, and with it the capitalistic organization which the system had created. Nor could capital now be profitably employed in a concentrated form in Italian industry, which was steadily declining as the result of provincial

competition. At the same time the growth of vineyards and olive plantations in the provinces was closing to Italy the provincial market in wine and oil, and there was now a return to mixed farming for a more or less local market. This did not encourage large-scale organization, especially as slave labour was no longer cheap or abundant, now that the great wars of conquest were over and the emperors were suppressing kidnapping. Indeed, owners of estates of any size were finding it less profitable to exploit their land directly by means of slave labour than to lease it in small holdings to free tenants. The modest rents so obtained were sufficient, in a society in which landowners enjoyed a traditional consideration and at a time when a considerable class preferred security to large profits and Italian industrial concerns did not attract investors as they had once done, to prevent any real collapse in the value of Italian land. But a decline in value there was, and Trajan thought it necessary to lay down the rule that provincials admitted to the Roman senate should invest at least one-third of their fortune in Italian land. It was not to men of the senatorial class, however, that the emperors in general looked to maintain Italian agriculture at the level demanded by the needs of Italy. They looked rather to the small proprietor, who, where he had only small tenants to compete with, was able to hold his own. Two mortgage lists of the reign of Trajan show that in central Italy there had been comparatively little concentration in the ownership of land in the course of the first century. The holdings to which the mortgages relate were of small or moderate size. The lists had been drawn up in connexion with an alimentary institution founded by Nerva, extended by Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, and supplemented by private benefactions of the same kind. This alimentary institution made provision for the maintenance of the children of the poor in Rome and Italy. In Italy the sum devoted to that purpose consisted of the interest derived from loans made to farmers on the security of their land. It not only testifies to the decay of industry of the Italian towns and a declining birth-rate but also to a desire to encourage the small proprietor, for the loans were granted at a rate lower than the

market rate. On its agrarian side the institution supplemented a law of Nerva's reign authorizing the purchase of land in Italy, to the value of 60,000,000 sesterces, for allotment in small holdings. In Italy, then, the tendency now was for the highly organized exploitation of the land, based upon slave labour, to give place to a system of small tenants or small proprietors. This tendency, along with the decline of Italian manufacturing for export and the disappearance of the great tax-farming companies, preceded by the dissipation of large accumulations of capital in the civil wars, meant that, at a time when a capitalistic organization in Italy might well have been extended to the provinces, that organization was breaking down in Italy itself. Such Italian capital as passed outwards to the provinces, in search of higher profits than could now be obtained in Italy, was not very large in amount and was not concentrated in form. It was mainly by provincial capital that the provinces were developed, and the particular form which the development took was simply the native response to the new conditions created by the imperial system. These conditions were everywhere so uniform, for Italy as well as the provinces, that the development, though it varied from region to region, showed certain common features.

Limited capitalization of business under the Empire. Commerce and transport were the most highly organized departments of economic life. In the East, merchants using the desert routes by Petra and Palmyra formed themselves into huge caravans which Strabo likens to regular armies. On the Malabar coast of India the wharves and warehouses that Tamil poems tell of must have been erected by Roman merchants using the harbours there, and presumably they were collective property like the *stationes* at Ostia. These 'stations' were offices and warehouses which inscriptions show to have been collectively owned by guilds of shippers, especially those engaged in the shipping of grain from Africa. Other inscriptions from Ostia and elsewhere tell us of guilds of merchants engaged in various forms of sea-going commerce and of guilds of shippers by river as well as by sea. But the association of merchants in caravans for mutual protection,

or in guilds recognized by the government as performing a public service and granted collective monopolies and immunities, even the collective ownership of property, such as warehouses, employed for business purposes, did not constitute corporate trading, still less anything resembling the modern joint-stock company. As a matter of fact, joint-stock concerns of the modern kind do not seem to have existed in the period of the Empire, while producing or trading corporations, in the proper sense of the term, seem only to have been formed when collective capital was required for the purchase of a government concession. Such seems to have been the origin of the fishery corporations of southern Spain and of the 'societies' which, in the early Empire, occasionally leased mines from the government. But such corporate trading and production were rare. Production and commerce were mostly in the hands of men engaging their personal capital or credit either as individuals or (less commonly) in simple partnerships.

Rarity of the factory system. Corresponding to the limited capitalization of business concerns, there was a limit to the scale of organization. If the system of the large factory existed, it was uncommon, and it became more exceptional as time went on. Its existence depended not only upon capital but upon a combination of favourable conditions. What these conditions were, in the absence of abundant slave labour, is well illustrated by the Gaulish potteries which produced the red-glaze ware commonly called 'Samian'. Whereas the commoner kinds of pottery were manufactured everywhere for a local market, the manufacture of 'Samian' ware, as we have seen, was restricted to a few areas, from which it was exported all over the West in enormous quantities. The concentration of this industry in certain localities was due to the circumstance that there a fine clay suitable for its products was found within easy reach of river transport. Production at a few centres for export to a large market does not of itself imply the existence of the factory system; it might simply represent the activity of a great number of individual potters attracted by the favourable conditions. As a matter of fact, the number of master potters at each of the

centres of the 'Samian' industry was very large indeed; some three thousand are known to have worked at Lezoux, and very many of these can be proved to have been at work at the same time. The individual potter appears to have plied his craft in his workshop alongside the factories of the large producers. What indicates the existence of the factory system is the vast amount of ware exported in the name of a single producer like the Antonine potter Cinnamus, the uniform quality of its paste and glaze, the endless repetition of identical shapes and decorative motives. If real factories could be organized in this industry it was because a combination of circumstances—-a market large enough to repay the cost of transport, facilities for transport by waterway, restriction of the raw material to certain areas—was completed by the fact that the industry admitted of a certain degree of mechanization, that the special knowledge and skill of a single potter could be made immensely productive by means of a plant of mixing-vats and firing-kilns worked by unskilled (or semi-skilled) labour under his expert supervision, while his designs could be multiplied indefinitely by the mere application of moulds and stamps.

But such a combination of conditions seldom occurred, and, in particular, mechanization was rare. To realize what its absence meant at a time when slaves had ceased to be plentiful, one has only to compare the mechanized production of 'Samian' ware with the method of production in the iron industry. If there were great iron foundries in Campania in Cicero's time, that was only because the capitalists of those days could command an unlimited supply of cheap slave labour. Since the valved bellows had not been invented and the thorough smelting of the ore was therefore impossible, the casting of iron, which would have made mechanical reproduction possible, remained unknown, and all iron objects were forged and hammered upon the anvil. In these circumstances the individual iron-worker had continued to flourish alongside the great iron-masters, and the industry passed more and more into his hands in the period of the Empire, as the supply of slaves diminished and production became increasingly diffused through the opening up of iron

fields in the provinces. In this respect the iron industry was representative of the industries of the Empire in general; they were almost entirely in the hands of the individual producer, assisted, it might be, by a few slaves. A successful man might extend his operations, up to the limit of his personal capital, by acquiring a number of workshops and putting in freedmen as managers, or by equipping workshops for freedmen and sharing profits with them on a partnership basis. In any case production continued to be 'manufacture' in the literal sense, and the unit of production remained the workshop which was also a shop. So it was in rural as well as urban industries. Even where oil, wine, and cloth were produced for more than a local market, manufacture was carried on in modest annexes attached to a multiplicity of villas and farms.

Tenants and small holders on the land. Stock-raising and timber-growing, subject to limitations that have been indicated, provided a good investment for capital, especially as they required little labour; and it was in regions of pasture and forest that the most extensive estates lay. But large estates were to be found on every kind of land, for it was a period when a traditional consideration was enjoyed by the landowner, when the wealthier members of society preferred such security as the ownership of land gave them to the more profitable hazards of industry, and when, owing to the limited capitalization that industrial and even commercial concerns admitted of, much of the profits of commerce and industry passed into the land. But while capital was readily invested in extending holdings of land, the conditions of the time—the diminution of the supply of slave labour, the absence of labour-saving machinery, the cost of transport, the wide diffusion of the cultivation of the olive and the vine as well as of wheat—did not encourage any concentration of capital upon a large-scale organization for mass production under the immediate control of the landowner. On estates of any size the practice was for the owner, or lessee (*conductor*), to cultivate, by means of his personal staff of slaves, that part of the land that lay around the villa, and to let, or sublet, the outlying portions in small holdings to tenants (*coloni*), who usually lived

together in a village community. Under this system, the small
landowner, not having to compete against massed labour and
elaborate plant, could prosper alongside a richer neighbour, or
rather his tenants, in the peace and security of the first two
centuries. The practice of the government of giving grants of
land to time-expired soldiers created numerous small holdings,
especially in frontier areas. In the interior of the Empire the
remains of 'villas' that have been unearthed range from large
establishments to modest farmsteads, implying a wide variation
in the extent of the land attached to them, while in districts
where no villas or imperial domains are known to have existed
villages are found which must have been inhabited by peasant
families owning the plots of land which they cultivated. The
actual cultivation of the land, then, was mostly in the hands of
free peasants, whether tenants or proprietors of small holdings.

Imperial domains. This system by which commerce was carried
on mostly by individual traders, by which industry was mainly
in the hands of individual craftsmen and the land cultivated
by small holders or, on the larger estates, by small tenants,
was favoured, in practice, by the emperors themselves from
Hadrian onwards. At no time, it is true, did they make any
systematic attempt to direct economic development. They
looked closely after fiscal interests, but otherwise they were
content to guarantee law and order and to provide the material
conditions that a prosperous trade and industry required. Such
imperial constitutions as had an economic bearing seldom had
a purely economic motive, and in any case no consistent policy
can be inferred from them. What is significant is the treatment
by the emperors of their own domains and industrial concerns,
notably mines. Their practice in this field is the more significant
that they were in a position to apply a capitalistic organization,
that mining, as an imperial monopoly, invited its application,
that in the exploitation of domains and monopolies, as in the
art of government, the imperial bureaucracy had Hellenistic
models ready to their hand, and that large-scale methods
devised upon such models were, in fact, employed and aban-
doned. In the first century, as a rule, imperial estates and

mines were either directly exploited by means of large numbers of slaves working under the direction of an imperial procurator, or they were leased to rich middlemen, or companies of middlemen, who employed similar methods under a procurator's supervision. But from the second century onwards, imperial estates were let out to small tenants (*coloni*), the middleman (*conductor*) being now simply head tenant, who had certain rights in the villa and cultivated the demesne land, upon which, at certain seasons of the year, so many days' labour, with other services, was due to him from the smaller tenants. From these tenants he collected the dues owing to the emperor, and virtually he was manager of the estate, the procurator being simply a judicial and administrative official. Similarly, mining passed more and more into the hands of contractors of modest means, who worked their particular adit with the help of but a few slaves, or sublet, in whole or part, to small renters who paid them a proportion of their produce.

Individualized production for local markets. If the emperors conformed, or led the way, to this individualized mode of production and localization of exchange, it was because the system was imposed by the conditions of the time. What these conditions were has already been indicated—the diminution of the supply of slave labour, the absence of labour-saving machinery, the cost of transport. Under these conditions production was mainly for a more or less local market, and every region of the Empire, as in its pre-imperial days, continued to supply its own needs as far as was possible. Regional self-sufficiency was indeed possible in a large measure, because the diverse resources which made the Empire as a whole a self-contained economic unit were to be found, in varying proportions, in its several parts: arable land, pasture and forest, building material, material for implements and domestic utensils. It was, of course, a feature of the imperial period that local resources were supplemented, as never before, by imported products— that buildings in London, for example, were faced with Carrara marble, while British cloth was traded in eastern markets. But the new facilities which the Empire gave for long-distance inter-

change did not, and could not, draw economic life out of its localized setting. Rather the effect of the imperial system was to enhance local life: to extend the area of cultivation; to acclimatize the vine, the olive, various fruit-trees, where they had been unknown before; to develop resources of raw material; to communicate to local craftsmen a technique which, if it gave in their hands results inferior to those achieved by the masters from whom they learned it, was at least superior to the primitive methods they had previously employed; to improve local marketing, and, by giving surplus products an outlet to other markets, to permit a corresponding importation to add to the amenity of local life. By the second century the result was to be seen everywhere in a well-distributed population, in countrysides strewn with comfortable farms, and in a multiplicity of small towns.

In the few towns where excavation has revealed the interior buildings in some detail, such as Silchester and Caerwent in Britain and Timgad in North Africa, the dwelling-houses are on a modest scale which accords well with the system of individualized production for a local market from which their owners derived their livelihood. The public buildings, on the other hand—the forum, the basilica, the baths, as seen in Britain at Wroxeter, for example—give the impression of being too large and massive for their setting. They suggest an official life which overweighted the economic basis it reposed upon. And if this was true of local administration, how much more was it true of the bureaucratic and military machinery of the imperial government and its immense framework of roads and frontiers. The truth is that in the period of the Roman Empire the technique of government and law was elaborated to a far higher degree than economic organization. There were no great accumulations of capital upon which the government could draw, no effective means of mobilizing wealth upon a large scale; and the emperors knew of no better expedient in an emergency than flooding the Empire with a depreciated coinage. Seen from this point of view, the imperial system appears as a top-heavy growth which drew from no deep reserves of

sustenance but rather maintained itself by extending its roots widely through a shallow soil. It is not surprising that in the upheaval of the mid-third century its stability was permanently impaired and that it very nearly came down altogether.

THE CRISIS OF THE THIRD CENTURY

The economic weakness which came to a crisis between the death of Alexander Severus (235) and the accession of Diocletian (285) already showed itself by unmistakable symptoms in the course of the first two centuries. Augustus had had difficulty in finding sources of revenue adequate to maintaining the new organization of government and defence, and the financial system as it left his hands demanded a strict limitation of the administrative and defensive services and the practice of a rigid economy. From the time of Claudius onwards, however, the imperial bureaucracy steadily became more elaborate. In the same period the careful economy of Tiberius was replaced by the extravagance of Nero, while the subsequent parsimony of the Flavian emperors, Vespasian and Domitian, was more than counterbalanced by the benevolent liberality, typified by the alimentary institutions, of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines. The sale of the imperial jewels by Marcus Aurelius, to raise funds for his war against the Marcomanni, may have been something more than a Stoic gesture. By now the local communities were finding it difficult to support the double burden of local and imperial administration. They were getting into difficulties, and the central government, besides giving occasional relief by remitting tribute or cancelling arrears, had to intervene, as we have seen, by the appointment of curators to take charge of their financial affairs.

As a result of the misrule of Marcus' dissolute and spend-thrift son, Commodus, of the civil war that broke out on his death and of the wholesale confiscations by which Septimius Severus took vengeance on his defeated rivals and those who had supported them, the financial situation became serious. It came to a crisis in the half-century following the death of Alexander Severus in 235. In the disorders of that period exac-

tions were multiplied, while the power of the provinces to support them was destroyed.

Between 235 and 285 six-and-twenty Roman emperors succeeded one another upon the throne in rapid and violent succession, and the number of pretenders was greater still. The civil wars in which they disputed their claims, and the demands of the troops which supported them soon emptied the treasury, and from 255 onwards the situation became the more desperate that means had to be found for waging continual warfare against the Persians, who now harassed the eastern frontier, and against the Goths and other barbarians who took advantage of the internal disorders of the Empire to carry their raids far into its interior provinces. Largely because of the failure of the imperial government to deal with these military problems, a Palmyrene Empire was set up in the East and an Empire of the Gauls in the West, and these particularist movements withdrew rich sources of revenue from government control for considerable periods. Meanwhile piracy and brigandage had revived everywhere, and transport became irregular and precarious. External commerce had practically come to a standstill, and now brought little or nothing to the fiscus. But that was a small matter compared to the internal economy of the Empire. Confiscations, capital levies, requisitions of every kind only revealed the desperate poverty of provinces laid waste by civil war and barbarian pillage, aggravated by earthquakes, plagues, and famines.

In their straits for money the emperors had recourse to the expedient of a debased and inflated silver currency. Prices rose until it became difficult to assess taxation in terms of the silver coinage, which was the chief instrument of exchange. Indeed from Elagabalus onwards the emperors refused to accept their own debased silver, demanded the payment of taxation, notably tribute, in gold, and when that was not forthcoming, fell back on a system of special requisitions of services and material. In commercial interchange there was a corresponding tendency towards a more primitive economy, in which dealing went on largely by barter. To this system the economic life of the

Empire was able to adjust itself the more easily that the bulk of its production, as we have seen, had always been in the hands of individuals and had been intended for a local market. In agriculture the system of small holders and tenants readily admitted of the settlement within the Empire of the barbarian peasants introduced by the Illyrian emperors and their successors to repopulate devastated areas.

It was in the imperial framework, then, that the economic system broke down during the disorders of the third century, and if the economic life of the several provinces had been dependent upon long-distance transport, it could not have survived the crisis. As it was, the regional self-sufficiency of the Empire, the wide diffusion of a varied production and the localization of exchange made recovery possible. That the life of the Empire depended upon the vitality of the local communities was recognized by the central government, which sought to guarantee, in the difficult conditions of the time, the performance of the services necessary to local life by a regimentation of the various classes of which these communities were composed.

THE TOWNS

The distribution of population corresponded to the diffusion of production. The East was more populous than the West, but the only region of exceptional density was Egypt, which may have contained one-seventh of the whole population of the Empire. North Africa, Syria, and western Asia Minor were more thickly populated than the European mainland, but, in general, wherever there was cultivable land there was a fairly uniform spread of population.

The total population of the Empire in the first two centuries may have reached seventy or eighty millions. The number is from a quarter to a third of the present population of the same area, but there was nothing like one quarter of the present number of great cities. Rome may have exceeded a million, but it stood alone. Alexandria may have had half a million. Antioch also counted its population by hundreds of thousands, and Carthage was a great city in our sense. But in general the population of

the towns ranged from five to fifty thousand, and most of the towns that ran to tens of thousands were in western Asia Minor. In Britain London was much the largest of the towns (325 acres), and it drew largely upon the continent as well as upon its own province for its prosperity, yet the population of London has been reckoned at only twenty-five thousand. Judged by a modern standard, the population of the Roman Empire appears as a diffused population with small urban centres.

In the time of the Roman Empire mineral wealth did not, as in modern times, create great towns in its neighbourhood. The minerals found their way to the towns, the sites of which were determined by facilities of communication. Suitable points on the lines of communication became markets, and agricultural markets attracted manufactures and a varied trade. As manufacturing and trading centres they were also residential towns, and as the economic and social centres of their districts they would become centres of local government. If a town were in' touch with the sea or with a navigable river-system it might acquire more than local importance, but most of the towns of the Roman Empire were centres of local life.

As the centre of local life the town played a much greater part in Roman than in modern times. The town and its territory formed a more or less self-sufficient unit, and it was the town that gave that unit its character and government. It was a focus of culture which influenced the whole neighbourhood. The people of the territory assigned to it looked to it for administration and justice. The important men of the locality, notably the landowners, not only had houses in the towns but were members of its council and its magistrates.

THE CLASSES OF SOCIETY

Slaves and freedmen. The class lowest in civic status was the slave class, which had no political rights and not many legal rights. It has been explained that owing to the suppression of organized man-hunting under the Empire and to the cessation of the great wars of conquest, the main sources of the supply of slaves were now closed. In the second half of the third century

there was again warfare upon a large scale, but the emperors of that time adopted the policy of settling captives as peasants in depopulated areas. Under the Empire, then, the number of slaves was greatly reduced. The rich no longer had large troops of domestic slaves, nor did they work their estates by means of great gangs of slaves. Again, in manufacture the diffusion of production meant that there was no great concentration of labour in a factory system. Slaves were thinly distributed over private houses, workshops, and rural establishments and in the municipal and imperial services. In the provinces their number was proportionately far smaller than in Italy.

Under the Empire we hear of no slave revolts, and certainly the condition of slaves was not so bad as it had been under the Republic or as it has been under modern systems of slavery. From the Antonine period onwards imperial legislation protected the slave against the worst kinds of abuses. But such abuses as the law sought to prevent were exceptional, for owners realized that a slave gave a better return if he were well treated and worked willingly. Again, there was no cleavage of race or of culture between master and slave, such as is found in modern slave-systems. Slaves could always be regarded as potential citizens, and, in fact, as a reward for faithful service, they were freely manumitted.

Manumitted slaves, or freedmen, continued to live under the protection of their late master, who now became their 'patron', and in return they owed him certain obligations, though these were often eluded. It was a common practice, as has been explained, for a master or patron to appoint a freedman manager of a business or set him up in it on a partnership basis, and from such a beginning many a freedman became rich. Indeed freedmen, as managers or masters, dominated the commercial and industrial life of Rome and of many of the more important cities of the Empire.

The urban poor and their guilds. Slaves and freedmen, however, did not drive free labour out of industry under the Empire. As slave labour became limited in amount, it ceased to be any cheaper to employ it than to hire free labour. Within the Medi-

terranean area the average wage of a hired labourer in the
period of the Empire would seem to have been one *denarius* (8*d.*)
a day or a little more—say 8*d.* to 10*d.* a day or £12 to £15 a
year. That is the metallic equivalent in our currency. Judged
with reference to its purchasing power, the daily *denarius*
would provide a bare subsistence to labourers whose diet was
mainly vegetarian, who received a corn-dole in the more
expensive cities, and who lived in a climate which reduced to
a minimum requirements of clothing and housing. Though a
labourer's wage gave him no more than a bare subsistence, it
was supplemented by private and municipal liberality. Rich
citizens gave free meals and gifts, and often their liberality out-
lived them, for we have many records of testamentary bequests
to supply a banquet to the *plebs* of a town on certain occasions.
We hear of municipal distributions of oil as well as of grain.
There were municipal baths where the charge was no more than
¼*d.* or ½*d.*, if the use of them was not free altogether; and the
bath-house was also a club. In addition, public men were ex-
pected, and indeed required, to provide free amusements on
the numerous holidays—chariot races, theatrical performances,
wild-beast hunts, gladiatorial shows.

We hear of no attempts at popular revolution under the Em-
pire nor of any serious trouble given by the populace to muni-
cipal authorities. Doubtless the acquiescence of the poor in
their lot was in some degree due, at least in the greater cities
where their numbers were large and where they must have
been conscious of their strength, to the imperial and municipal
policy of supplying them with 'bread and games'. The same
policy is seen in the indulgence shown by the central govern-
ment to the 'guilds of the poor'.

The legislation of Augustus requiring that private associations
should be formed only by special authorization from the state
was rarely enforced against these 'guilds of the poor' (*collegia
tenuiorum*). In Italy, indeed, they had received formal authoriza-
tion *en bloc* by the time of Hadrian by a decree of the senate to
the effect that 'those who desire to pay a monthly contribution
towards funeral expenses may form an association for that

purpose, provided that they meet as an association only once a month for the purpose of paying their contributions towards the burial of deceased members'. Even so limited a freedom from government control sharply distinguished the guilds of the poor from the artisan guilds, which, as we shall see, were always strictly regulated by the government and were finally incorporated in the economic machinery of the state. The guilds of the poor never served any economic purpose. Primarily, as the decree of the senate implies, they were intended to free the poor man from the dread of a burial not performed with due rites and therefore affording no peace to his spirit. Besides paying a cult to the *manes*, or spirits of the dead, a funerary club commonly placed itself under the protection of a deity, describing itself as 'the devotees of Aesculapius, of Diana' or the like (*cultores Aesculapii, Dianae*, &c.). The rule that the members of such clubs should associate only for funerary or religious purposes was not interpreted so strictly but that they were able to make of their meetings occasions of festivity. The important part given to social intercourse is indeed clear from the surviving constitutions of such clubs. Thus, the constitution of a guild of devotees of Diana and Antinous formed at Lanuvium in 133, after warning intending members to read the regulations before entering the guild and not make complaints after they have joined, lays down rules regarding subscriptions and burial expenses, and then goes on to name the dates on which the club banquets are to be held, adding clauses to the following effect:

It was decreed that if any member of this guild who is a slave become free, he shall give an amphora of good wine.

It was also decreed that if any member having been duly elected for the giving of a banquet fail to do so, he shall pay a fine of 30 sesterces (about 5*s*.) to the treasury of the guild.

Officers of banquets duly elected shall each be bound to provide an amphora of good wine, with a pennyworth of bread and four sardines for every member, and also to provide for the service.

It was also decreed that if any member have any complaint to make, it must be done at the business meeting, in order that we may enjoy our banquet on festal occasions in peace and cheerfulness.

It was also decreed that if any member leave his place at the table with intent to cause a disturbance, he shall pay a fine of 4 sesterces (8*d*.); if any member insult another member or cause a disturbance, he shall pay a fine of 12 sesterces; if he insult the president during a banquet, the fine shall be 20 sesterces.

Needless to say, a body which laid down, and imposed upon its members, regulations of that kind, and which administered a common fund, possessed a suitable organization. The organization was modelled upon that of the urban community. Besides quaestors, or treasurers, there were annually elected 'masters'. Under the presidency of one or other of these 'masters' the guild met as a whole, passed its decrees and elected its officers. The general body of members was the *plebs* of the guild. It was a miniature democracy.

The constitution from which we have cited a few clauses also includes an exhortation to its members to pay their subscriptions regularly in order that the guild may enjoy a long life. A curious commentary on this exhortation is provided by a document of A.D. 167 winding up the affairs of a guild of labourers in the gold mines of Alburnus Major in Dacia. It runs:

Artemidorus, slave of Apollonius, master of the guild of Jupiter Cernenius, and with him Valerius, slave of Nico, and Offas, slave of Menophilus, quaestors of the said guild, make it public by this notice that of the 54 members who formed the guild only 17 remain at Alburnus; that Julius, slave of Julius, who was made master along with Artemidorus, has never been in Alburnus, or attended a meeting of the guild, since he became master; that Artemidorus has rendered an account to the members present, and has returned all the money of theirs that he had, or has expended it upon funerals, and that he has received back the securities which he gave; that the guild has now no money to meet burial expenses, and no longer possesses any place of burial; and that for a long time no one has attended any of the meetings on the days fixed by the constitution of the guild, or has paid any burial subscription or other charge. This they testify by public notice in order that, if any one who was a member dies, he may not imagine that the guild exists any longer or that he has any claim upon it for a funeral.

Even in circumstances more favourable to lasting association
than gold-mining in Dacia, many of the guilds of the poor were
doubtless wound up after a short life. But if they were, others
were founded in their place. The multitude of such guilds is
indeed a feature of Roman urban life throughout the whole
period of the Empire. Clearly they supplied a need. The urban
inhabitant of the Roman Empire was a gregarious animal; it
was as a member of a community that he realized his nature.
But such was the immensity of the Roman state and the remote-
ness of the central government from popular concern that the
great mass of men could not nourish the sense of citizenship
within so vast a framework, and were made conscious of their
isolation as individuals. Even the local community was often
too large to guarantee the reality of citizenship, and in any case
the poor man had now no share in its government. In these
circumstances the poor looked to their guilds for the protection
and pleasures of corporate life. The guild was intermediate
between the local community and the family, and it had some-
thing of the character of both. Fellow guildsmen felt themselves
to be united by a fraternal tie, and addressed one another by the
fraternal name (*frater*). On the other hand, it gave them some-
thing of a public career; in the councils of their guild they could
make their voice heard, and its annual offices gave scope to
ambition.

The lists of members that have come down to us contain the
names of slaves and freedmen as well as of men born free. Since
there were professional guilds for traders and artisans who
were their own masters, the free members of the 'guilds of the
poor' would be mostly hired labourers. In some lists these free-
born members are named first, followed by the freedmen and
slaves, but in others there is no such gradation, and in any case
the fact that the free-born poor associated in this way with
slaves illustrates the depressed condition of labour. The disdain
with which labouring for another man was regarded in the
ancient world was due mainly to the fact that normally this had
been the lot of slaves. As the supply of slaves diminished under
the Empire, free labourers to some extent took their place, but

only to a limited extent. On the whole, the diminution of slave labour led rather, as we have seen, to the cessation of capitalistic enterprises employing massed labour and to a wide diffusion of trade and industry over a multitude of small dealers and producers. If the status of the hired labourer was a low one under the Empire, we must remember that it was not normal to the economic system of the time. At Pompeii, for example, there is evidence to show that though there was a large population of poor men there, they were not wage-earners; they were shop-keepers or artisans in a small way of business. Such men would aim at becoming members of one of the professional guilds in which traders and craftsmen associated.

Traders and craftsmen. The professional guilds. The core of the urban population throughout the Empire consisted of shop-keepers and handicraftsmen. In the smallest type of establish-ment the dealer or craftsman would serve behind the counter or work at the bench single-handed. In a larger business he would have the help of one or two slaves. A prosperous man might acquire a number of shops or workshops, in which he would employ slave labour under the management of freedmen—experienced and trusted slaves whom he had liberated and to whom he now allowed a percentage of the profits of the busi-ness which they managed for him. Or, as a reward for faithful service, he might advance capital to enable a freedman to set up in business for himself, stipulating for a proportion of the profits as a return for the capital advanced. Under this system trade and industry passed largely into the hands of the freed-men class in Rome and in the other towns of Italy, and, to a less extent, in the provinces.

Men of the same trade or craft tended to form themselves into an association. We have already spoken of the guilds of shippers and watermen engaged in transport by sea, river, and lake. Here we are concerned with associations formed by merchants and craftsmen whose activity belonged rather to the life of their local community. Such professional guilds were a characteristically Roman growth. Rare in the Greek East, they were numerous in the capital itself, they flourished at Ostia, at

Pompeii, in the towns of northern Italy and of a romanized province like Gallia Narbonensis, and they are found in all the more urbanized regions of the western Empire, with the notable exception of North Africa, and in the Roman communities and trading centres along the Rhine and the Danube.

In their immediate objects such professional associations did not differ from the 'guilds of the poor'. Like them, they made provision for the burial of their members, but whereas the guilds of the poor might have to be content to pay for a deceased member the modest charge made for a place in a public cemetery, a professional guild commonly possessed a sepulchre of its own as well as a meeting-place and chapel. Apart from this funerary provision, the function of the professional guilds, as of the guilds of the poor, was to afford its members the satisfactions of a corporate life, the professional interests which they had in common acting as a social bond. At the same time associations composed of men engaged in the same kind of business in the same town, and sometimes containing hundreds of members, though not formed for an economic purpose, could hardly fail to produce economic consequences. Again, even in the absence of popular election, the professional guilds were in a position to influence municipal politics, for their wealthier members and their patrons would be enrolled in the local curia and be nominated to the magistracy. Because of this possibility of their exerting economic and political influence, the professional guilds were strictly supervised by the government in the first two centuries, while in the third they had imposed upon them a definite economic function in the machinery of central and local administration.

In the later period of the Republic the guilds had taken to political agitation, and Julius Caesar had suppressed all of them except a few of long standing. During the civil wars they had revived, and Augustus in his turn had to take action. He was less stringent than Julius had been. He not only authorized the older guilds which Julius had permitted but allowed others to remain in existence, or to be formed, provided they obtained a special licence from the state.

Technically this legislation, designed to safeguard public, notably municipal, authority, applied to every type of private association, but in practice, as we have seen, it was not usually enforced against the 'guilds of the poor'. The professional guilds, on the other hand, were strictly subjected to it. At Rome, in Italy and in the senatorial provinces these guilds had to receive a special licence from the senate, in imperial provinces from the emperor. For authorization a proposed guild, besides satisfying the senate or the emperor that it would not compromise public order, had to present a reasonable ground for association. To the central government that meant the performance of a public service. Thus, guilds of shippers were required to guarantee the transport of grain to the capital, while within the capital itself the importance of the bakers for the food supply led to their being licensed as a guild. In many towns artisan guilds were authorized on condition that they served as a fire brigade. It is true that an undertaking to perform a public service did not always secure authorization. Thus, we know from Pliny that Trajan refused to accept an undertaking to provide a fire brigade as a sufficient ground for the formation of an artisan guild at Nicomedia in Bithynia. But Bithynia was a province which had suffered much from factious associations, and Trajan dealt with such matters with a military strictness. His successors were less stringent, and in the course of the second century the formation of guilds was more and more freely authorized.

With the third century came a new development. Hitherto the guilds had been formed on private initiative and simply authorized by the state, sometimes with special grants of privileges or immunities. Now they become state institutions. Believing that an extension of the system of authorized guilds to all engaged in transport, trade, and industry would provide, under state regulation, the simplest method of guaranteeing, in the difficult circumstances of the time, the performance of necessary services, imperial and local, the central government everywhere imposed the guild organization, and made the corporations so formed organs of state, especially in the life of

the local communities, at the same time relieving their members of other burdens in recompense for the compulsory, though not unpaid, services which they rendered. The first step in this direction was taken at Rome by Alexander Severus. As a result of the subsequent military and economic crisis of the third century, membership of a guild became compulsory for all engaged in trade and industry, the artisan or trader could not leave his guild, and indeed membership of the guild became hereditary. By the fourth century this policy had led to a regimentation of the guildsmen (*collegiati*) as an hereditary class tied to their occupation. In other departments also of economic and public life we pass, in the course of the third century, from a system of free contract to one of status.

The peasantry. The beginning of serfdom. The towns, it has been explained, cannot be separated from the country, for the towns were the administrative centres from which a defined territory was governed. All land other than imperial domain was in private ownership. Such rural establishments (villas) as have left substantial traces behind them usually include remains of fulling establishments, wine presses, olive presses and the like, on such a scale as to indicate that production was not merely for domestic purposes. Around the towns, the land was usually in the hands of the municipal bourgeoisie, and the estates were of small or middling size. These moderate-sized estates in urbanized areas were the economic backbone of the more developed provinces in the first two centuries. An owner might lease his estate or cultivate it himself. If he cultivated it himself, he would live there for part of the year at least, but many of the farm buildings in the neighbourhood of towns give no evidence of a residence, and one must suppose that the landowner lived in the town, and either put a slave steward in charge of the farm or leased it. It is in rural areas at some distance from towns that luxurious residences are found where the owner, or his lessee, must have lived most of the year round. Such villas were a feature of the life of provinces which, like the Three Gauls and Britain, were prosperous without being highly urbanized. In such regions the estates were larger than in the neighbour-

hood of towns, for farming at a distance from a market had to be more highly capitalized to be profitable, especially as the land would consist largely of pasture and forest, which demanded capital for their exploitation. In many of the remoter or less fertile areas one finds traces of rural settlements apparently attached to no villa or manor. These seem to have been communities of peasant owners, cultivating very small plots, and keeping a few animals, for their own family subsistence; and it was probably from them that the seasonal labour came which was employed to some extent by owners of estates. But the bulk of the peasantry was attached to villas, or manors, as tenants or 'coloni'.

A small estate would be worked by the owner or his lessee (*conductor*) with the help of a few slaves. The working of large estates by gangs of slaves ceased to be common as slaves became scarce, nor do we hear much of the hiring of free workers except as seasonal labour of the kind just referred to. On an estate of any size, from the second century onwards, the owner or lessee would employ slaves on forest and pasture land, but of the arable land he would retain part only as a home farm to be cultivated by his domestic staff of slaves, and would rent the rest to peasant 'coloni'. That came to be the normal system on private estates as well as imperial domains.

So long as agriculture was prosperous the lot of these 'coloni' was not too hard. Normally the tenants of an estate lived in a village together and had some sort of rudimentary organization for the· management of their communal affairs. On many of the larger estates the owner of the villa would provide them with dwellings, and might build a bath-house for their use and even a theatre, and he might perhaps maintain a schoolmaster for their children. But such provision only emphasizes the dependence of the 'coloni' upon the landowner. This dependence became closer in the course of the second century when a stipulation made in leases on imperial domains was extended to private estates and the 'coloni' were required to do so many days' work a year on the home farm cultivated by the owner or his lessee. The system obviously lent itself to abuses, especially on imperial

domains where the lessees might induce the procurators to act in collusion with them. It was easier to get the ear of a private owner than of the emperor, and it was to the private owner's interest to see that his 'coloni' received fair treatment. Indeed, the 'coloni' would look to their landlord, not always without effect, to protect them not only against exactions by the 'conductor' but against the fiscal or municipal extortion which tended to become prevalent as financial difficulties became more acute with the third century. Already the great estates were becoming like self-sufficient communities ruled by the landlord. This dependence of the 'coloni' upon their landlord arose naturally from their lowly economic and social condition. As a rule the plots rented were small. Outside Italy the renters were drawn from the humble folk of the native villages, and their status was further depressed as time went on by the practice, especially common on imperial domains, of giving tenancies to ex-slaves and by the policy of the Illyrian emperors of settling barbarian captives upon the land. The reason for such settlements was that in the anarchy and economic distress of the second half of the third century great areas had become depopulated owing to the 'coloni' abandoning their farms and drifting into the towns.

Even in the prosperous days of the early second century we find a north-Italian landowner like Pliny complaining that his tenants are getting into arrears, and on most imperial domains matters were probably worse. When Pliny meets the difficulty by agreeing to accept a proportion of the produce in lieu of a rent in money, he is following the example of imperial owners. Such a concession was made in the landlord's interest as well as the tenants', for the concern of the landlord was to ensure the cultivation of his land. Indeed, it became usual to stipulate for long leases or even life tenancies, such as Vespasian had introduced on the imperial domains in Italy. On imperial domains everywhere life tenancies appear to have been the normal arrangement in the second century, and the customary privilege by which such tenancies were heritable was hardening into a customary obligation by which they were becoming hereditary.

In the reign of Alexander Severus a type of holding was set up which, if it did not expressly tie the holder to his land, did actually produce that effect by the conditions of its tenure. To ensure that frontier land, which was especially liable to be abandoned, should be kept in cultivation, as well as to provide a peasant militia for frontier defence, grants of frontier land to soldiers were made heritable on condition that the heir under-took military obligations in his own neighbourhood. This meant that the holder and his heirs in perpetuity could not quit their land.

By now the process had reached a point at which it only required an economic crisis to provoke imperial action tying 'coloni' everywhere to their land. The crisis came with the economic distress of the latter part of the third century, when everything had to be subordinated to the maintenance of the food-supply, which, in turn, demanded that the depopulation of the rural areas should be arrested and the land kept in cultivation. With the institution of serfdom the Roman imperial bureaucracy had long been familiar on Asiatic temple-states incorporated as imperial domains, as well as on lands taken over by the emperors from the Ptolemies and other Hellenistic rulers. An analogous system, by which tenants holding under terminable leases gave place to a peasantry tied to the soil, was now imposed upon the Empire as a whole. The change, though it had been led up to by various processes brought to convergence by a compelling crisis, was so drastic in its legal aspect, and yet so uniform everywhere in its operation, that we must assume it to have rested upon a specific imperial constitution, probably of Diocletian, though no trace of such a constitution has survived.

Whether or not the change was first made on the imperial domains, where the emperors could at once impose a uniform system effectively, the servile colonate had already become a recognized feature of private as well as imperial estates before the reign of Constantine. The government could not fail to re-cognize that it was no less important that private land should be kept in cultivation than that imperial domains should, that taxes and other dues could not be paid unless the landowners

could keep their tenants on their land, and that fixity of tenure was essential to stop the drift into the cities. The result was that by the fourth century private estates everywhere conformed to the type known to us from the Theodosian Code; the owner or lessee of the villa cultivates the domain land by his slaves, while the rest of the estate is let out to 'coloni', who pay to the owner a proportion of the produce, are tied to the soil, and form an hereditary class. As it happened, the landlords whose 'men' (*homines*) these 'coloni' were, were themselves by now tied to fixed burdens as an hereditary class.

The local aristocracies. The class of curials. The local aristocracies of the Empire illustrate the close connexion that existed between town and country. In provinces where life was predominantly rural, as in the Three Gauls and Britain, local government, though now romanized in form and exercised from urban centres, continued to be in the hands of the native landowners. Conversely, in the more urbanized regions, the municipal bourgeoisie, which ruled the cities, tended to become the land-owning class in the municipal territory, partly because, as has been explained, the profits of trade and industry were commonly invested in land and also because landed property was the form of security required from those who held municipal contracts or who became decurions or magistrates.

There are numerous inscriptions to prove the public-spirited liberality of the propertied class towards their native cities during the first two centuries. But with the sharp decline in the prosperity of the Empire that followed upon the death of Marcus Aurelius, the situation changed. We have seen that the central government tended to regard the decurions as responsible for the well-being of their cities, and that, as these got into difficulties, the holding of public office came to be regarded as a burden to be avoided. As the central government itself became increasingly embarrassed from the latter part of the second century onwards, the burden laid upon the local governing authorities became heavier still, for they were now held responsible not only for the internal finances of their city but for its obligations to the central government. It had always been the practice under the Empire

that the central government should fix the tribute payable by a local community at a lump sum and leave to the local authority its distribution and collection. In the third century, when it became difficult to collect tribute, the decurions of each local community were made personally responsible for any deficiency, while at the same time the imperial liturgies imposed upon them were multiplied. To avoid the intolerable burden landowners endeavoured to change their domicile and even to disembarrass themselves of their property. The reply of the government was to attach them permanently to their local 'curia', and indeed to make membership of it hereditary. By the fourth century there had been created an hereditary class of 'curials' corresponding to the hereditary classes of guildsmen and 'coloni'.

The equestrian order. It was from the local aristocracies of Italy and the provinces that the two orders of imperial nobility were recruited—the equestrian and the senatorial. It has been explained that admission to the equestrian order, which required free birth and a minimum fortune of 400,000 sesterces, was in the gift of the emperor. This order supplied a corps of officers to the army, and it was from its members that the imperial civil service was recruited. To those who did not enter the civil service membership of the order was a valued social distinction, second only to membership of the senatorial order.

The senatorial order. The senatorial order was a continuation of the old governing class of the Republic. It was now entered either by holding the junior magistracy (the quaestorship) in the Roman senate or by being 'allected' to that body by the emperor. A minimum fortune of a million sesterces (say £8,000) was required. The order included a senator's wife and his descendants in the male line up to the third degree. From the Flavian period onwards it was freely recruited from the provincial as well as from the Italian municipalities, though eastern senators were rare until the time of Commodus. Trajan required that provincial senators should invest a proportion (one-third) of their fortune in Italian land, and all senators had to reside for at least part of the year at Rome and attend meetings of the senate. As the senate, however, lost its privileged position in

government, membership became more and more a social distinction. As the highest order of nobility the senatorial order dominated the life of the capital and set the fashion to the provinces. Recruited from every part of the Empire, yet forming a close society, it was the representative, and in a large measure the arbiter, of Roman imperial culture.

ROMAN IMPERIAL CULTURE IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES

EAST AND WEST

The unity and diversity of the Empire. In the course of the first two centuries the imperial system of communications by land and water was fully developed, and under the Antonine Caesars internal peace was securely maintained by a stable government. 'Now any man', says Aelius Aristides, addressing Marcus Aurelius, 'can travel where he pleases with entire confidence, the harbours everywhere are full of traffic, and the mountains are as safe to those who journey over them as the cities are to those dwelling within them.' The effect of this material unity was to bring into relation with one another the Latin civilization of the centre and the varieties of culture that distinguished the several provinces.

These varieties of culture within the Empire arose partly from the diversity of the races that peopled it. The Roman expansion had not meant, to any great extent, a spread of population. Colonies of Italians were settled on provincial lands in the period of the late Republic and the early Empire, but the number of colonists was everywhere small in proportion to the native population, in which indeed they were soon absorbed. The individual emigration of Italians was confined to a comparatively small number of traders, nor did officials form an appreciable part of the population of any province. If a province had a large body of troops stationed in it, these were mostly drawn from a neighbouring part of the Empire, and indeed by the Antonine period local recruiting for each frontier force was the general rule. In every region, then, the racial effect of incorporation in the Empire was negligible. The populations remained as they were. Around the central Italians, Greeks and kindred Mediterranean peoples, there were Celtic and Germanic races in the north; Berbers and Egyptians in the south; Arabs, Jews, and other Semites in the south-east; Anatolians and other Asiatic stocks in Asia Minor.

Largely coinciding with these racial divisions, but partly also crossing and complicating them, there were great geographical diversities within the Empire with differences of economic conditions and social structure to correspond. Sharply contrasting with the rest of the Mediterranean coast there was the large riparian region of the Nile with its teeming population habituated to a divinized monarchy. Elsewhere in North Africa, and in Syria and Asia Minor, the Mediterranean basin, itself an area of varied production, active interchange, and busy cities, sloped upwards to prairie lands which gave a meagre sustenance to semi-nomad tribes of shepherds. Beyond the great mountain zone to the north, the lower and middle Danube had created a homogeneous area detached in its mode of life from the Mediterranean, while to the west and north-west of it a medley of tribes maintained themselves on pasture-lands and forests extending from the upper Danube and the upper Rhine to the Atlantic.

These two varying factors of environment and race, each implying inherited traditions, entered into diverse combinations to produce regional characters and cultures. Upon these diversities two unifying influences were at work, but within different halves of the Empire, and therefore marking off two main cultural spheres—Hellenism in the East, Romanization in the West. Except for a zone of Latin speech formed by the military area along the Danube to its mouth (Moesia), the line of division ran (roughly) from Singidunum (Belgrade), at the junction of the Save with the Danube, to the eastern coast of the Adriatic at Dyrrachium (Durazzo), and thence to the Greater Syrtis (Gulf of Sidra).

The Greek East. In the eastern Empire little attempt was made by the Roman government to displace Greek civilization. The Romans were conscious that their own derived from it, and they appreciated the powerful influence which it had exerted also upon Oriental peoples since the time of Alexander the Great. Indeed Rome looked to the assimilative power of this kindred civilization to make her eastern provinces conformable members of her Mediterranean empire. Greek was accepted as a second official language, and its use was encouraged by the

Roman government as against Egyptian, Aramaic, and the local dialects of Anatolia. With this official support Greek strengthened and extended its position as the language of commerce throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the adjacent lands, and long maintained itself in outposts established here and there in the West either by emigrant traders, as at Lyons, or, as at Marseilles, by communities of settlers that had made their home there in the days of Greek colonial expansion.

With the second century there was a corresponding revival of the Greek spirit and of Greek culture. In the first century the more notable Greek writers, such as the historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the geographer Strabo, had drawn from Rome their inspiration and indeed their theme, as had the Greek artists of the same period. But in the early part of the second century, Plutarch, in his *Parallel Lives*, matches each of his Roman figures with a Greek counterpart, while in his philosophical works he employs all the resources of Platonism to give a reasoned justification of the traditional beliefs of Greece. In the following century the same elements of Platonism and Greek religion were combined, with a vastly greater power of synthesis, by the Neoplatonist Plotinus, a Greek of Egypt, whose system was developed on its religious side by his pupil Porphyry, a Greek of Tyre; and it was in the form of this Hellenism, protected by the philosophical armature which these Neoplatonists supplied, that classical paganism was to make its last resistance, in the intellectual field, to the destructive criticism of Christian propaganda. Throughout the whole of the first three centuries, indeed, the Greek was supreme in philosophy, even at Rome, and when the emperor Marcus Aurelius learned his Stoic doctrines in his youth, it was from Greek teachers that he learned them and it was in Greek that he wrote down from day to day his own philosophic reflections.

The continued supremacy of Greek as the medium of philosophy in the early centuries of the Roman Empire was due not only to the natural genius of the language, improved by centuries of dialectical exercise, but also to certain qualities of the Greek mind at this period. Since the fourth century B.C., Greek

intellectual life, no longer concentrated in city-states, had been gaining in variety and comprehensiveness what it lost in intensity, and in the vast and stable system of the Roman Empire it found a cosmos adequate to its range. Living between East and West, the Greeks of the Empire, as Celsus in the second century claimed for them, assayed the doctrines that came from either hand, and gave them currency. The result was that representative Greeks acquired a universality of mind which showed itself in a power of synthesis and in a critical detachment. We have referred to the great synthesis of Neoplatonism as an achievement of the Greek East. In criticism its most accomplished representative was the second-century satirist Lucian of Samosata (in northern Syria), whose sceptical raillery is almost wholly detached from circumstances of time and place.

To the concrete and localized mind of the West the Greek never communicated his critical detachment, and, outside the sphere of law, the Roman acquired from him but little of the power of synthesis. The official culture of the Empire was never, in the strict sense of the term, cosmopolitan. It was indeed eclectic, and in particular it borrowed freely from Graeco-Oriental sources. The Hellenic or Hellenistic influence which had moulded the culture of the late Republic persisted through the reign of Augustus and the period of the Julio-Claudian emperors, but thereafter, except for a somewhat artificial revival of Atticism under Hadrian and the Antonines, the Greek East affected the imperial culture mainly as an intermediary which transmitted to the West Oriental influences. These were at their strongest in the period from Commodus to Constantine, when Asiatic Greeks were freely entering the Roman senate, when Oriental fashions, spread from the court of the Severan dynasty and crossed the eastern frontier of the Empire from Persia. The establishment by Constantine of an imperial capital upon the Bosporus, while it marked the growing preponderance of the eastern provinces, also put a limit to their action upon the West. The foundation of Constantinople as an eastern counterpart of Rome had the effect, as it were, of polarizing the imperial culture; by setting up a powerful focus of attraction

for Oriental influences, it withdrew them in a large measure from the West. But the truth is that all along the West had maintained its identity in spite of Oriental penetration. If the eclecticism of the official culture had made it imperial in the sense that the elements which composed it were drawn from the East as well as from the West, it had yet remained essentially an Italic culture, provincialized by the action upon it of the romanized West.

THE ROMANIZATION OF THE WEST

In the West Rome encountered no such matured civilization as the Hellenism which gave coherence to the diversified culture of the eastern provinces. At the beginning of the imperial period the difference between Italy and the western provinces was the difference between a civilized people and barbarians ready to be civilized. Western barbarism was not of the resistent nomadic type perpetuated by the special conditions of a prairie life and irreconcilable with civilization. The life of the West, when it became subject to Rome, was already a settled life awaiting development. In social structure and religion it resembled the primitive culture out of which Italy itself had grown, and the resemblance was the closer that the barbarian peoples of the West, unlike most of the eastern provincials, were akin to the Italians in race as well as in language. It was natural, therefore, that they should respond readily to civilizing influences conveyed to them through a Latin medium.

It is true that in one region of her western Empire, North Africa west of the Greater Syrtis, Rome found conditions somewhat similar to those prevailing in the eastern provinces. The native Berbers, though akin in race to the populations on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, had long been subjected to the Semitic dominance of the great city of Carthage and of other Punic settlements, modified by the influence of some Greek colonists and numerous Greek traders. Here Rome might have been expected to allow Hellenism the same part as it played in the Punic homeland—the Phoenician coast of Syria. But the memory of the Punic wars and the feeling that in North

Africa Semitic influence was intrusive made Rome decide to incorporate this area within the latinized unity of the western Mediterranean. Ever since the formation of the original province of Africa, in 146 B.C., Italian immigrants had settled in large numbers within the province and beyond it, and numerous military colonies had been established by Julius Caesar and Augustus. And though actual colonization then came to an end, the whole region from the Greater Syrtis to the Atlantic was rapidly transformed by the same romanizing influence as was at work in the other western provinces.

The instruments of romanization. This romanizing influence made itself felt in a western province as soon as the army of occupation had established itself in permanent quarters. Alongside the military stations, settlements (*canabae legionis*) of veterans, traders, and others rapidly grew up. From the beginning these attracted natives of the neighbourhood, including native women, and intermarriage between them and the soldiers became common. Such settlements frequently grew to the dimensions of towns, and in some cases received a municipal or colonial constitution. Such, for example, was the origin of the 'colonia' of York and of the 'municipium' of Mayence. Other 'coloniae' in or near the frontier area were established as a means of providing for time-served men, who received grants of adjacent land. So Gloucester, which received a colonial charter from Nerva, would have as its first inhabitants veterans from the Second Legion, which had its head-quarters at Caerleon in South Wales. Like the settlements attached immediately to the military stations, such colonies would increasingly incorporate a native element. In many cases, indeed, in which charters of colonial status were granted, veterans were simply drafted into existing native communities. So it was, for instance, that Besançon, the capital of the tribal state of the Helvetii, became a Roman 'colony' in the reign of Vespasian. All these communities of military origin, it need hardly be said, were active recruiting centres. The sons of veterans and native women who entered the legions received the citizenship on enrolment, if they did not already possess it, while natives of the neighbourhood who entered the auxiliary

service received the citizenship on discharge. In this way the armies not only romanized the natives of the frontier zone but incorporated them in large numbers in the citizen body. Meanwhile, by warding off the outer barbarians, they permitted the areas behind the frontier zone, and all the interior provinces, to be transformed by civil influences.

For these civil influences the way was prepared by the system of communications. Skilfully adapted to natural features, the great strategical roads of the Empire were no sooner laid out than they served as avenues for commerce and other forms of interchange, and, by canalizing movement and fixing points of concentration, they assisted the process of urbanization.

Commercial intercourse implied more than an exchange of merchandise. In the period of the early Empire small communities of Italian traders (*conventus civium Romanorum*) in native areas spread a romanizing influence around them. In course of time Italian traders tended to be displaced by Greek-speaking Asiatics, notably Syrians, and these, in their turn, had soon to reckon in the West with Gauls from Trèves and other western provincials. But commerce still continued to bring more and less civilized peoples into fruitful contact with one another. The Britons, for example, must have learned much from Gaulish traders, including a first acquaintance with Latin, the language of commerce, as well as the official language, in the West.

As the need of a knowledge of Latin made itself felt, the schoolmaster recognized his opportunity, and the government and its agents gave him every encouragement. If he did not possess the Roman citizenship, he was readily granted it, and he was exempted from various local burdens where he resided. Teaching was, indeed, attractive enough as a profession to draw men from the more civilized to the more backward provinces, even from East to West. Plutarch introduces into one of his dialogues a grammarian of Tarsus, one Demetrius, whom he describes, quite as a matter of course, as teaching in Britain (A.D. 80). Demetrius would be well qualified to teach Greek. That Latin at all events was effectively taught in the western provinces in the first century is shown by an allusion in one of the *Letters* of

Pliny to copies of his works being on sale at Lyons, and by Martial's claim that his verses were read as far afield as Britain. Certainly Virgil was read in Britain, even in the country towns, for a graffito from Silchester, apparently part of a writing lesson, ends with a tag from the *Aeneid*. At Arlon in Belgic Gaul, just such a country town as Silchester, a sculptured relief depicts a schoolmaster, ferule in hand, conducting his class; the jurists make reference to men who taught the elements of letters in villages as well as towns, while a series of government regulations concerning the administration of a mining village in Lusitania assumes the presence there of schoolmasters, who are indeed singled out as exempt from taxation. This document dates from the second century. By then the western provinces had no need to import their schoolmasters. The dress of the Arlon schoolmaster shows him to be a Gaul.

But though the schoolmaster was almost as ubiquitous as the trader, it would naturally be to urban centres that he would mostly look for pupils. Such centres grew up rapidly all over the western Empire. Many of them began as colonies of veterans, who would mostly be Italians under the early Empire, later, provincials who had served their time on a neighbouring frontier and had usually been recruited locally. In spite of their official, and indeed artificial, origin, these colonies, it has been explained, soon took root in the soil where they were planted. Closely akin to them in constitution, but native in origin, were the 'municipia' (and honorary 'coloniae'), these being native communities which had become romanized enough to merit citizen status and an urban constitution of the Latin type. But towns of colonial or municipal status are no true measure of the extent of urbanization in the West. In northern and western Gaul, for example, and in Britain, such towns were rare, yet urban life spread in these regions. Tribal capitals ceased to be mere fortified refuges and grew into towns whose gates (if the towns were walled at all) invited the traffic of the highroad. Indeed, on most sites suited to be centres of interchange towns arose. And every town, whatever its origin, was a powerful and permanent centre and focus of romanization.

The romanization of the towns. The rapid development of town life brought with it a complexity of needs which demanded immediate satisfaction, and in the West generally, and especially in Celtic lands, there was little or no urban tradition to draw upon. Romanization flowed in as into a vacuum. We have seen how local government was transformed on the municipal model. Municipal buildings at once followed—permanent stone structures of a kind new to the West and inevitably conforming to Latin models in plan as well as construction: fora, basilicas, temples, public baths, aqueducts. Statuary in the classical style adorned the principal buildings and central square. From the central group of official buildings streets were laid out on the Latin chessboard pattern. In alinement with these streets stone houses were built which were Latin not only in plan but in all their interior equipment. They were heated by hypocausts, floored with tessellated pavements, furnished and stored with all manner of imported articles of use and luxury—Alexandrian jewellery, Syrian and Italian glassware, Capuan bronzes, pottery from Arezzo or from southern Gaul, wine and oil from Italy and south-eastern Spain.

No doubt it was the upper class that took most readily to romanized ways and the Latin speech. There was every inducement to do so. Latin was not only the language of commerce; it was the language of official life, of the law courts, of polite society. It was the only language current in the West which had a vocabulary and a subtlety commensurate with the whole range of the larger and more complicated life in which the provincials now shared. But this romanization was not confined to the upper class. In the towns it reached the lower strata, and workmen there used the Latin language in intimate and familiar intercourse. At the same time they and their masters were learning new industrial and artistic processes—building in stone, roofing with tiles, mosaic paving, sculpture, glass-blowing, the finer processes of ceramics—the whole technique of civilized comfort and elegance.

The romanization of the rural areas. From the upper class of the towns romanization not only spread downwards to the humbler

urban class but outwards over the rural areas. That was natural enough in the neighbourhood of the towns, especially as the land there was commonly in the hands of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. It was natural also that romanization should reach the landowning class even in regions remote from towns, and that their villas, thoroughly romanized in their structure, furnishing, and organization, should be centres of romanizing influence for the neighbourhood. But even in villages that were not in the immediate neighbourhood of towns nor connected with villas, some measure of romanization is found—rude hypocausts, painted wall-plaster, 'Samian' pottery, and the like. In Britain, for example, such villages have been found in Cranborne Chase and elsewhere in the south, and even in so remote a corner as Anglesey. On such sites the evidence of romanization must be, in the nature of the case, the evidence of externals, but these things imply more than themselves. They must indicate, for instance, some influence of language, if only the introduction of Latin names for Latin things. As a matter of fact the use of Latin among the peasantry of the western provinces, at least of the African, Spanish, and Gallic provinces, was not of so limited a kind.

There is indeed a little evidence that native dialects survived here and there for a time. In the period of the early Empire, Punic, Iberian, or Celtic is still met with on an occasional inscription from North Africa, Spain, or Gaul. In some of the towns of North Africa, Punic seems even to have retained some sort of official standing as late as the second century, and in the fourth century some knowledge of it was considered necessary for the clergy in outlying villages. Ulpian implies that in the third century Celtic survived as well as Punic. In the fourth century St. Jerome still heard Celtic spoken in Gaul among the Treviri, on whose confines, however, rose the vast forests of the Ardennes and the Eifel, and the hills that close in the upper valley of the Moselle; in these secluded regions Celtic no doubt survived, as Basque survived in the Pyrenees, to make itself heard frequently enough upon the river bank and in the streets of Trèves. It will be seen that the evidence for the persistence of

native idioms relates almost entirely to the early Empire or to remote regions. In Britain, it is true, a more extensive survival of Celtic as the language of the peasantry of the province is commonly assumed for the whole of the Roman period, though there is no positive evidence for it and it is not supported by the analogy of the kindred province of Belgic Gaul. There the survival of the Latin dialects of the Empire as the vulgar language of the country, wherever the ancient ethnic element was not overlaid by Frankish invasion, seems to prove that Latin was the language of the rural areas. The argument applies with still greater force to the other Gallic provinces and to the provinces of Spain. It seems clear that throughout the western Empire Latin was not only the language of all classes in the towns and of the upper class in the country, but was also, except in a few secluded regions, the language of the peasantry.

Native survivals in religion. In a matter like religion, which was something more than a medium of expression, romanization was much less complete and uniform. In no western province was there an entire change from a native to an imported religion. In all there was a fusion, or confusion, of native with imported elements. That the native element was everywhere active in this combination is shown by the differences that distinguish one western province from another and all of them from Rome and Italy.

The Oriental rites which invaded Rome and Italy spread over southern Gaul, especially the Rhône valley, where indeed the worship of the Phrygian Cybele, the Great Mother, became the dominant religion. At commercial centres, where there would be an immigrant population, as at Lyons and London, the Egyptian rites of Isis and Serapis were introduced, and in military areas, such as the Rhineland and northern Britain, these and other Oriental cults are encountered, notably those of the Syrian Dolichenus and the Persian Mithras, along with traces of the solar pantheism which, in the third century, tended to absorb these sun-gods and also to assimilate to itself the worship of the emperor. But in the really native parts of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, such Oriental rites are seldom met with,

outside Gallia Narbonensis, and if the cult of Cybele flourished in that province, it was in a romanized form, and it owed its vitality there to its correspondence with native beliefs which had hitherto expressed themselves in the worship of Celtic mother-goddesses of the type of Epona or Andarta. Of the other civil regions of the West it is truer still that their religion was a combination of Roman and native elements—the Roman element more or less predominant in the form, the native element persisting, in varying measure, in the matter of belief.

As Latin became the prevalent tongue both in the towns and in the country, it became the language of religious ritual. Correspondingly, the names and epithets of native gods had Latin terminations given to them, or were combined with, or displaced by, those of kindred Latin deities. This change of form was not confined to ritual and nomenclature; it affected the whole mode of external presentation. Celtic gods, which, in the time of the early Empire, still appear in strange native guise—horned or triple-headed or cross-legged—soon conform in image and attributes to the conventional representation of the corresponding classical deities. If Teutates, for example, the Gaulish god of the arts of peace, who was latinized as Mercury, sometimes appears as a grave bearded figure seated upon a throne, this representation of him, though it still expresses a native and not a classical conception, already shows the influence of classical imagery, and it is in any case a transitional stage to the purely classical figure of the beardless youth, with his conventional attributes of wand and purse and winged cap, which is the Mercury of innumerable statues throughout Gaul.

It is difficult to judge how far this change of form had a religious significance. The Celts and other western peoples had not had the habit of presenting their gods in human shape, and when they learned this practice from the Mediterranean, it was natural that they should conform, in this as in other forms of plastic expression, to classical taste, and should draw upon the rich repertory of classical statuary and sculpture. Yet it cannot be doubted that the transformation of form did imply some modification of idea and belief. That seems to be proved by the

fact that it did not proceed without resistance. The Celtic Sucellus, for example, long retained his symbolical mallet after he became Silvanus, and Taranis his wheel after he was romanized as Jupiter. Long after Teutates had assumed the youthful figure of Mercury, he is still usually given as a companion, not Minerva or Maia, but the Celtic Rosmerta. In North Africa Baal readily enough took the name of Saturn, but he never changed his symbols or his ritual, or relinquished his sanctuaries upon the mountain tops. In nomenclature also there was resistance. In rural areas most of the gods to whom altars were set up in Britain, and some of those in Gaul, have Celtic names latinized only in their terminations. Both in Gaul and in Britain the names of Olympian deities are commonly combined with the names or (more frequently) epithets of native gods. Apollo, for example, appears in Gaul with the dual name Apollo Belenus, while Mercury is Vesucius ('wise'). In Gaul, Mars is Caturix ('warrior') or Camulus ('strong'); in Britain, he is Belacutador ('good at war').

The fact that the Olympian deities which were accepted in the West were commonly given epithets that had belonged to Celtic gods shows that assimilation was a mutual process in which the native element remained active, if not predominant. Even when no native element survives in the nomenclature, the persistent force of native ideas and beliefs can be inferred from the character of the Roman cults that succeeded in winning, or failed to win, popular acceptance in native areas. Wherever there were troops, evidence of the official worship of the emperor is naturally abundant, while in the towns of Latin constitution the worship of the emperor (or of the deified emperors), along with that of the Capitoline triad, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, was a municipal function. But elsewhere it is a different matter. In Britain, for example, there is little sign of emperor-worship outside the military area, and in the other provinces of the West, as in the Three Gauls, its importance was political and social rather than religious. Conversely, it is significant that in a land of Baal-worship like North Africa the cult most widely practised in the Roman period was that of Saturn, the Olympian

deity who could most easily be assimilated to Baal, and that in Gaul the most popular deity was Mercury, who had a close affinity with the native Teutates.

Another sign of the persistence of native beliefs is the tendency for Olympian deities, with or without the addition of a native name or epithet, to become localized as the patrons of particular communities, or of forests, springs, or rivers. Mercury was so appropriated in Gaul by the Arverni, who worshipped him as Mercurius Arvernus. Hercules, under the name of Hercules Magusanus, becomes one of the local deities of the lower Rhine; Apollo, as Apollo Grannus, becomes the god of the healing springs at Aachen, while Diana, identified with Abnoba, becomes the patroness of the Black Forest. So in Britain, Minerva, under the name of Sul Minerva, presides over the spa at Bath, while Mars becomes a local Northumberland god with the epithet Cocidius, which he perhaps derived from the river Coquet. Even where Olympian names appear without native additions, they are often attached to deities that are clearly local, like the Diana to whom a temple of 'Celtic' plan was built at Nettleton, near Bath.

Occasionally a local deity acquired a widespread celebrity, but, if so, his clients had to visit him in his own home to bespeak his favour. In the West it was rare for a local cult to bear transplantation. There is indeed one remarkable instance—that of the Celtic triad latinized as the Three Mothers, which spread over the military areas of the Rhine and of Britain, whither it had been carried by soldiers recruited in the Celtic districts of northern Italy or south-eastern Gaul, where its original home seems to have been. But such a case is exceptional, and if men serving in Britain in units with Belgic titles still dedicate altars to deities of the lower Rhine as late as the Antonine period, that is a pretty certain indication that their units continued to be territorially recruited. It was in the nature of a religion of local cults that if a man changed his abode he soon changed his gods. So we find that a centurion serving in Britain dedicates an altar to 'the genius of the land of Britain', and that a group of soldiers who describe themselves as Germans erect an altar to the

British Maponus, close by the Roman Wall, in Cumberland. An altar from Caerwent in South Wales, dedicated 'To Mars Lenus or Ocelus', shows us a Gaul in the act of transferring his allegiance, for Mars Lenus was a deity of his old home in the Moselle valley, while Mars Ocelus was a deity of the country where he had now taken up his abode.

Just as they jealously excluded rivals, so these local deities often consented to little or no assimilation. Arduinna, patroness of the Ardennes, is figured on one relief as Diana, but that is on an altar set up at Rome by a Gaul serving there in the praetorian guard. In her own country she is symbolized by the trees of her forest, and neither there nor in Rome is the name of the Latin goddess added to her own. So also the god who had a temple at Lydney, close by the Severn estuary, though represented on a rudely sculptured relief as Neptune, retains the single Celtic name of Nodens. So it was also with Verbeia, patroness of the Wharfe, and Coventina, whose spring at Carrawburgh, on Hadrian's Wall, drew many votive offerings from the Roman garrison there. Whether they appropriated or refused Olympian titles, these local cults were the most prevalent and persistent force in popular paganism, and in the second half of the fourth century St. Martin of Tours was to encounter their opposition at every step in the christianizing of rural Gaul.

The nature of romanization. When romanization is considered in its relation to religion, the nature of the process as a whole is elucidated. Certain religious observances were part of the official life of the provinces, but otherwise the Roman government did not interfere with native rites or beliefs, provided these did not endanger public order. If Druidism was suppressed in Gaul and Britain, that was for reasons of state, not on religious grounds. The government was tolerant of every form of polytheism. That was typical of its attitude to native traditions in general. So long as the provincials kept the peace, paid their taxes, and managed their local communities with reasonable efficiency, the government did not intervene. If the Elder Pliny interprets 'the Roman fate' as a divine mission to unite the races of mankind in a common civilization, he is rather

magnifying the effect of Roman rule than describing Roman policy. Practical statesmen were content to justify the Empire as necessary to maintain the general peace, and to act upon the rule that it was easier to govern civilized men than barbarians. The mechanism of a civilized life was provided, and it was left to the provincials to make use of it. In religion the effect was that the form was romanized. This again was typical of the process as a whole. It offered to undeveloped peoples matured modes of organization and expression, as Hellenism had once conveyed to the Romans themselves the experience and technique of civilized men.

The rarity of native self-expression. But romanization did not produce upon the western provincials an effect comparable with that produced by Hellenism upon the Romans. It was rarely that the acquired technique was employed as a means of native self-expression. There are some who recognize an African temperament, and even an African quality of style, in the compositions of the second-century sophist and romancer, Apuleius of Madaura. In Romano-British towns like Silchester and Caerwent the Roman technique of street-planning, it is said, is expressively adapted to suit the tastes of a people of rural habitudes. In sculptures of Belgic Gaul, notably in groups from Neumagen on the Moselle and from Arlon, some have detected a definite promise of the realism that was to be characteristic, long afterwards, of the pictorial art of the Low Countries. In Britain the sculptured relief of a bearded Gorgon from the temple of Sul Minerva at Bath, a lion sculptured in the round from Corbridge, have been commended for 'a wholly unclassical fierceness and vigour'.[1] In minor arts also an occasional achievement of this kind is pointed out. One can hardly include among them the enamelled bronze brooches of Celtic pattern found in North Gaul, and especially in Britain, in the Roman period, for these are really survivals which owe nothing to Roman technique. In pottery, however, we do find a convincing example of the use of an imported technique for native self-expression. In a class of ware that was in fairly common use in North Gaul

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[1] Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, 4th ed., p. 54.

and Britain in the second century and which is known as 'Castor ware' from Castor on the Nen, where the most distinctive examples were produced, the process of decoration *en barbotine* is employed for a rendering of plant forms and fantastic animals in a spirit genuinely Celtic.

Castor ware gives a hint of what the civilizing of the West might have resulted in: native individuality brought to a full and conscious expression by the gift of an adequate technique; conversely, the enrichment of the general culture by distinctive local varieties. Romanization did not fulfil that possibility. The examples which we have cited of products claimed to be, in an expressive way, both native and Roman, are not all equally certain or equally significant. In any case they are quite exceptional. It is rarely that a native achievement relieves the monotonous imitation of classical models. The free adaptation shown in the planning of Silchester (if indeed its planning deserve that description) is not typical even of the more native of the towns in the western provinces, which conform to the regulation chess-board pattern almost as obediently as does a military colony, such as Timgad in Numidia, when first laid out; and if divergence appears here and there, as in some of the civil towns of Africa and in Timgad itself in its later period, it is not that the Roman plan is remodelled but merely that it gets confused. In architecture Roman models are reproduced with no greater variation than an occasional modification of ground-plan in temple or villa. Most provincial sculpture is a translation of conventional figures and scenes in a technique that is sometimes mechanically accomplished but more often is stiff and clumsy. Provincial mosaics, with their mythological themes and geometrical patterns, are equally imitative and lifeless. In the minor arts of metal-work, glass-work, and ceramics, much greater skill and freedom are shown, but there is still little sign of native inspiration. In ceramics we have mentioned Castor ware as an exception. The fine pottery in general use in the western provinces was not Castor ware but the lustrous red ware of Gaul commonly known as 'Samian' ware. In the first century, before the general demand for it had encouraged mass

production, and reduced it to a commercial article progressively coarsened and conventionalized, this Gallic ware was notable for the fineness of its texture and the delicacy of its reliefs, but even at its best it was a more or less direct copy of pottery that had been produced in Italy, at Arezzo, and it was entirely dependent upon classical conventions for its decorative schemes. It was much the same with the finer glass-ware that increasingly displaced 'Samian' pottery for table use from the late second century onwards. The art of making it, which had been introduced by immigrant craftsmen into Gaul and the Rhineland, was soon acquired by the natives there, who practised it with a high degree of virtuosity, but without originality. Even in bronze work, of which the Celt was a master long before he became a Roman provincial, the vogue of objects imported from Italy in the first century, while it stimulated the Gallic craftsman to extend his range, drew him away from his native tradition into mere imitation.

A provincial literature can hardly be said to have existed in the West in the first three centuries. It is true that the Spanish province of Baetica, besides producing a writer on agriculture (Columella) and some orators who won distinction at Rome, gave to Latin letters the two Senecas, Lucan, Martial, and Quintilian. But these writers spent their lives in the capital, and are representative of Roman society, not of their province. Nor was Baetica a typical province. This area had been a part of the Empire during the last two hundred years of the Republic, and in the reign of Augustus Strabo could describe its inhabitants as 'virtually Romans', not only because they had long taken to Roman ways but because many of them were descended from Italian immigrants, and not a few were recent colonists. It may be that we have to thank this immigration for the group of men who left Baetica in the first century to win literary distinction at Rome. At all events, with the second century, when the Italian element would be completely absorbed, Baetica drops out of the history of Latin literature. The kindred province of Narbonese Gaul, though it was so completely romanized by the first century of the Empire that the Elder

Pliny describes it as 'Italy rather than a province', contributed
to the intellectual life of the first three centuries (apart from
the Greek culture given by its university of Marseilles) no more
than a few advocates, regarded as representative of the Roman
forensic oratory of their day, and a writer of an historical com-
pilation (Trogus Pompeius). ·The other western provinces re-
mained entirely barren, with the exception of Africa, and all
that Africa produced, besides Apuleius, was a pair of authors
distinguished for nothing more than their command of the
fashionable artifices of the time—Florus, the writer of a résumé
of the history of Republican Rome, and the rhetorician, Corne-
lius Fronto, who was tutor to Marcus Aurelius. It is with an
African, Tertullian, that Latin Christian literature makes its
appearance at the very end of the second century, and through-
out the third century it is Africa that gives to it its greatest
names, but that was an achievement inspired by something
more than the secular process of romanization.

It would be unfair to judge that process by the provincial
response in literature and the arts. The West gained from it
a lasting sense of unity, peace and an ordered government, a
common language and an education in expression, urban life,
the technique of craftsmanship and all the mechanism of com-
fort. Nevertheless, its failure to awaken creative power in its
provincials is notable. No doubt native life outside the Medi-
terranean basin was still very primitive when the Roman
provinces were formed, except in certain of the Celtic areas.
And if the Celts, who had long been learning from the Medi-
terranean, possessed by now some intellectual tradition of their
own, and, in the minor arts at least, could point to some real
achievement, they were not a people but a scattered race; they
had not the compact identity and intense corporate conscious-
ness which the Romans possessed when they became the pupils
of Hellenism. And the Romans had come into contact with
Hellenism as conquerors, the Celts with Roman culture through
defeat; and though this culture was not forced upon them, yet
the Roman conquest and control must have impaired the cor-
porate self-possession which was necessary for assured persistence

in native tastes and ideals.   As it was, the prestige and scale of
the Roman civilization accused the native culture everywhere
of rusticity.   It was a reproach to which the upper class of pro-
vincials would not be insensitive.   When Dio Cassius represents
Maecenas as advising Augustus to make the richer provincials
senators and knights, he attributes to him the argument that,
as members of Roman society, they would look down upon their
native towns as country villages.   That discouragement of local
life was never a part of Roman policy, but by Dio's time it had
shown itself to be an effect of romanization.   The ambition of
the upper class in the provincial towns was now to secure a place
in one or the other of the two orders of imperial nobility, perhaps
to make a figure in Roman society, at the least to represent its
mode of life in their own province.   Native culture was thus
deprived everywhere of the countenance and direction of the
local ruling class.   And as this class became romanized, it im-
posed its tastes upon the humbler provincials, who were ready
enough in any case to be tempted by cheap imitations of the
prevailing fashions.   In this way the native element so absorbed
romanization as to impair rather than develop its own identity.
But the explanation of the intellectual barrenness of the western
provinces in the first three centuries is not to be found entirely
in the crudeness of the native element.   There were powers
there to be evoked, and romanization failed to evoke them.
Nor did 'the Roman peace' do much to restore the vitality of
Hellenism in the eastern Mediterranean.   The truth is that
classical paganism had run its course and was falling into
sterility.   The most that the Roman could do was to conserve
and transmit its knowledge and ideas, along with the invaluable
mechanism it had devised—its methods of inquiry and its
technique of expression.   This task was the more faithfully per-
formed that there was something discouraging to creative freedom
in the Roman official temperament by which the central culture
was controlled.

THE OFFICIAL CULTURE

In the middle of the third century B.C., when the Romans
began to learn from Greece the technique of self-expression in

literature and the arts, their chief characteristic was an intense corporate consciousness, and the culture of the Republic was always controlled by a strong political sense. The political influence upon it was the stronger that it was the culture of a governing class. This dual character—official and aristocratic— it retained throughout the imperial period, its history being continuously affected by the action of the state and changing with the composition of the official class.

The Augustan age. The immediate effect of the establishment of peace under the principate was to bring the existing culture to a full and harmonious development by providing a centre and focus where production was stimulated by patronage and directed by the accepted standards of a society still homogeneous. The society of the Augustan age was still largely traditional in composition and feeling. Imperialism had not yet diluted Roman or Italian sentiment; rather it had reinforced it. The Empire was not yet felt to be something greater than the City; it was still her subject, and its conquest was her glory. From the contemplation of the grandeur and unity of the Empire Virgil turns back, in his *Aeneid*, to the first beginnings of the Roman people as a predestined race, while Livy shows at work, in a history of the whole course of the Republic, the qualities by which the Romans proved themselves worthy of their destiny. Similarly, in architecture, the imperial idea expressed itself most strikingly in the embellishment of Rome itself, while in plastic art the greatest products of the age, such as the reliefs of the Altar of Peace and the Prima Porta statue of Augustus, are monuments carved to glorify the Roman 'respublica' and its 'imperator'. In these works the resources of Hellenistic naturalism are turned to the service of Italic realism. The artists might be Greeks, but they were Greeks conforming to Roman tradition. In literature also the Greek-speaking subjects of the Empire— the historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the geographer Strabo —looked upon Rome as their intellectual capital, while the western provinces were not yet in a position to react upon the Italic culture of the centre. To the circle of Augustus the future of culture as well as of government seemed to depend upon the

maintenance of the Roman citizen body, which at that time meant the people of Italy, as a ruling and directing race. The consequent policy of Augustus to bring about a religious revival and moral reformation of Italy and to reinvigorate its rural life, besides enriching architecture with new or restored temples, supplied a theme for Horace's more elaborate odes and inspired the *Georgics* of Virgil.

But the Augustan project of a dominant Italian people directed by the traditional nobility· did not outlive its author by much more than a generation. The life of Italy continued to languish as the western provinces developed, while the moral reformation of Roman society was to come about only by the substitution for the old aristocracy of a ruling class of provincial origin. Here and there in Horace, Virgil, and Livy there is a note of pessimism which shows that they felt the glory of the society in which they lived to belong to the past and that they had little hope of its future. Their misgiving was justified, and already by the death of Augustus a period of decline had set in.

The Julio-Claudian period. The public life of the Republic, with all the social and moral relations which it involved, had given to vigorous personalities a free field of action, in which eloquence in speech or writing was a formidable weapon. Under the principate public life meant subordination to a system and indeed obedience to the individual by whom that system was controlled. Oratory withdrew from the arena of politics and took refuge within schools of declamation. Education, being primarily a training for oratory, changed with it, and became a training in rhetoric, and rhetoric in its turn spread the infection of artificiality to every form of literature. At the same time plastic art lost something of the poise and urbanity of the Augustan age, and, though it still maintained a high level of accomplishment, it became more conscious in expression and less certain in taste, while in portraiture a psychological sensitiveness now appears which suggests a nervous over-refinement. Roman society, deprived of a free political life and exposed to the caprices of the Julio-Claudian Caesars, turns inward upon

itself, and indulges a self-analysis which sometimes comes near to self-pity. In literature its interpreter is Seneca, the philosopher.

The Stoic remedies prescribed by Seneca were at the best an anodyne. The old senatorial society was dying out. Greatly reduced in numbers by the civil wars and proscriptions, its ranks were now being thinned by the vindictive retaliation of emperors suspicious of its political sentiments. But it suffered more from its own sterility—from celibacy and childlessness. It had no power of self-renewal, and its numbers had to be made up from outside.

From the Flavian period to the third century. From the Flavian period onwards the senatorial order was largely recruited from the Italian municipalities and the provinces. A representative member of this new nobility is the Younger Pliny, whose father had been chief magistrate of the country town of Comum in North Italy—'that Italy of ours', Pliny himself says, 'which still retains much of an old-fashioned puritanism, plainness and even rusticity'. Of the new senators, the provincials among them as well as the Italians, Tacitus tells us that 'they introduced their native plainness, and though many of them, by good fortune or energy, attained an old age of wealth, their former tastes remained'. It was in itself a sign of moral recovery that criticism now turned from psychological introspection to satire. The satire of Martial and Juvenal, however, shows that the new nobility became infected with the vices of the old. Its vigour did not remain long unimpaired, and by the close of the Antonine period senators were being drawn not only from the less romanized of the western provinces but also from the East. Already before the end of the first century a Spanish provincial had ascended the throne in the person of Trajan, while by the end of the second an African, Septimius Severus, who excluded his sister from Rome because she could hardly speak Latin and who himself spoke it with a Punic accent, had founded a dynasty which was to be dominated throughout its history by a group of Syrian women.

The culture of the centre inevitably reflected this change in the composition of the official class. Tacitus, though of the new

nobility of his day, still has much of the outlook and tempera-
ment of the older society. His world is, indeed, larger than
Rome, but the social life of the capital is its centre, and the
historian's interest is strongly psychological. It is with his
younger contemporary, Pliny, that we pass definitely to the
new municipal, one might say bourgeois, type—practical, con-
scientious, officially minded, conventional in taste, intellectually
mediocre. Men of this type acquired and continued, in their
fashion, the interests of the old nobility, and a cult of literature
and the arts was a mark of a man of rank. But literature, reduced
to an accomplishment or a pastime, lost all vitality, and from
the time of Hadrian onwards it was almost completely sterile.

There was a corresponding decline in the minor arts which
ministered to private taste. As the conventional apparatus of
a pretentious comfort, the objects of art which it was the fashion
to accumulate ceased to attract fine or original workmanship,
and the high quality achieved in the pre-Flavian period in em-
bossed metal-work, gem-cutting and the like, did not outlast
the first century. Already by the time of Vespasian, painting
(fresco) was 'a dying art', according to the Elder Pliny. It is
characteristic of the taste of the time that mosaic, brightly
coloured and conventional in pattern, came into fashion as a
means of interior decoration.

The villas which housed these works of art, and displayed this
decoration in mosaic, by their hypocausted baths and sun-baths,
their seasonal dining-rooms, their peristyles, porticoes, artificial
ponds and the like, exhibited in its most sumptuous form the
cult of comfort which was characteristic of every class of society
under the Empire, especially in the prosperous days of the second
century. The remains of such villas have not survived above
floor-level, but the ground-plans which they indicate, often
straggling and inorganic, when taken with the descriptions
given in Pliny's *Letters* and with representations preserved in
wall-paintings and mosaics, suggest that the buildings, or rather
complexes of buildings, aimed at an accumulation of conven-
iences and particular effects rather than a unified architectural
scheme.

If public architecture, and commemorative sculpture, both public and private, fared better than the minor arts, that was because they had a more monumental character, a strong monumental sense being a charateristic of Italian and imperial taste. In monumental art the immediate effect of the recruiting of the official society in the Flavian period from the Italian municipalities was to put an end to the vogue of an elegant Alexandrianism and to release native (Italian) qualities; and since these qualities were of a kind which admitted of expression in a provincial accent and could, in return, assimilate provincial elements, they were capable of development into an imperial style as the official society itself gradually became imperial in composition. They persisted through a revival of Hellenism in the period of Hadrian and the Antonines, and they made expressive of themselves the Oriental forms and fashions increasingly introduced into the West from the time of Hadrian onwards. These Italian qualities, therefore, progressively provincialized and imperialized, were characteristic of the official art from the Flavian period to the third century.

The first of these qualities was a strong utilitarian sense. It was because of this that architecture was the form of art most congenial to imperial taste. It was the same sense that made of sculpture an instrument of patriotism and a medium of permanent historical record, as in the reliefs of the columns erected to commemorate the wars on the Danube of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.

On these monuments the scrupulous care with which racial types, differences of costume, military details, and the like, are rendered, illustrates the close connexion between the utilitarian sense and another characteristic quality—the taste for realism. In sculptured reliefs this taste showed itself not only in choice of subject but also in technique, the low reliefs and neutral backgrounds borrowed in the Augustan age from Hellenistic work being discarded, from the Flavian period onwards, for sculpture in high relief designed to give the effect of depth and corporeity. In sculpture in the round, both in marble and bronze, this realism produced a portrait-statuary in which, in sharp contrast

with the idealizing tendency of Greek portraiture, the artist endeavours not only to achieve a close likeness, with all facial peculiarities faithfully reproduced, but also to give character and expression, while from the later second century onwards the plastic figuring of the eye (first transferred to marble from bronze in the time of Hadrian) and the increasing use of the drill in the rendering of hair enhance the lifelike quality of the work and give an effect of light and shade.

In satisfying the taste for realism and the demands of utility, the artists of the imperial period freely borrowed from Greek and Oriental sources, and did not hesitate to combine together the elements of different styles. Thus, in architecture, no characteristic product of the Empire shows the simple unity of the Greek classical style. Straight lines and curves are combined, the different Greek orders are employed together, Greek elements are associated with Oriental, and either or both with traditional Italian forms. The combination of different orders, for example, is seen in the successive employment, in superimposed tiers of arcading, of Doric (in the Italianate or Tuscan form), Ionic and Corinthian columns, as in the Flavian amphitheatre. The building which most completely exhibits the full range of this eclecticism is also that which is most typical of the imperial period—the Pantheon of Hadrian, in which the Oriental element of the dome is developed into a great cupola which surmounts a rotunda recalling the round temple of Italian tradition, to which is added a porch of Corinthian columns. In spite of the apparent incongruity of the elements, such eclectic combinations achieve a unity of their own as an expression of a many-sided imperial culture.

Appropriate to this imperial style there was a strong sense of decoration, typified in architecture by the general preference for the ornate Corinthian column and by the liberal application of sculptured relief, notably in that characteristic Roman structure, the monumental or 'triumphal' arch. This decorative sense, native to the Italians, was shared, in their fashion, by the western provincials, and it combined readily with the liking of the Asiatic provincials for exuberant ornamentation. But as it

thus became provincialized and orientalized, it failed in taste and in restraint. At its best, it gives a sumptuous effect expressive of the splendour of the Empire, but from the Flavian period onwards it shows a growing tendency to excess, successive stages of which are seen in the sculptures which overcharge the arches of Titus, Severus and Constantine. Meanwhile the taste for decoration had been increasingly subordinating to itself structural elements, as in the employment, merely to enrich the wall surface, of engaged columns which support nothing, and of architraves which have their function taken from them by relieving arches.

The desire for effect, if it often led to the use of structural elements for mere decoration, also reinforced the taste for construction upon a grand scale. This structural sense, while it was influenced by the feeling of the Asiatic provincials for the grandiose, was a distinctively Italic quality, informed by a Roman largeness of conception, animated by the Roman desire for stability and permanence, and satisfying Roman utilitarianism by responding to the imperial need for spacious buildings. The Flavian amphitheatre, huge and orderly, like an image of the state, is the most massive of the surviving monuments of this structural sense, while buildings like the Pantheon and the Baths of Caracalla more fully display its technical resourcefulness in the extended application of concrete and the development which this encouraged of the arch, the vault and the dome, to span great spaces. But perhaps this structural power impresses most where it is bare of ornamentation—in the great engineering works of the Empire. The 'Pont du Gard' at Nîmes and the Claudian aqueduct across the Roman Campagna had worthy successors in the second century in the aqueducts of Segovia in Spain and Cherchel in Algeria, and in the bridge which spans the Tagus at Alcantara.

By the second century the road system of the Empire had attained its full expansion and the towns had reached the limit of their material prosperity. The road system, comprehensive in plan, reasonable in its lines, built for permanence, represented well the character of the political unit which it bound together.

Representative also was the system of town planning. The careful provision for water and the admirable drainage; the compact lay-out of the interior; the straight lines of streets and the rectangular blocks which they enclosed; the shops and houses, with their uniform frontage, and the official buildings in the centre with their regulation forms, all rigidly aligned and disposed in their grades of subordination—the whole plan recalled the military camp in which it had its origin, and conformed to rules imposed by a powerful government insistent upon utility and order.

It is not surprising that a people so preoccupied with government should have achieved greatness in the sphere of law. The material for this achievement was supplied by the sheer size and complexity of the state, which confronted its magistrates with cases that presented an infinite variety of circumstance. This meant continual reference from magistrate to emperor, and provoked imperial constitutions which, through the commentaries of the licensed jurists, continuously modified the substance of the law. Moreover, in accordance with the tolerant principles of Roman government, the civil law was administered with the greatest consideration for local usages, notably in the East, especially after the official class had become representative of the Roman world as a whole. When the progressive extension of the citizenship, and finally (with Caracalla) its universality, made the use of the Roman law general throughout the Empire, and so brought it into relation everywhere with local varieties of circumstance and tradition, the flexibility of its administration was reflected in the growing comprehensiveness of its rules.

The reasonableness of the Roman courts, and their regard for precedent, gave to their decisions a consistency in which legal principles were implicit. The drawing out of these principles was the work of jurists—some of the greatest of them Easterns from the Greek-speaking provinces of the Empire—who were strongly influenced by the notions of Graeco-Oriental philosophy, notably Stoicism. The ideal community of the Stoics was a universal commonwealth obeying an immutable law of reason or nature, valid for all times and in all places.

Ever since the time of Cicero, there had been Roman Stoics who saw in the Empire an approximation to their ideal, and this conception of the state had guided Roman jurisprudence. In the 'ius gentium', gradually developed to regulate their relations with foreigners, the Romans of the Republic already possessed a rudimentary 'law of nations', which had done much to liberalize their own civil law. Under the Empire the great jurists continued to generalize the civil law by setting themselves to bring it more and more into conformity with the ideal 'law of nature'. And whereas, in literature and the arts, the extension of the Roman citizenship and the provincializing of the official class enlarged a national into an imperial culture which was eclectic rather than cosmopolitan, in law the same process produced a system which was reasonable in so general a way that its rules seemed native everywhere. Nor was its salutary influence confined to the legal sphere. The study of the civil law gave to the West a training in exact thinking, in orderly arrangement and in precise expression which supplemented and corrected the teaching of the rhetorical schools. And it combined with Greek philosophy to assist in the formulation of Christian dogma and of the canons of ecclesiastical discipline.

The great jurists, Papinian and Ulpian, were hardly dead when the Empire was plunged into the disorders that followed upon the death of Alexander Severus in 235. A few appropriate memorials survive to represent with dignity this period of suffering—one or two sculptured portraits that show a new psychological insight, a great defensive work like Aurelian's Wall at Rome, impressive by its massive severity. But, in general, the imperial culture rapidly declined. Essentially urban in character, it was at once affected by the decay of town life that resulted from the economic difficulties of the time. It was profoundly affected also by the dominance of a new element in the official class. Provincialized from the Flavian period onwards, and partially orientalized in the reign of Commodus and under the Severan dynasty, this class now underwent a further change. The Oriental influence persisted, but a far greater effect upon culture was produced by military influence, for the

military element was drawn from the frontier areas and its predominance had the effect of barbarizing the official class. But before this manifold change—political, economic and social —had precipitated the decline of the imperial culture, certain defects had already become manifest which make it doubtful whether this culture had the power to develop further in its traditional spirit and framework.

DEFECTS OF THE IMPERIAL CULTURE

Its official character. While reading and writing were probably more widely diffused under the Roman Empire than at any period before the nineteenth century, higher education was confined to the upper class, and was designed to enhance the leisure or assist the occupations of that class. The great mass of men remained inarticulate, and the imperial culture was thus deprived of varieties and resources that might have enriched it. The educated class was occupied with public affairs, and it was official in taste and temperament—utilitarian, conventional, and impersonal. This taste had a deadening effect upon the the intellectual and artistic life of the Empire.

Its lack of unity. As the official class came to be representative of the Empire as a whole, its culture assumed a corresponding complexity, but one cannot speak of an imperial culture in the same sense as one can speak of an imperial state. The sense of belonging to a political unity which was not Italian but imperial pervaded every province, and this consciousness is reflected in the comprehensiveness of the civil law. But outside the sphere of law there was no spirit to unify and animate the culture of the Empire. The civilization of the eastern provinces remained Graeco-Oriental. The wide range allowed to it within the framework of the Empire and its contact with the West enlarged its experience, and gave to it, in some of its representatives, a cosmopolitan breadth. But the official culture was still that of Italy and the West which, though eclectic, was never cosmopolitan. Nor was it, like the civilization of medieval Christendom, a complex of national cultures unified by a powerful supra-national principle. Though penetrated by Graeco-

Oriental influences, it conserved its identity as a national (Italic) culture. When it was extended to the West, it evoked there no regional contributions such as to give it a more than national comprehensiveness; it was merely provincialized in the sense that it was reproduced by provincials insensitive to its idiom. As it thus lost its own vitality, the incapacity of a national culture to animate an imperial unit became more and more apparent. The civilization of the Empire as a whole had thus no vital principle of unity, and therefore lacked cohesion and the power of growth.

The lack of a unifying and animating spirit did not affect merely literature and the arts. Under the system of the Greek city-state and of the Roman Republic in its earlier days, a natural morality had been reinforced by civic patriotism. Within the extended framework of an Empire this stimulant of action gradually evaporated. The control of the state more and more displaced personal initiative, and regulated conduct. In accordance with the hierarchic structure of society, the penalties which the state inflicted were graded according to the rank of the delinquent. Alongside the old distinction between the slave and the free man, there appeared a distinction between the mass of the population (*humiliores*) and those who belonged to one or other of the official grades (*honestiores*)—members of the senatorial and equestrian orders, curials, soldiers. In the first two centuries this distinction was applied with increasing frequency in the administration of justice, and by the early part of the third century it had passed into the substance of the law. But for those of the higher as well as the lower rank, the penalties for offences which were thought to endanger the stability of the state or to threaten public order and security, and even for those which merely violated the natural code of honest dealing between man and man, were so severe as to suggest the absence not only of an effective principle of cohesion but of any force outside the coercive action of the state to guarantee a reasonable standard of conduct.

Moral mediocrity. Celibacy and childless marriage were penalized. Paternal authority, *patria potestas*, though it was now

much more limited than it had once been, was still regarded by the law as the principal binding force of social life. The perpetuation of a family under this power was the specific function of Roman civil marriage. So long as he lived, the paterfamilias had *potestas* over his sons and daughters, including his married sons and their children and his married daughters (but not their children). Those who were thus subject to a *patria potestas* were not *sui iuris*, all their earnings and other acquisitions being the property of the paterfamilias.

When death terminated a *patria potestas*, the women as well as the men who had been subject to it became *sui iuris*. It is true that women so released were subjected to guardianship for their own protection and in the interest of those who had an expectation of succession from them, but under the Empire this rule gradually became obsolete. Practically, women were in the same position as their brothers, and this was true of married as well as unmarried women, for, although children were under the *patria potestas* of the father, the wife no longer passed into the power of the husband, as in an earlier form of marriage, but remained in her own family.

Since this form of marriage was constituted by consent, it might be dissolved at any time by mutual agreement without special cause. Indeed either party might dissolve the marriage by a formal repudiation, and though unjustifiable repudiation might entail pecuniary forfeiture under the civil law (notably in respect of the wife's dowry), it was not a matter of which the penal law took notice, and the divorce was valid. Divorce, it is true, did not affect *patria potestas*, and for that reason it acted less as a solvent of family life than it would otherwise have done. But the ease with which a marriage could be terminated and a new marriage entered into involved moral consequences.

While the civil law made divorce and remarriage easy, the penal code had to protect an existing marriage by punishing adultery (in a woman and her accomplice) with the greatest severity. Outside marriage a permanent relationship between unmarried persons was tolerated in a regulated form (*concubinatus*) which approximated it to marriage. Since this relationship

involved a loss of social consideration for the woman, it was usually entered into by a man with an inferior in rank, commonly with his freedwoman, in which case it was regarded as more seemly than marriage. Otherwise a breach of chastity in an unmarried woman or a widow (and her accomplice) was punished as severely as adultery, unless she were engaged in one or other of certain recognized occupations (such as that of an actress) or were registered as a prostitute. Prostitution was recognized. Paederasty was punishable only by a moderate fine under the early Empire, but later was made a capital offence. For the procuring of abortion there was no penalty until the time of Severus, when it became punishable by a fine and banishment in the case of a married woman, if done without the husband's consent, or by death if it were fatal to the woman. These rules do not in themselves imply a moral standard essentially different from that of modern secular codes, but they relate only to free persons. The law took no account of the sexual relations that might exist between a man and his own slave, while a connexion with the slave of another person merely created a liability to a civil action.

When one turns from this penal code to estimate the actual state of morals that existed under it, the materials for judgement are found to be less adequate than might have been expected. There is, indeed, a mass of literary evidence, but most of it is the one-sided testimony of satirists, moralists, and propagandists. In any case most of the evils which they condemn could be paralleled in large cities of every age, and it is with the large cities that they deal, and especially with Rome. But Rome was exceptional, and large cities were not numerous in the Empire nor representative. In particular they presented the special problem of a large idle proletariat maintained by public doles and private benefactions and kept in good humour by circus games and the spectacles of the arena. At Rome especially the populace was demoralized in this way. It was the capital also, naturally enough, that supplied the society scandals which gave the satirists and moralists their best opportunity. But that was mostly in the first century, and even then Roman society, as one

of its severest critics, the historian Tacitus, himself admits, offered signal examples of virtue as well as of vice, while the new Italian and provincial element that was entering into it from the Flavian period onwards appears in the *Letters* of the Younger Pliny as dully respectable. When we turn from the larger cities, almost the only evidence available is that supplied by inscriptions on tombstones which, by the virtues they claim for the deceased, imply the general recognition of a simple ideal of family piety and practical dutifulness.

Insensibility. The Italian and provincial sites, however, which supply us with these inscriptions, also reveal, as a rule, in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, the remains of an amphitheatre, where gladiatorial combats were held and armed men engaged with wild beasts, or where men, and even women, were exposed to the beasts unarmed. No doubt most of those who were sent into the arena were condemned criminals, but the fact that the government adapted its penal code to supply such spectacles only serves to show that they were demanded by public opinion, however much they may have been condemned by a few of the more sensitive spirits. In effect, an amphitheatre was a normal adjunct of a town all over the western Empire from Rome to the Atlantic. At its worst this institution gave expression to a savage delight in bloodshed and cruelty. At the least its vogue indicates a general callousness and indifference to human life. Nor must we forget that the exposure of new-born children by their father was never forbidden under the Empire, and in Trajan's reign was found by Pliny to be common in the eastern provinces; that the selling of children into slavery, though more than once forbidden by the emperors, was frequently practised, and by the time of Constantine had been permitted in the case of new-born children whom the father was too poor to maintain; and that the surrender of children into civil bondage, in compensation for damage done by them, was, within certain limits, recognized by law.

But one does not require the evidence of such practices to become aware of a callousness about the Roman pagan temperament. Its righteousness was justice without charity. In the

upper class virtue hardened into the correctness, the good form, of a caste, or was distorted, as in many Stoics, into a grudging puritanism that was more the enemy of joy than of vice. And in truth the vices of this society are less offensive than its insensibility, and the obscenities scribbled on the walls of towns, in public places, less surprising than the indifference which left them there. Language no less gross is to be found in moralists like Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. Nor do they, or Seneca, or any pagan moralist, show that intimate human sympathy which, in St. Augustine, was to transform psychology, and which Augustine himself would have referred to an enlightenment from beyond humanity. The pagans of the first three centuries knew no such spiritual illumination.

Materialism. This lack of spirituality, which is the gravest defect of Roman society in the first three centuries, showed itself not only by insensibility but also by an exclusive pursuit of material goods. Only in the coarse and foolish did this turn life into a mere round of trivial or vicious amusement; only in the vulgar rich did it display itself in an ostentatious luxury; but it led all classes alike into a soulless cult of comfort, in which life became stagnant.

Intellectual stagnation. The capacity for initiative disappeared. Literature, we have seen, lost all spontaneity, and there was a progressive decline of creative power in the arts. The industrial products of the age—its metal-work, pottery, and the like—are depressingly uniform and unoriginal. There was an immense extension of the craft of glass-blowing and of the system of heating by hypocausts, but both devices had been discovered before the imperial period, and neither of these inventions for convenience and comfort was of a kind to suggest exhilarating possibilities to human endeavour. There was, in fact, no inventiveness. Nor was there any scientific criticism or curiosity. The Romans were indifferent to the past of every people they came in contact with except the Greeks, whose history they regarded as an earlier stage of their own. In dealing with their own history, they were less concerned with the discovery of truth than with morals and politics, and the historian regarded

his task not as one of independent inquiry, but as a mere colla-
tion of the accounts given by his predecessors—*parata inquisitio
sed onerosa collatio*. In the physical sciences they were content to
tabulate and pigeon-hole for practical use, as occasion might
arise, the knowledge bequeathed by the Greeks.

The lack of the scientific sense is especially to be seen in two
departments of knowledge to which, from their own experience,
they were in a position to make an original contribution—
military science and geography. For centuries the Roman state
had waged war almost continuously against a great diversity of
enemies and in every variety of circumstances. They had not
only had a wide experience of campaigning but had now estab-
lished, on a scale unknown before, a system of permanent
frontier lines. The uniformity of this frontier system and the
correspondence of the strategical lines along which different
campaigns proceeded imply a set of well-defined principles. Yet
these are known to us only by inference from the historical narra-
tives, supplemented by inscriptions and remains. They are not ex-
pounded by any Roman writer, still less examined and criticized.
They appear to have aroused no intellectual interest.   From the
first three centuries only two military works in Latin have come
down to us. One is a mere treatise on castrametation, ascribed
to a land-surveyor (Hyginus). The other is a work on stratagems
by a Julius Frontinus. Frontinus had been Agricola's predecessor
as governor of Britain, and had carried on several successful
campaigns in the difficult hill-country of South Wales; and
remains now being unearthed there testify to his military com-
petence. Yet his book is a mere collection of schoolroom examples
copied from Greek and Roman History. With such intellectual
timidity did the Roman soldier, when he exchanged his sword
for the pen, surrender to an academic convention.

Among the Greeks the conquests of Alexander the Great had
stimulated geographical curiosity, and geographical science had
been actively cultivated in the Hellenistic period, notably at
Alexandria. The extension of the Roman Empire did not pro-
duce a corresponding effect among the Romans. In the Latin
language the only formal treatise on geography, besides the

geographical parts of Pliny's *Natural History* and of the *Germania* of Tacitus, is a brief compendium written in the reign of Claudius by a Spaniard, Pomponius Mela. The only treatises upon a large scale were composed by two Greeks—Strabo, a native of Pontus, who wrote in the reign of Augustus, and Ptolemy of Alexandria, who wrote in the Antonine period.

But although Strabo and Ptolemy were Greeks, they were also Roman provincials, and their works were affected, though in different ways, by the lack of scientific curiosity in the imperial period. Hellenistic geography had been intellectual and speculative, and astronomical and mathematical reasoning had carried it far beyond the limits of actual experience and immediate utility. Strabo, while discoursing in his introduction on the intellectual methods of the Hellenistic geographers, feels bound to justify his own work on the ground of utility and sets himself to produce a text-book of practical value to statesmen. Ptolemy's work was affected by the Roman indifference to geographical science in another fashion. He restored the astronomical and mathematical method, and, though he did not escape serious errors, he applied it with greater skill than any of his predecessors, yet in the projection of his maps there are distortions out of all relation to his theoretical skill, because the extended opportunities for observation and record given by the magnitude of the Empire and the range of its external relations had been so little made use of that the material at the disposal of the scientific geographer was not much more adequate in the second century A.D. than it had been four hundred years before. 'Roman writers', Strabo complains, 'simply translate from the Greeks, and show little inclination for inquiry on their own account, with the result that they do little to fill up the gaps in knowledge left by the Greeks.' Private individuals do not seem to have thought of pursuing regional researches on their own initiative, nor did Roman officials take advantage of their position to undertake or assist or encourage a scientific study of the countries which they governed. The officials were only reflecting the indifference of their government. The survey of the Empire which Augustus began had a purely administrative purpose,

while the map which he ordered to be painted up on the Vip-
sanian portico at Rome, apparently a mere diagrammatic view
of the imperial road-system, was little more than an instrument
of patriotic publicity. A government so little interested in the
scientific study of its own provinces could hardly be expected
to undertake scientific exploration beyond its frontiers. It was
rarely indeed that it even had the enterprise to organize an
expedition to explore possible trade-routes. Its expeditions into
barbarian country were almost exclusively military. That these
campaigns resulted in the collection of topographical material is
shown by the fact that successive armies moved along identical
lines and encamped on the same sites, but this material does not
seem to have been of a kind useful to the geographer or readily
available to him. That geography owed more of its knowledge
of distant lands to the private trader than to the statesman or the
soldier is clear from the nature of the new information that had
been acquired between the time of Strabo and the time of
Ptolemy. But even here the gain is disappointing. The Roman
trader went far afield, but he did not carry with him the intelli-
gent curiosity which had made of the commercial voyages of
Pytheas of Marseilles, centuries before, an epoch in the growth
of geographical knowledge. The Roman trader was content
with bare itineraries and commercial reports. Among the Greeks
discoveries made in distant lands had aroused such an appetite
for travellers' tales that a whole literature of the marvellous and
fantastic grew up to satisfy it. It is this Greek literature that is
satirized in the *True History* which Lucian wrote in the Antonine
period. The Romans produced no such tales to satirize.

The lack of enterprise. The Roman of the Empire does not seem
even to have been able to do justice to the occasional daring
of the men of his own time. At the beginning of the reign
of Marcus Aurelius (*c.* 160) a navigator passed the Straits of
Malacca and entered China from Annam. We know of this not
from any Roman source but from Chinese annals. If any Roman
writer ever took notice of it, he probably mentioned it with as
little concern as Pliny mentions a journey to the source of the
supply of amber on the Baltic and the exploit of a Greek sea-

captain, Hippalus by name, who trusted himself to the monsoons and was carried direct across the ocean to India. No Latin work of the imperial period breathes the excitement of travel in strange lands 'or the exhilaration of danger faced and difficulty overcome. 'Who would brave the peril of a stormy and unknown sea,' Tacitus asks, 'and would leave Asia or Africa or Italy and sail to Germany with its uncultivated lands and rigorous climate . . . unless his home were there?' It is not in that spirit that a literature of adventure is produced.

Even in trade adventurousness was not a mark of the imperial period, and it became more rare as time went on. The gradual disappearance of large concerns and the increasing distribution of trade and industry over small businesses was not only an effect of economic causes but a reflection of declining enterprise. This showed itself not only in the traders and producers but also among investors, who increasingly satisfied themselves with the small returns, security, and social consideration given by the ownership of land.

The loss of vitality. This lack of enterprise was a symptom of a general lowering of vitality, which enfeebled even the instinct to preserve life and to propagate it. Suicide was common. Among the upper classes there was a disinclination to marry, and those who married had few children or none. Senatorial and equestrian families rapidly died out, and the two orders had to be recruited continuously from outside their own ranks.

It was from the country towns of Italy and increasingly from the provinces that these classes were recruited from the Flavian period onwards. That in itself is enough to show that the decline of vitality in Roman society was not due to a physical enfeeblement caused by an absorption of inferior racial strains. In the provinces there was little or no racial change in the period of the Empire. It is true that at one time, through the emancipation of slaves, the population of Rome and (in a less degree) Italy received a considerable admixture of Greek-speaking Asiatics. The worst of these did no good to the life of the capital or the life of the capital to them, but the populace of Rome played an insignificant part in the history of the Empire. So far as

freedmen of eastern origin became prominent in the West, they did so by reason of their quick intelligence and nervous energy, and it would not be easy to prove that descendants of theirs who entered the municipal life of Italy or were enrolled in the upper classes of Rome were physically degenerate. In any case, it was only in the earlier period of the Empire that this element entered Roman society at all freely. The provincials from whom the senatorial and equestrian orders were largely recruited in the Flavian and Antonine periods were almost exclusively land-owners from the West, and if eastern senators became fairly numerous from the reign of Commodus onwards, it was not they who dominated Roman official life in the third century but a military element drawn mostly from the northern frontiers and not uncommonly risen from the ranks. These provincial mag-nates and professional soldiers did not belong to races which are regarded as 'inferior' by northern historians, and physically they were robust enough; but the former were intellectually crude, and the latter were half barbaric. The trouble was that the civilization of the Empire had not the power to transform this raw material. The decline of Roman civilization, which had already become apparent before the military anarchy of the third century, was due neither to social corruption nor to racial degeneracy, but to a lack of intellectual and spiritual energy. And that in turn was due to the exhaustion of the philosophy of life by which men had lived.

THE END OF PAGANISM

Classical humanism had run its course and had reached the limit of its constructive power. The impulse which intellectual curiosity and the love of beauty had given to it in the youth of Hellenism had died away, leaving behind it government, a civil law, rational method, the technique of expression, a material culture. This vast system was magnificent as a mechanism, but the motive force was gone; and its surviving monuments, well represented in the sombre masterpieces of Piranesi, oppress the mind, as with a dead weight. The men of the society of Marcus Aurelius had seen, through a long past, all the avenues of reason

and the forms of beauty explored and exhausted. Upon them fell the nemesis of humanism—the sterility of self-adoration. The imperial system has been blamed both by ancient and modern critics, but the Empire was not independent of the inheritance it had entered upon. Under the stimulus of an intense patriotism, it had reshaped the *humanitas* which Greece had bequeathed to it in accordance with its own genius, and in this form it had communicated it to the West. But as the sense of patriotism faded away from its very extension, it became evident that the Empire had succeeded to a *damnosa hereditas*, a bankrupt estate. Greece had exhausted the resources of the natural reason and the Empire fell heir to the inevitable disillusionment.

The Romans of the early centuries of our era busied themselves with the routine of social life, the management of their affairs, and the public service. The practical duties of administration suited their temperament, and to the more restless spirits they were at least a kind of narcotic, as are to many the technical researches of our own day. But whereas to modern humanists the discovery of mechanical laws appears to open avenues of escape from the sense of human limitation, no great discoveries of science or of exploration gave to the Romans the illusion of lifted horizons. Most of them were too busy or unaspiring to be aware of any limitation or frustration. In those who were conscious of it it bred a helpless pessimism or fatalism. What lay beyond the traveller's ken 'cannot be sought out because of some divine influence of the gods',[1] for

> The gods recall us, and to mortal eyes
> Forbid the bounds of nature.[2]

This pessimism and fatalism was philosophized into the system of Stoicism, into which classical humanism, ceasing to be the main stream of ancient thought, ran out as into a backwater.

Stoicism. When the absorption of the ancient city-states in the Hellenistic kingdoms and the Roman Empire had diluted civic patriotism and weakened the influence of civic ideals of morality, many looked to philosophy to supply a standard of conduct; and

[1] *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.*
[2] Pedo Albinovanus, ap. Senec. Rhet., *Suas.* 1.

philosophy, in its turn, having exhausted its power of speculation, was ready to take up the part of moral director. In this it was represented especially by the Stoic system, with which, in the imperial period, are associated the names of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius.

From evidence of design in nature the Stoics inferred a universal reason or soul (*anima mundi*) pervading all things. Human wisdom and happiness lay in conscious conformity with this universal reason or God. In that sense 'to obey God is liberty'. Indeed it was self-realization and even self-deification, for in right action the wise man was part of the Being of God. But Stoicism acknowledged no ultimate distinction of spirit and matter; it was a pantheism in which the universal reason and the material order were identified, and in this identification the material side predominated. The Stoic God was Nature, the fixed order and course of the universe. Outside of this it was foolish for man to search for anything. The wise man was he who knew the laws of Nature and obeyed them willingly as an inevitable Fate. In a sense this was self-obedience, since man was himself part of the order which he obeyed. But he was an insignificant part, and he was cursed with contradictions in his nature that made a life of harmony with the universe possible only by a rigorous self-discipline of which few were capable; and even the wise few might find external circumstances so contrary as to be justified in self-destruction. Commonly it was the unenlightened man, in his subjection to his passions, who was responsible for the circumstances which caused suffering to others, and it was a mark of the harmonious life of the sage that he showed humanity to his fellow men.

Modern systems of thought, positivist and humanitarian, have recognized in Stoicism, consciously or unconsciously, their ancient analogue, and sometimes the system has been acclaimed as a *perennis quaedam philosophia*. Rather it was a synthesis, in the terms of its day, of recurrent moods of rationalist pride and pessimism. In its own form it did not outlive the second century, and it had more professed adherents in the first century than in the second. And though it powerfully affected certain minds,

its direct influence was never extensive; its doctrine of the sage made it the philosophy of an intellectual and moral *élite*, which despised the common man. But indirectly it had an important influence through its effect upon religion, thereby contributing to the main stream in which ancient life was now flowing. It had a destructive effect upon polytheism, and, after the time of Marcus Aurelius, when it lost its identity as a philosophical system, it entered into combination with sun-worship to produce the solar pantheism of the third century.

Religion. When we first have evidence of Roman religion, it presents itself to us in two forms closely analogous to one another --as a religion of the family and a religion of the community. In each case the objects of worship were *numina*, that is, spirits residing in places, persons, or objects. There was an obligation (*religio*) to placate these *numina* by the performance of a prescribed ritual, which, in return, secured their protection and beneficent action. Within the family this continued to be a living religion in the imperial period, when a cult was still paid to the Lares, or spirits of the house; to the Genius of the *paterfamilias*, the indwelling spirit that gave him the power to continue the life of the family; and to the Manes or spirits of its dead members. As a religion of local communities the cult of *numina* persisted in rural Italy, and there were corresponding local cults throughout the provinces. But as the religion of the Roman people it was transformed as Rome itself grew from a local agricultural community to a great state.

The transformation took place under Greek influence. The *numina*, or earth-spirits, were exalted into celestial deities dwelling in an abode beyond the world, like the Greek Olympus. They were identified with corresponding Greek deities, while their number was increased by other Greek gods for whom there were no Latin equivalents or by mere deified abstractions, such as Faith and Hope. Though now released from their material limits, they were anthropomorphized under the influence of the Greek plastic imagination, received external representation in art, and became the subject of a mythology.

By this transformation Roman religion lost more than it gained.

If the objects of its worship were now the exalted inhabitants of a celestial abode, they lost the intimate contact with human life that had attached the humble spirits of the countryside to their worshippers. If these spirits had laid down no ethical code, yet the fear of offending them had reinforced family piety and communal loyalty. The Olympian deities were so little associated with virtue that the mythology in which they were presented displayed them with the same weaknesses and passions as men. If the old religion knew no theology, at least it satisfied simple instincts. In its Olympian form polytheism invited criticism, and a rationalism learned from Greek philosophy proceeded to attack a system which Greek mythology had made too vulnerable. The simple man contented himself with his family cults, and if for some reason he felt himself to be under the protection of any of the Olympian deities, he domesticated them and identified them with his Penates, the spirits that guarded his household store. Otherwise scepticism was general in the late Republic and at the beginning of the Empire, though the prevalence of magical practices and of a superstitious belief in omens and portents revealed the persistence of religious instincts seeking for satisfaction.

The attempt made by Augustus to revive the Olympian religion failed, though his reorganization of the official priesthoods perpetuated its connexion with the state. Through this connexion it continued to command the respect of the official class, while it maintained some hold over the populace by reason of its periodic festivals. More important from the religious point of view was the introduction by Augustus of the institution of emperor-worship. Though it derived immediately from the East, it adapted itself to the religious instincts of the West, for the worship paid to the power embodied in the living emperor could be regarded as analogous to the cult paid to the *numen* of a local community or to the Genius which conserved the life of a family, just as the cult of the emperors deified after death was analogous to that of the Manes. In this sense Caesar-worship was a revival and enlargement of the old Roman worship of *numina*. But within the huge framework of the Empire the com-

munal sense had ceased to be intense enough to give to Caesar-worship, or to any state cult, much reality for the individual, especially as the individual, now more conscious of his isolation than ever before, desired the stimulus and consolation of a personal religion. That satisfaction was offered to him by certain Oriental cults.

As a result of the consultation of the Sibylline books after the disasters of the Second Punic War, the worship of Cybele, the Phrygian Great Mother, had been introduced into Rome by the senate in 204 B.C. Though given a residence at Rome, Cybele long remained an exotic goddess, and the eunuch-priests who administered her cult continued to be Orientals until the close of the Republican period, when Roman citizens began to enter their ranks. But these citizen-priests were drawn entirely from the lower classes of the population, largely from the freedmen class. As a recognized state-cult, the worship of Cybele became a part of municipal life, and so spread over the more municipalized areas of the western provinces, such as Gallia Narbonensis, where indeed it became the dominant religion.

Whereas the cult of Cybele had been introduced by the state, the worship of the Egyptian Isis spread along the great avenues of commerce by individual conversions. Not only was it open to women as well as men, like the cult of Cybele, but it looked for converts in all classes. It had securely established itself in Italy by the time of Augustus, though it was regarded with suspicion by the state until the Flavian period. From the time of Domitian, who was a devotee of the goddess, the cult spread with great rapidity, and in the second century it enjoyed a vogue unapproached by that of Cybele.

In their original form the Egyptian Isis and the Phrygian Cybele had both been worshipped by sensual rites as goddesses of fertility. By the Roman period they had become ascetic as well as orgiastic cults under the influence of Greek mysticism. Symbolism which had once represented the decay and revival of vegetation now prefigured the death and resurrection of the worshipper, to whom a sacramental system assured a spiritual

rebirth and a blessed immortality. With the third century both cults became part of a religion of cosmic forces which had been introduced into the West by the spread of sun-worship from Syria.

The Syrian Baalim and their female counterparts were local deities which had been so far influenced by Semitic monotheism that their devotees paid them an exclusive worship, and indeed claimed for their 'Most High' a sovereign authority. As modified by Chaldaean astrology, these cults promised to their initiates an ascent through spheres of purification to an eternal happiness with their deity in an upper heaven. Carried westwards by traders and soldiers, they made many converts, and in the Syrian atmosphere of the Severan court they became predominant. This solar religion was unified by Elagabalus when he established at Rome the worship of the sun-god of Emesa (whose priest he was and from whom, by an identification of priest and god, he took his name) and placed in the shrine of the god the symbols of other cults as a token of sovereignty. In the course of the third century 'the Unconquered Sun' came to be so generally recognized as sovereign and universal god that Aurelian, in associating the state with his worship, hoped by this means to secure the religious unity of the Empire.

For this solar monotheism the way had long been prepared by an increasing fusion or confusion of the gods, in which they had lost their distinctive features, and by the destructive effect upon polytheism of philosophical criticism. Stoicism had originally taken the popular religion under its patronage, and had interpreted its many divinities as manifestations of the one Supreme Being. Indeed by combining this principle with its theory of an interdependence and close sympathy between all parts of the universe, it had offered a philosophic defence of oracles, divination, omens, and the like. But in this it was making a concession to human weakness; essentially it was opposed to the traditional polytheism. More naturally it allied itself with a worship of natural forces. Under its influence these tended to converge to a religious equivalent of its own Nature or Reason, and the point of convergence was found in the solar religion, which,

under the influence of Chaldaean astrology, had already assumed a cosmic universality. By its notion of an interdependent universe Stoicism encouraged the astrological ideas and practices that had attached themselves to this religion, and its rationalism presented it as a pantheism. Classical humanism thus imprisoned religion with itself in the same materialistic determinism.

If one of the solar cults, that of Mithras, escaped the determinism to which the exhausted reason of the Graeco-Roman world had resigned itself, that was because it retained much of the character it had derived from its Persian origin. Before the Roman period Mithras-worship had already spread from Persia by way of Mesopotamia to eastern Asia Minor, but there it made no contact with the Roman world until that region was incorporated, in the Flavian period, in the system of frontier communications. Thereafter it was carried westwards to the Atlantic, along both the northern and southern frontiers, by soldiers of eastern origin. During the second century it penetrated the imperial bureaucracy through slaves and freedmen, while traders introduced it into the ports of the Mediterranean and the commercial cities in the interior of the provinces. The emperor Commodus was initiated into its rites, and it shared in the favour shown to the solar cults under the Severan dynasty.

In his Mazdaic setting Mithras was the leader of the angels of light who fought for Ormuzd against Ahriman and his spirits of darkness. After the capture of Babylonia by Cyrus Mazdaism was transformed by the influence of the astrological religion of Mesopotamia, and in the Roman period Mithras was worshipped as a sun-god. But he was never absorbed with the other sun-gods in solar pantheism, and to the end Mithraism showed itself true to its origin by the marked dualism of its theology. Evil (Ahriman) was deified as well as Good (Ormuzd), and the two were confronted in an antagonism which was to last as long as the world endured. The follower of Mithras was thus a soldier who won his place after death in the celestial company of Ormuzd by good service during life in the battle of Good against Evil under the leadership of his god. The Persians among whom Mithraism had originated were a military people,

and the Iranians of Asia Minor among whom it had developed were a military caste; and the commands of Mithras had therefore the character of a military code of honour, and it was a religion that made a special appeal to soldiers. But when Diocletian placed the Empire under the protection of Mithras, he was exercising not only the preference of a soldier but the judgement of a statesman. The peculiar value of the system lay less in the nature of the commands it issued than in the significance it gave to life. The duty of the Mithraic soldier was not like the wisdom of the Stoic sage—resignation to the inevitable course of Nature. On the contrary, it was active resistance to evil. Life was a battle that was waged perpetually in heaven and on earth, throughout the whole system of nature and within the conscience of every individual. In an age when life had lost its meaning, the system thus gave significance to every act, and amid a general lassitude it evoked a continuous energy.   It supplied the only vital religious force to the theology of Neoplatonism, the form in which paganism made its last struggle, in the intellectual field, against the advance of Christianity.

Neoplatonism. This religious philosophy took shape at Alexandria before the middle of the third century, but it is especially associated with its first great exponent, Plotinus, an Egyptian who taught at Rome between 250 and 270, and with his successors, Porphyry, Iamblicus, and Proclus, who developed it as a theology. It was based on the Platonic conception of ascendant orders of reality. The One, the Good, unfolded itself in a system of Intelligences and Souls, or Spirits, from which, in turn, proceeded the sensible world. To the system of Spirits were assigned the pagan gods, who were not absorbed, as in Stoicism, in a pantheism, but retained their own individuality. Through their mediation the Source of all being made itself known to men, who belonged to the sensible world through the descent of their souls into body, but aspired to a spiritual existence and ultimate reunion with the One.

The weakness of the system lay in the intractable nature of its religious material. Graeco-Roman paganism was inextricably involved in a mythology to which no allegorizing ingenuity

could give any theological or ethical value, while the Oriental cults had never rid themselves of the savagery and obscenity of their naturalistic origin. Mithraism, now the most vital of the pagan religions, was indeed rigorous in its morality, but its asceticism was the counterpart of a deification of evil and a consequent belief in the duplication of the divine by a diabolical creation; and this gave a sinister character to the magical beliefs and practices that increasingly disfigured Neoplatonism. So far from transmuting its material, it was steadily degraded by it, and its history is one of continuous degeneration.

Nevertheless Neoplatonism had a value independent of its material. From the aspiration of the human soul towards a reunion with the One, which, as the source of reason, was itself supra-rational, it argued that reason was no more sufficient for religious truth than was sense-perception. From the relation of man to the original Source of his being, it inferred that the highest knowledge, the supra-rational, and therefore the possibility of all knowledge, must come from divine communication. While Stoicism had exhibited the reason of the ancient world in its exhaustion, Neoplatonism formulated the principle by which it transcended its limitations and recovered the power of movement. It was the principle of authority, on which the men of that time were already giving their intellectual assent to the Christian revelation.

CHRISTIANITY TO THE EDICT OF MILAN

By W. E. BROWN, M.A., B.SC., D.D.

CONTENTS

WHEN Maximinus the Thracian became Emperor of Rome after the assassination of Alexander Severus in A.D. 235, he opened his reign with an edict directing that the officials of the Christian churches should be put to death. It is with the history of those 'churches' that the present chapter is concerned, and the account may well begin with an examination of three characteristics which they clearly possessed at the time of the Edict of Maximin. Their geographical distribution, the economic and cultural status of their members, must be considered. More important, the basis on which, in their literature, they claimed to be one and to be distinct from similar organizations, calls for examination.

The Edict of Maximin, applicable to the whole Empire, suggests that Christianity was widely distributed. There is other and abundant evidence of highly organized Christian churches in the great commercial and political centres of imperial life at the time. Antioch and Carthage, Caesarea and Alexandria, Lyons and Corinth, as well as Rome, had Christian communities which have left record of their government and of their way of life. Already, too, their writers were conscious that the Christian religion had spread far beyond the important centres of population. Tertullian, the Carthaginian lawyer, boasted of the believers in Spain and Britain and Germany and in places unknown to the Romans themselves. His phrase was rhetorical and proves no more than a consciousness of the widespread distribution of Christianity.[1] The same must perhaps be said of the references which Origen, the Alexandrian catechist, made to the conversion of Britain.[2] More weight, however, must be given to the appeal of Irenaeus, the bishop of Lyons, to the creeds of the churches founded in Germany, Spain, and among the Celts, since the success of his polemic against heresy depended on his appeal to the verifiable teaching of Christian communities,

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[1] *Adv. Jud.* vii.　　　　[2] *Hom. IV in Ezech.* 1, and *Hom. VI in Lucam.*

and since he ranked the churches named with those of Egypt and Asia Minor whose existence is otherwise recorded. But we pass altogether out of the realm of inference when we speak of an increase of Christian communities in Gaul and Africa and Asia. Whatever may have been the relations of the other Christian groups of Gaul with that of Lyons, there is no doubt that towards the end of the second century Irenaeus was able to speak in the name, and at least occasionally to preside over the deliberations, of many other 'churches' besides that of Lyons.[1] Tertullian, in various writings all of which are at least a dozen years earlier than the Edict of Maximin, referred to Christians in many other towns besides Carthage. He attacked the bishop of Utica in A.D. 213, he described the sufferings of Christians in Numidia and in Mauretania in A.D. 212, the trials of others at Thysdrus in Byzacenia.[2] These references to a Christianity spread throughout all the provinces of Africa are explained when it is remembered that only a few years later St. Cyprian, writing of the time of Tertullian, related that a bishop of Carthage, Agrippinus, assembled in council all his fellow bishops of the African province and of Numidia.[3] And there is nothing improbable in the statement, made far later by St. Augustine, that seventy bishops attended that council.[4]

The spread of Christianity in Egypt outside Alexandria needs no other evidence besides the fact that in A.D. 248 Origen was able to refer to the communities already founded even in Libya and the Thebaid.[5] And for Asia Minor the evidence is too well known to need repetition. Tertullian then was justified in giving his rhetorical list of the Christians established amongst all the peoples whom the Empire could name as its subjects. And he was not altogether at fault in referring to lands unknown to Rome; already a generation before the Edict of Maximin, the ruler of the state whose capital was Edessa, and from which the Romans had withdrawn, had been baptized and had made Christianity the official religion of his kingdom.

[1] Eus. *H.E.* v. 24, xi.   [2] *De Monog.* 12; *Ad Scap.* 3. 4.
[3] Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxi. 4.
[4] Aug., *De unico baptismo contra Petilianum*, xiii. 22.
[5] Origen, *Cont. Celsum*, iii. 9.

Maximin's edict was directed then against communities which were to be found in all parts of his dominions. Equally their members were to be found in all ranks of society. That fact is clear first from the wealth which the Christian churches possessed and used as their own. At Rome before the end of the second century it had been necessary for a newly elected bishop to appoint an official to take charge of the property which served both as cemetery and as the place of liturgical worship. Similar catacombs, devoted also to Christian use and of approximately the same date, have been discovered in Algeria and in Tunisia.[1] That the Christians had such property, and that it was well known to their fellow citizens, is clear from the outcry of the pagan population of Carthage in the time of the proconsul Hilarion, 'areae non sint', which Tertullian mentions as the slogan used against his friends.[2] But outside Rome itself—and possibly Carthage—the Christians were already worshipping in buildings which were known to be devoted to their cultus. The pagan interlocutor of Minucius Felix' *Octavius*, a work of the early third century, refers to them as springing up on all sides.[3] The fact is assumed to be well known by Origen who in describing the persecution which resulted from the Edict of Maximin, a persecution which did not affect Alexandria itself, says that the churches of the Christians were burned.[4] By this time, therefore, the Christian cult had its own liturgical buildings. Wealth such as these properties implied could only have come into the possession of the local communities by the adherence of wealthy men. Whatever then may have been the social condition of the first Christians in each locality, it is clear that by the end of the second century there were many wealthy citizens who sought salvation in the Christian faith. Indeed, had this not been the case, both the title and the argument of the *Quis dives salvetur* of the leading Christian publicist of his day would have been without point. And in view of this evidence of wealth Tertullian's boast[5] that his co-religionists were to be found in the palace, the senate, and the forum does not appear to have been an exaggeration.

[1] Leynaud, *Les Catacombes africaines*.   [2] *Ad Scap.* 3.
[3] Minuc. Fel., *Octavius*, 9.   [4] Origen, *In Mathaeum*, comm. Serm. 39.
[5] *Apol.* xxxvii, *Ad Scap.* 5.

If the inquiry were limited to one or two Christian communities this characteristic penetration of every social class would be found to have been known for many years. The assumption of Clement of Alexandria in the *Quis dives salvetur* had been made by Hermas with regard to the Christians of Rome a generation earlier; the statement of Tertullian was made in slightly more general terms, but without the same excuse for exaggeration, by Pliny the Younger when describing conditions in Bithynia at the beginning of the second century.

Just as it was clear to the imperial authorities that the adherents of this religion included many wealthy citizens, so also they knew that it was defended by publicists with all the apparatus of learning. In Africa, it was true, this literary defence of the Christian religion belonged only to the generation immediately preceding the Edict of Maximin. Tertullian seems to have been there the founder of the school of Christian apologists, although it may have been his deliberate choice to ignore the works of his predecessors. But in other centres the creation of a Christian literature of defence had begun much earlier. Though Polycarp the bishop of Smyrna and Papias his friend could not be numbered among the philosophers, their writings show that the Christianity of that district was a religion of the cultured in the first half of the second century. Nor was this characteristic limited to one group of Christians only; Justin and Tatian, both of whom had been trained in the Greek schools of philosophy and had themselves been professional philosophers, are witnesses for the culture of the Christians of the City. Quadratus who addressed an *Apology* for the Christian faith to the Emperor Hadrian, Aristides the Athenian who dedicated a similar work to Antoninus Pius, and Athenagoras whose *Supplication for Christians* was written A.D. 177, show that there was a continuous literary effort among the Christians of Greece throughout the second century. Still another centre of Christian scholarship was to be found at Antioch in Syria. The writings of Ignatius at the beginning of the second century suppose at least a cultured society, and the *Ad Autolycum* of Theophilus in the third quarter of the century shows that the culture was maintained. In one

city, at least, this tradition of learning was deliberately organized and perpetuated. At Alexandria the Christian community from about the year 180 had a recognized exponent of the philosophy of the Christian faith. The name of the first 'teacher', Pantaenus, has been preserved only by Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian of the fourth century, but Clement, who taught in the last years of the second century, claims to have had at least one predecessor. Of the exact methods of this Christian school it is difficult now to speak with certainty, but it is clear that the lectures of these philosophers were open to those who were not yet Christians, and that they endeavoured to show that the Christian faith alone was consistent with human reason as well as to expound that faith in a logical order.

By the end of the second century then there was satisfactory evidence that the Christian religion was far from being a religion of slaves, or of a few enthusiasts. It had its own literary and philosophic culture, its own succession of scholars whose work would naturally be used by any one who took on himself to expound this religion.   In fact it was a religion whose past was known, whose traditions were already formed in the two hundred years of its history, a religion in which a new teacher would normally refer to his predecessors and would strive to continue their teaching: 'This, my work,' he might say, 'is just a record, an image, a reflection of those vivid and vital discourses which I myself heard from men whose names should not be forgotten. One of them I met in Hellas, another in Greater Greece; and of those two one was born in Coele Syria, the other in Egypt. Others I met in the East, and of them one was an Assyrian, the other a Jew by birth. The latter was easily the ablest of all, and I came across him first by chance. Afterwards I searched for him and came across him at last in Egypt where he had hidden himself. . . . These men kept the real tradition of the holy learning, that tradition which comes straight from Peter and James and John and Paul, the holy apostles; and we receive it as a son receives the estate of his father.'[1]

The property and culture of the Christians did not distinguish

[1] Clement Alex., *Strom.* 1. i.

them from those who followed different religions within the
Empire. Their specific characteristic according to their own
writers lay in the doctrine which they professed. Irenaeus, the
bishop of Lyons of the end of the second century, the disciple of
Polycarp the bishop of Smyrna, described that doctrine in these
terms: The Church which has been planted throughout the
world to the ends of the earth has received its faith from the
apostles and their disciples. It is a faith in one God the Almighty
Father who made the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all that is
in them. In one Jesus Christ the Son of God, incarnate for our
salvation. And in the Holy Spirit who by the prophets pro-
claimed His providence. It is a faith of the coming of our
beloved Lord Jesus Christ, of His birth from the Virgin, of His
suffering, of His resurrection from the dead, of His ascension in
the flesh into heaven, of His coming from heaven in the glory
of the Father to gather all things under His headship. It is a
faith that all flesh of the human race shall rise again, so that
every knee, whether on earth or in heaven or under the earth
shall be bent before Christ Jesus our Lord, our God, our Saviour,
and our King, and every tongue shall confess Him. And that
He shall do just judgement on all. That He shall send the fallen
and apostate angels, and the impious, unjust, and blasphemers
from among men into everlasting fire; while on those who are
upright and just, who have kept His commandments, who have
persevered in His love, whether from the first or after penance,
He will bestow life, undying life, and will surround them with
eternal glory. The Church has accepted this doctrine and
guards this faith as we have proclaimed it. Though she is spread
throughout the whole world she keeps this faith as though she
dwelt in one place; she believes these things as though she had
but one mind and one heart; she proclaims these things and
teaches them as consistently as if she had but one mouth. There
are indeed different languages in the world but there is only one
and the same meaning of the traditional teaching.[1]

It was not claimed by Irenaeus when he wrote this statement
of belief that every one who called himself a Christian would

[1] Iren. (ed. Massuet), *Adv. haer.* 1. x, 1 and 2.

subscribe to it. The work in which it appeared was directed against heretics, against those who claimed to follow the teaching of Christ, and Irenaeus was engaged both in showing how they could be discerned from those whom he accepted as the Church, and how the belief of the Church could be justified. But he could claim that his rule of faith was the common belief of all those whom he admitted as sharing his religion. At approximately the same time Hippolytus of Rome, Tertullian at Carthage, and Origen at Alexandria set out summaries of the belief of the Church to which they belonged, and the accounts are substantially the same as that of Irenaeus.[1] This 'faith', which was the condition of belonging to the Church for which these men claimed to speak, was not mere acceptance of a formula of words. There was such a formula used in the initiation ceremony. That used by the Church at Rome dates back almost certainly to the end of the first century, and it seems likely that it had been accepted later as the formula for initiation in Africa and in Gaul. But there is no evidence that it was so accepted at this time in the church of Alexandria. In any case the rule of faith as set out by Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, and Origen was much more developed than the baptismal formula. And the rules of faith as proposed by them were drawn up in different languages according as Greek or Latin was the predominant language of their provincial culture. For these men therefore it was the meaning of the formula and not the formula only which had to be preserved. In the phrase of another who belonged to their company, Clement of Alexandria, it was the understanding of the teaching handed down which had to be rendered back to God.[2]

For this reason they made no difficulty about the steady increase in the number of propositions which they regarded as the test of membership of their communions. The rule of faith of Irenaeus was much longer than that of Justin Martyr, and yet he claimed to hold the same faith.[3] Origen, again, in the account

[1] Hippolytus, *Contra haresim Noeti*, 17; Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, 13; Origen, *De principiis*, 1, proem., 4.

[2] Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, vi. 15.

[3] Justin, *Apologia*, 1, *ad Ant. Pium*, 13.

of those things which are handed down, allows that as yet it is not clear whether we are bound to believe that the Holy Spirit is *natus* or *innatus*, but he does not suggest that it is in any way undiscoverable.[1] These Christians then conceived themselves as possessing a body of information concerning the nature of God, and of their Founder, concerning the historical incidents of His life on earth, what He had wrought spiritually, and what He would do in the future. It was this information which was expressed in the rules of faith, and all who belonged to their communion must be prepared to hold the accepted meaning of that information, even if its preservation demanded that the rule itself be elaborated.

In consequence of this attitude there had come into the world the phenomenon of Christian heresy. If any professing to belong to the Christian Church was suspect of not holding the faith he was required to state his belief. So at Carthage when Praxeas was suspected of not holding the truth concerning the distinction between Christ and His Father, he was required by the church of Carthage to record in his own hand his acceptance of their doctrine.[2] Origen also had to write to the bishop of Rome a recantation of some of his teaching.[3] Those who refused to hold the same meaning of the rule of faith as that held by the Church were henceforth denied membership of it. There were indeed many other characteristics of the Christian communities. They had a morality of their own, they had a liturgy and ceremonies of their own, but these were for them dependent on this body of doctrine which they referred to as 'the faith'. Intellectual assent to the teaching concerning God, concerning what He had done, was doing, and would do for mankind was an essential basis of membership. So, for instance, Clement of Alexandria in talking of those who depart from the rule of the Church in sacramental practice described them as heretics because they prostituted the truth.[4] So also a hundred years earlier Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch, wrote that the heretics abstain from the Eucharist and

[1] Origen, *De principiis*, i, proem., 4, 11.
[2] Tert., *adv. Praxeam*, 1. 8.
[3] Jerome, *Epis.* 84. x, and Rufinus, *Invect. in Hier.* i. 44.
[4] Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vii. 16.

Liturgical Prayer of the Church because they do not confess the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ.[1] The acceptance intellectually of a body of doctrine was then the basis of unity of a great number at least of those whom the Empire knew as Christians. That essential characteristic went back to the time of the first Christians. The same test indeed was applied by the apostle when he wrote to the Galatian Christians: 'Though we or an angel from heaven preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema. As we have said before, so now I say again, if any one preach to you a gospel, besides that which you have received, let him be anathema.' The existence of this discipline from the first beginnings of the Christian communities shows that they were aware of the fact that some would assume their name but would attempt to change their doctrine. Sometimes, as in the first and early second centuries, it seems to have been a case of others trying to ally themselves with the Christian communities and to modify the beliefs which the Christians held concerning their Founder. Later, quite certainly before the middle of the second century, some Christians were choosing to give their own interpretation to the doctrine taught in the Christian communities and to claim that theirs was the true meaning of that doctrine. In this way the heresy of Marcion began; he professed the doctrine of the Church at Rome during the episcopate of Eleutherius; then he commenced to teach the existence of a God greater than the creator, and for this reason he was thrown out of the Christian community by two separate sentences.[2] But his followers denied that he had introduced any novelty into the faith, claiming indeed that he had actually purged it of some spurious accretions.[3]

Marcion's defection was remarkable for the number of his followers: Justin, writing some ten years after the expulsion, says that a multitude of men accepted Marcion's doctrine and despised the judgement of the Catholic Church. But it was more

[1] Ignatius, *Ad Smyrnaeos*, 7. i.
[2] Tert., *De praescriptione*, 30, and Justin, *Apol.* i. 26.
[3] Tert., *Adv. Marcion*, i. 19–20.

remarkable in that those who followed Marcion formed communities similar at least to that from which they were expelled. The earlier heretics had only survived as philosophical schools after their rejection or expulsion from the Christian churches. The followers of Marcion acted differently. By the end of the second century they had selected those Christian books which they would regard as sacred, had formed their own episcopates, had their own churches.[1] But both before and after the time of Marcion the Christian communities had to know how to distinguish those who belonged to their community from those who did not share with them the 'necessary knowledge', as Clement of Alexandria described the faith. In the eyes of the imperial authorities they might all be Christians, but to the men of the end of the second century, to Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement, and Origen, the distinction of orthodox from heretic had become an important preoccupation; they had to show why their faith could be known to come from a Founder they claimed to be divine, they had to show how the true Church could be discerned from the multitude of heretics who had been rejected in every province where the Christian communities had spread.

The men who wrote against the heretics at the beginning of the third century had at their disposal a philosophic Christian culture, and they used it often to show that the concepts of God and the work of Christ as presented by those they denounced as heretics were false. But they did not base their claim to acceptance as the genuine teachers on the validity of philosophic arguments. What is there in common, wrote Tertullian, between Athens and Jerusalem, between the Academy and the Church, between the heretics and the Christians?[2] Tertullian was a rhetorician, and no doubt the outburst was provoked by the fact that the heretics had made apt use of the philosophies which had been employed also by the writers whose orthodoxy even Tertullian would admit. But Clement of Alexandria who, more than any other writer perhaps, devoted himself to showing that the Christian faith was the true philosophy sought after by mankind, was equally clear as to the character of the faith which was

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[1] Tert., *Adv. Marcion*, iv. 5.   [2] Tert., *De praescr.* 7.

required of a Christian. That which must at all costs be preserved, that which will be required by God from Christians, is the teaching of the Saviour as given by the apostles.[1] Indeed, the refusal to test Christianity by philosophic proof was imposed on them by the very nature of the doctrine by which Christians were united. The faith, in the phrase of Clement, was a knowledge of the necessary things which were learned from the teaching of the Lord.[2] Those things given by the Saviour through the apostles were shown by Clement, as by earlier Christians, to correspond to this or that philosophic aspiration, but the proof that they were true, that they must be held and 'rendered to God', as Clement phrased it, lay in showing that they were from the Lord by the apostolic teaching.

For a similar reason the test of genuine Christianity against heresy could not be in the last resort an appeal to the written record of what Christ and the apostles had said or written. Appeal was, of course, made to these records, but it was made equally by all those who claimed the name of Christians. Between the different groups there was a contest as to which of the many records were authentic. The Ebionites used only the Gospel according to St. Matthew, the Marcionites only that according to St. Luke.[3] When it was a question of the multitudinous acts and sayings of the apostles, there were far more complicated differences between the various Christian groups. For one of the churches which used Latin as its normal language, there has survived an exact canon of scriptures made *ex professo* and apparently the record of an authoritative decision.[4] Similar canons of the scripture can be deduced from the writings of Tertullian and Irenaeus, and it seems clear that Clement knew such a rule of authenticity.[5] Even among these there were slight differences, and the Muratorian Fragment, for example, says that even *quidam ex nostris* are unwilling that the Apocalypse should be read in the churches.[6] The difference of attitude to the Apocalypse may have been of very slight import because the

[1] Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi. 15.
[2] Ibid. 7. x. 57, iii.
[3] Iren., *Adv. haer.* 3. xi. 7.
[4] *Fragmentum Muratorianum.*
[5] Eusebius, *H.E.* vi. 14, and ii. 15.
[6] *Frag. Mur.* 72 and 73.

phrase of the Muratorian Fragment does not imply that there were 'some of ours' who rejected a book which others accepted as orthodox. The decision contained in the fragment clearly distinguished three classes: those books which were to be read in the churches, those which might be read, and those which might not be read at all because 'we do not receive them'. In the last class came the books of Arsinous, Valentinus, Miltiades, and Marcion, which were all equally rejected by Irenaeus or Clement; but it was not even suggested that the Apocalypse came into this category. But while there was agreement among many Christian communities as to what books contained authentic accounts of the teaching of Christ and His apostles, it was idle for them to appeal to this collection to demonstrate that their rule of faith was the true one and that the rule professed by others was heretical. Sometimes, of course, those others would admit the authenticity of one or other of the books, and for this reason Irenaeus urged that arguments against his opponents could be drawn from those books which they themselves used.[1] But it was, and Irenaeus proposed it as, an *argumentum ad hominem*. Generally speaking, those who were called heretics denied the authenticity of the written record proposed by their opponents. It was idle therefore for a man like Irenaeus or Tertullian or Origen to try to prove that his was the true Church by the scriptures, when the only ground he had for saying that they were the authentic scriptures was that the true Church had said so. Therefore Origen, after discussing the accounts of the Founder of Christianity received by various groups, said that the Church of God judges that there are only four authentic Gospels.[2]

If it was difficult in this warfare as to authentic doctrine to appeal to the scriptures, because the contestants refused to accept the same scriptures, it was impossible to do so in view of the varying interpretations of those scriptures which were commonly received. A teacher of the Christian religion such as Clement of Alexandria had as one of his tasks to 'explain the scriptures according to the canon of truth' or 'according to the canon of tradition'. It was idle then to look to the scriptures to

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[1] Iren., *Adv. haer.* 3. xi. 7.   [2] *Hom. in Lucam*, i. 6.

find this 'truth' or 'traditional teaching' by which they were to be understood.[1] Therefore for Clement the first task was to show that the teaching which he gave, the meaning of his rule of faith, was that which had come from the apostles. Those by whom he received it, he told his hearers, formed a succession from the holy apostles Peter and James, John and Paul, and therefore it was the true and blessed teaching.[2] By proving that it was apostolic he proved it was true, and so formed the necessary knowledge of all true philosophy and of all interpretation of the authentic accounts of the Lord Jesus Christ. A similar attitude of mind is to be found in Origen, the other great philosopher and interpreter of the scriptures. At the head of the *Periarchon* was inscribed the rule: That alone is to be believed as truth which varies no whit from the tradition of the apostles and the Church. And while the sentiment recurs again and again in that and in other works of Origen it forms the very argument both of the *Adversus haereses* of Irenaeus and the *De praescriptione* of Tertullian.

For this reason, in the later years of the second century, the culture of the Christian communities was directed not only to showing that the rule of faith satisfied the aspirations of philosophic inquiry and to interpreting both the Hebrew and Christian writings, but also to collecting the history of each Christian community and to establishing its continuity with the communities founded by the apostles and their immediate disciples. So the succession of the rulers of the church at Rome and Corinth was studied and recorded by Hegesippus, the origin of the church of Alexandria was traced variously to Barnabas and to Mark, while Irenaeus, after setting out such a succession in the church at Rome and referring to a similar sequence elsewhere, concluded from his study: 'In the face of such a demonstration no one should seek that truth from others which they could easily learn from the Church, since the apostles bestowed on it as in a depository all things which are pertinent to the truth.'[3] And the same argument was taken up and repeated by Tertullian in many places in his attack on heretics. 'Consult the apostolic

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[1] *Strom.* i. 1 and vi. 15.   [2] Ibid.   [3] *Adv. haer.* 3. iv. 1.

churches. . . . Are you near Achaia, you have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi or Thessalonica. If you can go to Asia, Ephesus can be consulted. If you are in Italy, you have Rome, whose authority too would serve for us.'[1]

It would be easy to miss the point of this argument urged against heresy. Those who claimed to be orthodox certainly insisted on the evidence for the historical continuity of the apostolic churches. Each of them was able to show a continuous life stretching back to the time of the apostles, while the heretics could be challenged to show the origin of their communities. But the full force of the argument was brought out by insisting on the agreement which existed among the churches which could show apostolic origin. It was not that they borrowed from one another their rule of faith, or arrived at it by discussion among themselves. Other churches not founded by the apostles did indeed, and constantly, borrow the tradition of faith from the apostolic churches, and for that reason could be called apostolic because of a consanguinity of doctrine.[2] But the rule of faith of the apostolic churches, though traditional in each of them from the time of the apostles, had remained the same, whatever development in expression had taken place. The argument was not therefore merely that there was agreement among this enormous number of Christian churches as opposed to the local character of each heresy. That argument was indeed used by Tertullian, though never with the same insistence as it was to be used later by St. Augustine against the Donatists. The main argument of the writers of the end of the second century was that since each of these churches, separately conserving its traditional teaching, sometimes in a different language, always by a different community, gave one and the same meaning to the rule of faith, then that meaning must have come from the time when these communities were founded, must have come from the apostles. The apostolic churches are many, they could have altered the faith, but it is found to be one and the same in them all; it is therefore not of their own invention but

comes from their common origin.[1] This kind of argument could be applied not only to the tradition of the faith from the apostles, but to the teaching which those apostles received from Christ. Because it did in fact remain the same even when it was carried to nations in all parts of the earth, therefore it had had a single origin and therefore was not invented by any one of the apostles any more than by any one of the churches founded by them. This doctrine of what God is, has done, and will do, capable as the heresies show of being misunderstood or at least given different meanings by different men, had as a fact been given the same meaning by men dwelling apart, by churches organized separately, and by force of circumstances living separately but striving always to preserve what they had been taught. The fact that they found themselves in complete agreement showed, as Tertullian put it, that the churches had received it from the apostles and the apostles from Christ.

The fact that the different apostolic churches taught the same body of doctrine was urged as evidence that their doctrine came from a common origin, the teaching of the apostles, and this again from the teaching of Christ. But it was further urged that even a common origin did not sufficiently account for the preservation of the original deposit. The preaching of the apostolic churches had, in the phrase of Irenaeus, been developing, but developing without divergence throughout the years—*aequaliter perseverans*—and more than a common origin, more than a common endeavour to preserve its integrity, was needed to explain the fact.[2] Tertullian made no pretence of seeking a natural cause; had things fallen out otherwise the Holy Spirit would have failed in the work for which He had been demanded of the Father, sent by Christ, and given to the apostles; He would not have seen to it that even a single church had walked in the truth.[3] The argument was put more explicitly by Irenaeus. We keep, he says, the faith which was received by the Church, but it is the Spirit of God which preserves that faith ever flourishing and new, and which keeps the Church which

[1] Tert., *De praescr.* 28, 'quod apud multos unum invenitur non est erratum sed traditum.'   [2] Iren., *Adv. haer.* iii. 24, i.   [3] Tert., *De praescr.* 28.

contains it equally flourishing and new. So that the Church which preserves the apostolic faith, the place of working of the Spirit of God, and the unique truth are convertible terms: 'Ubi enim ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et omnis gratia; Spiritus autem veritas.'[1] Clement of Alexandria, after demonstrating that the true Church which has preserved the ancient apostolic teaching is one and that it is therefore distinct from every heretical sect, accounted for the unity of faith by the Church's participation in the Divine life. There is but one God, there is but one Christ, . . . the Church which is one shares this unity. It is one in essence, one in concept, one in its beginning, and one in excellence.[2]

Those then who distinguished themselves as the true or the Catholic Church as against the heretics claimed that their teaching was true because of its divine origin, and they claimed to show this divine origin because their faith, as opposed to the teaching of the heretics, had remained one. But they claimed also that this unity itself was of divine origin and was therefore also part of the gift of Christ to His apostles, and thence to His true followers. So also they taught that the means by which this faith was transmitted was part of that same divine gift. Each of the apostolic churches they accepted was organized under a bishop, and it was the teaching of this bishop which they called the teaching of the apostolic church over which he ruled. So when they made their appeal to the tradition of these churches they named the list of bishops who had ruled them from the time of the apostles. So when Hegesippus the Palestinian collected the testimonies of the true faith he went to the bishops of the various cities through which he travelled; to record the faithful tradition of doctrine at Corinth he quite naturally brought it down to Primus the bishop with whom he talked; at Rome, still on the same work of verifying the faith which he found to be always 'one and the same', he made a catalogue of the bishops. So Tertullian endeavouring to show the errors of the heretics challenged them: 'Let them set out the succession of their bishops in order from the beginning so that they may

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[1] *Adv. haer.* iii. 24, i.   [2] Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vii. 17.

show that their first bishop had as his creator and predecessor one of the apostles or one of the apostolic men who remained faithful to the apostles. It is thus that the apostolic churches claim their title. The church of Smyrna names Polycarp set over them by John; the church of Rome produces Clement ordained by Peter.' So also Irenaeus of Lyons, wishing to show that any one who seeks the truth can find the apostolic teaching, saw his task to be that of 'enumerating those who were made bishops by the apostles and their successors to the present day',[1] and to confound his opponents he thought it sufficient to set out the succession of the bishops of Rome beginning from the Linus to whom the apostles entrusted the episcopate when they founded and organized the Church.[2]

Those therefore who, at the end of the second century, wished to defend their rule of faith against the men they called heretics, those who claimed to be the true church or the Catholic Church, did so by claiming the apostolic origin of their doctrine and the apostolic origin of their episcopate. In fact the two arguments were so intermingled that they appear to equate the two concepts, the apostolic succession of bishops, and the apostolic tradition of doctrine. They did not necessarily assume that every local church began with a single bishop-ruler. Clement of Alexandria, it is true, in the story which he relates at the end of the *Quis dives salvetur*, appears to assume that this was true of all the churches founded by St. John, and the same assumption seems to be present to the mind of Hegesippus and of Polycrates, the bishop of Ephesus. It is not equally clear of Irenaeus, because in one place (where, indeed, as often, only the Latin version of his writings has survived) he seems to assume that there are still Christian communities not ruled by a bishop but whose faith may possibly be orthodox.[3] His insistence on the duty of conferring with the apostolic churches suggests that in some places the apostles did not found an episcopate, though his only direct statements are that they did found the episcopate in some places. Tertullian again allows that only some out of the many churches of the world are of apostolic origin. But he

[1] *Adv. haer.* iii. 3, i.   [2] Ibid. iii.   [3] Ibid. iv. 26, ii.

explains this by saying that they were founded much later than the time of the apostles. Whether then the second-century writers knew or not of any other possible organization of a Christian community in its early stages, they were clear that for the churches they called apostolic the succession of bishops went back to the time of the apostles, just as the meaning of the doctrine was kept from that time. And they could and did easily interchange the two arguments because the evidence was the same in either case. In these apostolic churches, each ot which had its separate life and separate history, there was a unity of organization as well as a unity of faith. Just as that faith must have a common origin so too must the organization, and—as with the faith so with the organization—the origin ot the episcopate must be dated to an apostolic institution. Again this unity of organization was not maintained merely because of the common apostolic origin. Just as the preservation of a common faith was the result of divine action so the organization which preserved it was also maintained by divine action. Irenaeus distinguished the two things, the faith and the church which preserves it, better than most of his contemporaries. He did so by the metaphor of the vessel and of that which is contained in the vessel. The vessel is the Church, the thing contained is the preaching. But he was explicit that the divine operation works on the vessel as well as on that which is contained in it. Both of them are kept flourishing and new. Not only is there the truth wherever there is the Spirit of God, but wherever there is the Church there is the Spirit of God.[1]

This interweaving of the tradition of teaching and the continuity of organization was itself traditional. These cultured communities of the end of the second century, acutely conscious of the necessity of defending the doctrine which was their specific characteristic against the theories of heretics even more than against the assaults of pagans, based their defence on the ground that the doctrine came from Christ, whom they asserted to be God. And looking back over their less than two centuries of existence they had record of precisely the same warfare being

[1] *Adv. haer.* iii. 24, i.

fought by their predecessors and of its being fought with pre-
cisely the same arguments. They had the letters of Ignatius, the
bishop of Antioch, of the early years of the second century, and
of Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, of the same time, and they
knew that those letters were not a defence of Christianity against
pagans determined to destroy it, but against heretics, whether
men who had once belonged to the Christian Church or men
who only sought alliance with it, who were prepared to say that
Christ was God but who interpreted that creed otherwise than
did the bishops of the churches. And when they read the letters
of Ignatius and Polycarp they found them attacking the heretics
on the ground that their interpretation was not apostolic.[1] They
could read how both these bishops had identified the acceptance
of apostolic teaching with obedience to the constituted hierarchy
of each local church, how St. Ignatius, the earlier of the two and
possibly the teacher of Polycarp, had written to the church at
Ephesus: 'As Jesus Christ is the means by which we know the
Father, so the bishops throughout the world are the means by
which we know Jesus Christ.'[2]

They could go still farther back and could quote the
letters of the apostle Paul in the very first generation of Chris-
tians. Had he not reported his teaching to some of the apostles
lest perhaps the teaching which he had given or might give
should be empty of worth? Had he not claimed merely to teach
others that which also he had received from the disciples of the
Lord, how that the Lord risen from the dead had been seen by
Peter and then by the Twelve?[3] Had he not instructed Timothy
that his duty above all else was to guard the meaning of the
faith which he had learned?[4]

So the churches of which Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement were
spokesmen presented themselves to the people of the early third
century. From them a man could learn the knowledge which
it was urgently necessary for him to possess.[5] In them a man
would receive instruction in those things which pertained to his

[1] Polyc. *Ad Phil.* vi. iii; Ignatius, *Ad Magn.* xiii. i.   [2] *Ad Eph.* iii. 2.
[3] Gal. ii. 2 and 1 Cor. xv. 5.
[4] 1 Tim. vi. 20.   [5] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 10, lvii. iii.

salvation. Those therefore who did not adhere to this organiza-
tion, who did not go to these churches, cheated themselves of
life by their false judgement of fact and worse behaviour.[1] The
reason for the existence of the Christian churches was that this
necessary knowledge of God and of Christ and of His operation
in the world might be preserved for mankind. The contra-
distinction of the churches throughout the world as against the
groups which seceded from them in this place or in that was
important because only from the churches, spread throughout
the world but united by one faith and organization, could men
learn what was necessary for their salvation. So there came
about the use of the word catholic as a synonym for orthodoxy.
It was used by Ignatius at the beginning of the second century
to emphasize the fact that the churches spread throughout the
world formed indeed but one church which was reproduced in
every locality where Christians were organized under a bishop.
'Where the bishop is there let the (Christian) people be, just as
where Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church.'[2] In later
writings of the century the same adjective, catholic, was used to
distinguish the group of Christians who were in communion
with the widespread church from those in the same neighbour-
hood who had separated from it to follow one or other of the
gnostic or docetist philosophers. By the end of the century, as
for instance in the Muratorian Fragment, the word catholic was
clearly used in the sense of orthodox and had at the same time
become a noun equivalent to the Church—the unity which each
local church repeats—which was as a fact world wide. So, accord-
ing to Clement of Alexandria, 'heresies are called so because
they oppose themselves to truth',[3] and they are thus distinguished
from the unity of faith of the 'ancient and Catholic Church.'[4]

While heresies were localized and while there was abundant
intercourse between the churches of the various provinces, this
criterion was clear and could be clearly applied. Even without
further specification or detail it did sufficiently distinguish the
true necessary belief from the opinions of any one of the many

[1] Iren. *Adv. haer.* iii. 24, i.   [2] *Ad Smyrn.* viii. 3.
[3] *Strom.* vii. 15.   [4] Ibid. 17.

schools of gnostic thought. But with the rise of Marcionism and the formation of the Marcionite Church, and especially in view of its claim that the apostolic churches had erred, or rather that all had erred except the Marcionite which claimed to follow St. Paul, it was necessary for those who called themselves catholic, and who claimed that the succession of organization was also part of the divine gift, to specify their criterion of distinction with greater exactitude. Tertullian was conscious of the theoretical difficulty, and in his attack on heresy put himself the question whether any particular apostolic church could err. He had dealt with the 'madness' of those who thought that the apostles might have been mistaken with regard to what Christ taught, with regard to what He had received from the Father. With them there could have been introduced no error, otherwise the Holy Spirit, the vicar of Christ, would have failed. If St. Peter was at fault at Antioch when St. Paul reproved him, the fault was one of conduct not of doctrine.[1] But the heretics renounced the folly of this accusation only to suggest that the churches founded by the apostles had erred. So they cited the passages where St. Paul described how, in his own lifetime, some churches already founded and of apostolic foundation had erred, and concluded that it was possible for an apostolic church to err in a matter of faith. If the church of the Galatians or the church at Corinth could err in the lifetime of the apostles it could err in later years. The chief answer of Tertullian was to show that in fact the apostolic churches were agreed in doctrine, that, unlike the heretics, they held the same faith, and that therefore they had received it by tradition from their apostolic origin. 'Quod apud multos unum invenitur, non est erratum sed traditum.' But before going on to that argument of fact he paused for a moment to answer the possible question: suppose an apostolic church errs, how shall we know the truth? His impatient reply was first that the fact on which his argument rested was the belief of churches corrected by St. Paul, not their belief before correction. But, as though to clinch this argument, he added : let our opponents accept then the churches in whose

[1] *De praescr.* 23.

faith the apostle rejoiced—and then he quoted the words of the letter of Paul to the church at Rome. At this point Tertullian also added, what was extraneous to his argument, that these churches to-day impart the rights of the single (apostolic) origin to those churches which were corrected by St. Paul.

It would be idle to build on this phrase a theory of Tertullian's attitude to the solution of any possible differences between apostolic churches. For his argument it was sufficient that in fact he was in agreement with the apostolic churches, in fact with men like Hegesippus, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria. His own appeal to the teaching of the Roman church was almost certainly determined by the fact that it was the most convenient apostolic church which the Africans could consult, *nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est.* All that was necessary for his argument was that the Roman church should be certainly apostolic, and this was all that he directly asserted.

Nevertheless he did speak of it and continued to speak of it as being in some ways in a category by itself. Other apostolic churches he enumerated, but that of Rome is the 'happy church for whom the apostles poured out their doctrine as their blood'.[1] He resumed quickly the rule of faith of this church to show that it was identical with the faith that he inscribed at the head of his book. It would have had to be done whatever apostolic church he took as his example. But after describing the faith and practice of the church of Rome he added—what he had not mentioned as the characteristic of each apostolic church—that 'adversus hanc institutionem neminem recipit' (sc. 'ecclesia romana'). The 'institution' of Tertullian is clearly the whole complex of faith and doctrine which the apostles originally established. His statement therefore means that the church of Rome is such that none can be said to belong to her (to be received by her), who is in any way opposed to the apostolic doctrine or practice.

Tertullian was not alone in discriminating between the church of Rome and the other apostolic churches. The person, bishop or not, whose epitaph has been discovered at Hieropolis, belonged

[1] *De praescr.* 36.

also to the end of the second century and, as the epitaph relates, had known many of the cities evangelized by St. Paul. Yet in comparison with them it was to the church of Rome that he applied the prophecies of the Old Testament of the queen in her majesty, the daughter of the king, the glory of the kingdom of God.

Of those who gave an account of the essential characteristics of the 'Catholic' Church at the end of the second century the one who set the special prerogative of the see of Rome in the clearest light was undoubtedly Irenaeus, the bishop of Lyons. The very structure of his great work, *Adversus haereses*, depended on the pre-eminent position of the bishop of Rome. The purpose of Irenaeus was not quite the same as that of Tertullian in the *De praescriptione*. In the latter the purpose was to show that from the actual contemporary facts the heretical teaching could not be apostolic. Irenaeus was more concerned to show where we may learn the 'order in which we are saved', and he began his third book by the premiss that this can only be discovered if we find that doctrine which the apostles heralded to the world.[1] His first duty was therefore to describe clearly the concrete place where that economy of salvation was still preached. He maintained, as Tertullian was to do later, that the preaching would be found to be the same in fact in all the apostolic churches. But in order to describe it he was content to enumerate the order of succession of bishops in the church of Rome. According then to the mind of Irenaeus the appeal to the traditional teaching of Rome by its succession of bishops was sufficient to establish 'the order in which we are saved'. The question of the exact words which he used—they have only survived in translation—is of less importance than his attitude of mind, and this can be clearly deduced from the structure of his argument. But the phrase he used was also sufficiently clear in the translation, which is accurate enough in those places where it can be tested. He claimed that by recounting the tradition of the Roman church he could confute all those who for whatever reason have organized themselves in a manner other than that

[1] *Adv. haer.* iii. 1, i.

which is their duty.[1] The test of the Roman see was then for
Irenaeus of exactly the same value as the test of the apostolic
sees taken jointly, the test of the single faith professed by the
Catholic Church. The next phrase, 'Ad hanc ecclesiam propter
po(ten)tiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire
ecclesiam,' may indicate, as it seems to, a doctrinal discipline by
which the preaching of the apostolic churches was kept identical
with that of Rome, or may only mean that, since the faith of
Rome is that of the apostles, the preaching of other churches
being apostolic will agree with that of Rome.

It must be remarked that the unfailing accuracy of the tradi-
tion of teaching of the see of Rome did not enter into the *regula
fidei* as expounded by Irenaeus any more than it did in those of
Tertullian or Clement of Alexandria. The *regula fidei* was con-
cerned only with the nature of God, of the relation of Christ to
His Father, of the work of Christ in the redemption and final
judgement of mankind. The apostolic succession in the sees of
the Catholic Church, the tradition of teaching of the Roman see
was related to this as a vessel is related to that which it contains.
But the preservation of the vessel as well as the preservation of
what it contains was for Irenaeus the work of the Spirit of God,
for Clement of Alexandria a result of participation in the unity of
God.[2] In this matter Irenaeus did not record a merely personal
opinion. He treated the prerogative of the Roman see as the
means by which Christians throughout the world-wide Church
might know the necessary faith; the other Catholic writers
accepted Irenaeus as a faithful witness of that faith and boasted
of the unity of the faith and organization of the Catholic Church.
Irenaeus, then, is a witness not only of his personal opinion or of
the practical life of the church at Lyons but of the Catholic
Church as distinguished from heretics. The doctrine of the
former could be known either by the general agreement of the
apostolic sees, or by the standard of teaching of the Roman
church. The two criteria were necessarily the same. And so the
terms of respect and admiration with which the church of Rome

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[1] Iren. *Adv. haer.* iii. 3, ii.
[2] Ibid. 24, i, and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 17.

was referred to by the other catholic writers, by Abercius and Denys of Corinth, no less than by Tertullian and Origen, some of them writing before, some after Irenaeus, were the natural result of this doctrine and not the material out of which it was made.

The defenders of catholic doctrine at the end of the second century strengthened their appeal to tradition in favour of the apostolic succession by urging that their predecessors had made the same appeal. They could make the same claim with regard to the position which they assigned to the see of Rome. The letters of Ignatius of the early years of the second century exalt the church of Rome in comparison with other churches, giving to it titles of greater honour. Nor was it a question of titles only. Ignatius did not hesitate to give instruction to other churches; but he wrote to the church of Rome as a learner rather than a teacher. In other letters he magnified the office of the local bishop, but in writing to the church of Rome he named that church, along with Jesus Christ, as exercising the episcopal care of the church of Syria deprived of its pastor.[1]

Since all the catholic writers of these centuries described the Christian life as built upon the knowledge given by faith, it would have been but a natural historical development that the prerogative of Rome in matters of faith, its *potentior principalitas*, would ultimately be expressed in a discipline which bound the apostolic churches into a catholic unity. It is not therefore surprising that by the beginning of the third century there is evidence of such action. Tertullian spoke as though Marcion appealed to Rome after his first quarrel with the Christians of Carthage. When in later years Tertullian himself left the catholic unity he directed his bitterest invective against the see of Rome. Origen, accused of false teaching, did penance for what he had said (or cleared himself) by a libellus submitted to the bishop of Rome. But, in addition to this comparatively late evidence, one of the earliest surviving Christian writings is a letter from the Church of God at Rome to the Church of God at Corinth which assumes the disciplinary authority of the Roman

[1] *Ad Romanos*, iii and ix.

see throughout. No question of doctrine appears to be involved; the church at Corinth is upbraided for a defect of charity, not of faith. The tone of the letter is that of the letter of St. Paul to the Corinthians in the first generation of the Christian Church, but this letter of Clement (later generations named the bishop of Rome who sent it) must have been written at the end of the first century while the apostle St. John was still living at Ephesus. 'If some will not obey the instructions which He (sc. Jesus Christ) speaks by us, let them know that they have fallen grievously and are in no slight danger. But we shall be guiltless of this sin. . . .'[1] From the letter of Clement, however, it can be reasonably guessed either that there was a party at least at Corinth who were in revolt against the authority of their bishop, or that some refused to accept the episcopal organization recently extended to their community. The matter therefore involved the question of the normal organization of the churches of the catholic unity, and for this reason the bishop of Rome would use the authority necessary for maintaining that unity which was both of organization and of doctrine. Certainly, and this perhaps is more significant than the terms of the letter, the letter of Clement was accepted by all the apostolic churches, and references to its being read in the churches occur in several of the second-century writers.

The conception of the Catholic Church as the custodian of the faith delivered by the apostles, the conception of the authority of the Roman see as existing to preserve this apostolic canon, naturally led to the extension of the judgements of the bishop of Rome to matters which, even if not of apostolic tradition, would help to maintain the unity which was the surest guarantee of unvarying tradition. So when, in this church or that, there arose prophets who professed to continue that divine gift spoken of in the writings of apostolic times, and it became necessary to discriminate between those who were genuine and those who were false, the contestants appealed to the see of Rome for judgement. It was to the bishop of Rome that Irenaeus sent his judgement on the matter; it was to Rome that Praxeas the Montanist came to plead for acceptance. But at the same time the absolute

[1] 1 Clem. lix.

reverence for apostolic teaching would lead every church to maintain as long as possible every custom which came from apostolic time, even though such a custom might not be part of the irreformable teaching of the apostles. Both tendencies, the attachment to local custom believed apostolic and the extension of Roman authority to matters not directly demanded by the unity of the Catholic Church, were exemplified in a controversy which agitated the catholic churches at the end of the second century. Some of them observed and had long observed the feast of the Resurrection of the Lord on the same day as the Jewish feast of the Passover; others, including Rome, had always kept that feast on the first day of the week and had calculated its occurrence independently of the Jews. So also the two groups differed with regard to the length of the fast which should precede the celebration of the Resurrection. It is only from the fourth-century Eusebius that we know the sequence of facts, but certainly the documents he preserves fit into the chronology he gives. The bishop of Rome, Victor, had requested the bishop of Ephesus to assemble the bishops of the neighbouring cities to justify their own custom or, more probably, to accede to the Roman use. Polycrates of Ephesus and the bishops with him declared that they intended to maintain their own tradition since it was part of the rule of faith. The bishops who assembled in Palestine and those who assembled at Alexandria equally with those in the West all bore witness that they had the custom of observing the Sunday Easter. But each of them, according to Eusebius, addressed their reports to the bishop of Rome so that apparently each of these local councils, as that at Ephesus, was held at the demand of the Roman Victor. The latter then issued a decree excluding from the common unity all those who would not accept the Roman Easter. Such a drastic act of jurisdiction, not relating strictly to the unity of faith or to the apostolic organization of the Church, was not repudiated. But it did provoke protests from other bishops which, urging Victor to be prudent in the care of peace, unity and charity, were expressed according to Eusebius very emphatically. He has only preserved that of Irenaeus of which he evidently approved,

and comments that it was a respectful plea that no church should be cut off from the whole body for an ancient custom which did not affect catholic unity. And Irenaeus defended his own suggestion by reminding Victor that though the earlier bishops of Rome had sought to obtain the conformity he was now demanding, they had not refused the Eucharist to those who wanted to maintain a local custom.[1]

The importance of the rule of faith and of the intellectual assent which it demanded can scarcely be over-emphasized in describing the writings of those who called themselves catholic in the second century. On that 'faith' all else in their religion was built as on a foundation and by it they distinguished themselves from the heretics they anathematized. Dependent from that faith they had their own mysteries, their proper cult of God, their ceremonies of initiation and of worship. These were referred to plainly by Tertullian when, after summarizing the teaching of the Roman church as an example of what the apostles instituted, he added: 'it signs with water, it clothes with the Holy Spirit, it feeds with the Eucharist.' Such a reference embodied in a description of the apostolic churches presupposes that the doctrine and practice of the sacraments, to use a more modern restriction of the term, was common to all and was well known. The same conclusion must be drawn from Tertullian's gibe at the heretics that the devil has always counterfeited the truths of the Church of God, since he specifies the idolatrous mysteries which have been set up in imitation of the sacraments of the Church. 'The devil too baptises, he promises the forgiveness of sins by a washing, Mithras signs his soldiers on the forehead, and celebrates by an offering of bread.'[2] Tertullian and other Christian writers have left doctrinal studies on the baptism of the Catholic Church so that there can be no doubt of the importance attached to it and of the unanimous consent of catholics in regard to the faith concerning it. Of the Eucharist not so much was said, possibly because many thought with Origen that it was not fitting to dwell on it since it was known to all instructed Christians, and could not be made clear to those

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[1] Eus. *H.E.* v. 24.   [2] *De praescr.* 40.

who had not learned the Christian faith.[1] But sufficient was said to show that the doctrine held was definite and known by all. Indeed it would seem that while the Christian writers of the first two centuries were striving constantly to penetrate yet deeper into the meaning of the doctrine of Christ's person and work, and so in a sense developing the Christological science of the Church, they accepted without speculation the rule of faith concerning the Eucharist. Origen himself used the belief that in a sacramental rite the Christian drinks the blood of Christ to suggest to Christian devotion that a study of Christ's words may also be called a participation in His life.[2] Similarly Irenaeus, wishing to refute the heretical doctrine that the bodies of the Christians are for ever destroyed by death, appealed to the fact that these same bodies have been fed with the body and blood of the Lord.[3] And again in defending the identification of Jesus Christ with the Word of God, he pointed out that otherwise it would be impossible to believe that 'the bread of the thanksgiving is the body of the Lord'.[4]

Doctrine such as this implies, which could be accepted only by faith, would be defended by the catholic writers of the early third century simply on the ground that, being common to the apostolic churches, it had its origin in the teaching given by their founder to His apostles. Just as for the other articles of their faith, they could also appeal to the Christians of earlier generations as holding the same Eucharistic belief, and, indeed, as treating it in a similar way. Ignatius of Antioch, denouncing the Docetists to the church of Smyrna, singled out as their chief offence their refusal to believe that the Lord Christ really assumed flesh. And therefore, as he pointed out, they abstain from the Eucharistic liturgy because they do not confess the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ. The doctrine that this Eucharist is the body and blood of the Saviour was therefore assumed by Ignatius as a characteristic belief of those churches which he admitted as being the Church of Jesus Christ. Indeed the doctrine must have been amongst the first

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[1] *Hom.* 9 in Levit. 10.

[2] *Hom.* 16 in Num.

[3] *Adv. haer.* iv. 18, v.

[4] Ibid. iv.

which were taught to those who sought membership of Christ.
In the very first generation one of the apostles could write to a
recently founded group of Christians: I have received of the
Lord that which I also delivered unto you that the Lord Jesus
. . . took bread and giving thanks broke and said, 'Take ye and
eat, this is my body'.[1]

Had this Christian religion been as others its adepts would
have concealed, from outsiders at least, the doctrine on which
their mysteries were based. Such a concealment was in part
practised at the beginning of the third century, but it was intro-
duced for special reasons and in no way entered into the general
character of the teaching of the Catholic Church. Two genera-
tions earlier Justin, writing his *apologia* for the Christian religion
to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, set out the mysteries practised
by the communities which formed the *catholica*.

After we have baptized one who has openly professed his belief
and assent to our teaching, we lead him to those who are called the
brethren. Then in our assembly we offer public prayer for ourselves,
for him who has been enlightened, and for all others, that we who
have received knowledge of the truth may, by this grace, practising
a life good in works and found obedient to the commandments, be
deemed worthy to obtain eternal salvation.

When the prayer is over we salute one another with a kiss. Then
bread and a cup of water and wine are brought to him who is over
the brethren. When he has received them he offers up praise and
adoration to the Father of all through the name of the Son and of the
Holy Spirit, and then he proceeds at length with the 'eucharist' for
these gifts received from Him. After he has finished the prayers and
the 'eucharist' all the people cry: Amen. 'Amen' is the Hebrew
equivalent for 'So be it'. After he who presides has finished the
prayers and all the people have made the exclamation, those whom
we call deacons distribute the eucharistic bread and wine and water
so that all those present can participate of it and so that it may be
taken to those who are absent.

This food is called by us the Eucharist, and no one may receive it
except those who believe that what we teach is true, and who have
received the lustration for remission of sins and regeneration, and

who live as Christ taught. We do·not receive that as ordinary bread
nor as ordinary drink. But just as Jesus Christ our Saviour made
flesh through the word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation,
so also we are taught that that food, over which the thanksgiving has
been made by a prayer containing His words, that food by which
our flesh and blood is nourished, is indeed both the flesh and blood
of that Jesus-made-flesh.[1]

II

Such then were the distinguishing and unvarying charac-
teristics of that group of communities which traced their religion
back to their founder, the Jew, Jesus Christ, who had been
crucified by Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judaea, in the
reign of Tiberius,[2] and which had spread into every province of
the Empire by the beginning of the third century and which were
then calling themselves the Catholic Church. The movement
had begun with a small group of Jews at Jerusalem, disciples of
Jesus who claimed to be not only witnesses of His deeds and of
His teaching but in particular of His having risen from the dead.
Amongst the people who had been witnesses both of His teach-
ing and His death they taught that His resurrection was the
proof of the truth of His claims both to be the Messiah who
fulfilled all the prophecies of Israel and to the Godhead itself.
And all who would join with them were accepted by a cere-
monial washing in a formula which expressed both the unity of
the divine essence (the name) and the three persons to whom
henceforth they gave divine honours (Father, Son, and Holy
Spirit). At first they sought converts only in Jewry, but soon,
following the practice of Peter and his interpretation of a vision,
they accepted Gentiles into their company. Partly by their own
initiative, but largely as a result of persecutions, they spread to
other cities, but at first they worked almost always from the
Jewish synagogues which were established over the Roman
world and beyond its bounds. The accession to their ranks of
Paul led to a great development of the work among the Gentiles,
to which he devoted himself much more readily than did the
original apostles. Indeed, the methods as well as the culture of

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[1] *Apol.* 1, *ad Anton. Pium*, 65 and 66.   [2] Tac. *Annales*, xv. 44.

those who were called apostles *par excellence*, the original Twelve
and Paul, seem to have varied greatly. Between them, however,
they founded Christian communities in almost all the important
cities of the lands bordering the Mediterranean, and in the East
some of them appear to have penetrated to the very borders and
even beyond the borders of the Empire. Yet despite differences
of method on the part of those who taught, despite differences of
culture of those who became Christians, despite the rapidity and
energy which so vast an enterprise entailed, each of these com-
munities acquired the same belief about God and Christ and
His work, each of them learned the same mysteries, each of them
in later years recognized the others as possessing those indubitable
traits which gave them all the same identity. The Syriac-speak-
ing community which grew in Edessa believed itself to hold the
same necessary faith about the Creator and Redeemer, believed
itself to receive the same divine food, believed itself to be the heir
of the patriarchs and prophets of Israel every whit as much as
the community of Christians at Rome. And that identity was
later to be recognized by the assumption in common of a single
name, Catholic, by which not only the churches to which
Ignatius wrote would call themselves, but which would be the
title of the Syriac ruler of the church of Edessa. The unity of
effect of the work of the apostles appears more remarkable when
we remember that in their lifetime there were already groups
who maintained a different interpretation of the sayings of
Jesus of Nazareth from that which was taught to the apostolic
communities. Early in the career of the new religion there were
formed parties who insisted that since Christianity was to be the
heir of Israel, no one could become a Christian unless he first
became a Jew and unless he practised the Jewish law. Another
and perhaps larger party held that at least those Jews who be-
came Christians were bound to practise the Mosaic law. On the
doctrinal question the apostles were agreed; Christians, of what-
ever origin, were the true spiritual heirs of the divine promises
made to the Jews and that in virtue of their Christian baptism.
In practice, however, there were strong differences of opinions
among the apostles as to the treatment which should be accorded

to the Jewish Christians who held these theories, and those
differences of practice led to a quarrel at Antioch, famous with
the later Christian communities, between Peter and Paul. But
the unity of doctrine was not affected by this nor by the other
quarrels which are hinted at in the early Christian writings: all
the dispersed Christian communities of later generations, what-
ever the apostle from which they traced their foundation, what-
ever the language of their religious tradition, were agreed that
the Christian religion did not require the practice of the Jewish
law. The Judaeo-Christian communities, claiming their own
interpretation of the sayings of Jesus, claiming indeed in a later
generation a number of sayings of Peter as supporting their
theories, existed in Palestine, and perhaps elsewhere, side by
side with the communities which rejected their interpretation.
They broke up into smaller divisions after the final overthrow of
Jerusalem in the early years of the second century, and from
then onwards their distinction from the apostolic communities
became more and more marked. But their formation in the
lifetime of the apostles, and the difference of treatment accorded
them by the apostles, show that the interpretation of the teach-
ing of Jesus was not so self-evident as to explain by itself the
unity of faith which bound the communities which claimed
apostolic foundation. It needed the authority of each apostle to
impose on the communities which he founded acceptance of his
interpretation of the Christian teaching; each apostle had to
claim not merely that his catechesis was the same as that which
he had received from Christ, but that in giving its meaning he
also had the mind of Christ; and the remarkable phenomenon
is that, in these different communities founded by different men
and taught in different languages, the same sense of the catechesis
should have survived whatever the later history.

The geographic extent of the apostolic preaching was no
doubt exaggerated in subsequent generations. Yet unless those
traditions are assumed to be substantially true we have to
suppose equally stupendous tasks accomplished by the next two
generations of Christians. Otherwise it would be impossible to
account for the number of Christian churches—not merely of

isolated Christian groups—in the time of Irenaeus, Clement, and Tertullian. It is true, of course, that the apostolic work continued, but since all later generations attributed the chief work to the apostles themselves, and since the creation of Christian churches did take place in almost every city of the Empire, although we cannot trace the history of each, it is more consistent with historical probability to accept the traditions which narrate apostolic journeys far beyond the regions for which there is written evidence.

These missionary journeys were continued by Christians in later generations. Eusebius, the fourth-century historian, collected the traditions concerning the missionaries and describes how they sold their possessions and then set out to plant the seeds of the Christian faith wherever it had not yet been sown, leaving the cultivation of the crop to others.[1] Origen, at the beginning of the third century, wrote of them as though the practice was still common in his day. A few names have survived from the second century. Such a one was Tatian, philosopher and disciple of Justin, who returned from Rome to his native land of Assyria to spread the teaching he had learned. Such a one was that Pantaenus whom Clement of Alexandria heard of in Palestine but only found at last in Egypt, and of whom men later said that he carried the Christian faith even to the Indies.[2]

But there was one marked difference between their missionary journeys and those of the apostles. The latter had not only taught the faith but had been judges of its correct interpretation; they had claimed to have the mind of Christ. In the generation which followed them the test of accurate teaching did not rest with the missionaries but with the ruler of each apostolic church —with the bishop. The discipline is assumed to be already known and in operation in the *Didache*—a first-century pamphlet of Syrian origin. The orthodoxy of each visiting 'prophet' must be judged by the bishop of the church. Wherever there were Christian communities whose foundation dated from apostolic times, their organization was of this form. Each of them was as

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[1] Eus. *H.E.* iii. 37.   [2] Ibid. v. 10.

it were a repetition of the original group of the Lord and His apostles and His disciples. There was he who rules, the bishop, there were the brethren, the priests, there was the multitude.[1] Whether in the churches founded by the apostle John, or in that of Rome which claimed Peter for its founder, and Paul for its co-founder, or in the churches of Persia which claimed other apostles as their founders, the same organization was the rule and was explained—and it is the only reasonable explanation of the facts—by the fact that such an organization was the norm which each apostle instituted and to which all the communities as they grew must conform. So, as the result of the missionary preachings accrued, the function of the missionaries tended to disappear. Each community was organized on the model of the apostolic churches to preserve the deposit of faith, the meaning of the canon of doctrine, and all that flowed from it, the specific worship, the sacraments, the discipline of morals, which were common to them all. By the end of the second century the itinerant missionary was already under suspicion; his motives, and above all his doctrine, had to be examined carefully before he could be received, because the work of spreading the faith in any locality now belonged primarily to the local episcopate. A little later Origen and Tertullian will regard the expansion of the Church as taking place normally by the multiplication of dioceses in every province.

And at the same time there disappeared another phenomenon common to the early Christian groups. The particular charisms, by which individuals manifested the divine action on their souls in the assembly of the Christians, remained and were spoken of in Christian literature till almost the end of the second century. Those whose orthodoxy was above suspicion, who were most insistent on the need of submitting to the rule of the *catholica*, men like Irenaeus, were also insistent that the charismatic manifestations were a legitimate phenomenon in the assemblies, and could be still the effect of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. But they also recognized that many of those who claimed the power were but deceiving themselves or others, and, as with the

[1] Justin, *Apol. ad Anton. Pium.*

missionary so with the charismatic, the test of the divine origin of his work was his orthodoxy and the judge of both was the bishop of the church.[1]

During the second century of their existence the churches, which were linked in the union they began to call the *catholica* as well as the Church, were joined by many who were trained in the philosophic schools of Greek culture now spread over the Roman world. These men brought to the study of the Hebrew scriptures, which the Christians retained as their legitimate inheritance, and to the record of the sayings and deeds of Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which underlay all the practice of the Christian Church, the learning and speculation on divine things which had been excogitated by the world outside. But in every case the theology which they built up, the apologetic which they created, was fashioned and moulded to the norm which came from the traditional meaning of the faith of the Catholic Church. The judge of the teaching of the philosophers was the bishop of the church whose authority lay in the fact that he was the heir of the apostles. So, because Tatian and Tertullian would not accept this discipline of the intellect, they were excluded from the Church, and because of that exclusion their speculations were not received into the Christian learning. Nor were these isolated cases. Most of the heretics of the early second century were philosophers who sought to graft on to the Christian faith the science they already taught. In almost every church the bishop had to decide whether those who offered their co-operation could be accepted. The long list of 'heretics' denounced by Irenaeus is a measure of the continuous activity of the *catholica* in rejecting those who sought, at least in this province or in that, to modify the tradition of the faith, to assimilate it to some other theory which already had numerous adherents. Only after the middle of the century did the war against heresy become a war against those who had been Christians but who wanted to give a different interpretation to the faith or discipline of the Church from that which the bishop taught. In the earlier period, and even down to the end of the

[1] Iren. *Adv. haer.* iv. 26, iv and v; v. 6, i, and Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena*, Proem.

century, heresy could be used of an attempt to assimilate the religion of the *catholica* to another system or an attempt to add to the Christian doctrine other beliefs not already contained in its rule of faith. So, even at the beginning of the third century, Tertullian could speak of heresy as due to the same diabolic influence which inspired the religion of Mithras then spreading through the Roman world.[1]

As a result of episcopal action and of the energy with which the meaning of the traditional belief was everywhere guarded, the philosophic learning and discipline of the Roman world was used by the Church without alteration of its proper belief. In different cities men applied to the exposition of the Christian faith the habits of mind which they had acquired in their previous training, different schools of apologetic were formed, yet everywhere at the end of the second century the churches of the *catholica* gave the same meaning to the rule of faith they had inherited. While they penetrated deeper into the mysteries which they were taught and were teaching, while their body of theology increased, the faith remained identically the same not only as that of their predecessors but as that of every other church of the *catholica*, and especially as that of the bishop of Rome who, successor of Peter and Paul and the guardian of their teaching, kept the unfailing norm of the catholic tradition. Nor had that intellectual strife, great though its demands must have been, absorbed their energy. While it was still in progress, while heretics were being rejected, while teachers like Tertullian who would not conform were being excluded, while a genius of the stature of Origen was being brought to accept the discipline of the catholic rule, the Church was multiplying itself from town to town and even in the country districts.[2] It was not limiting its action even to the Empire in which it had its beginnings, it had spread into countries which did not acknowledge the authority of Caesar but which did accept the yoke of Christ, and from Edessa it was spreading into Persia and the countries which were all but unknown. And in them all men boasted that being Christians they belonged to a catholic unity.

[1] *De praescr.* 40.   [2] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii. 9.

III

Since this Catholic Church, having these characteristics, did in fact spread with remarkable speed throughout the Roman world, it is clear that its doctrine must have attracted the citizens of that Empire. It is not so easy to discover the motives which led them to embrace its discipline and its life. Those who have left allusions to their conversion were men of intellectual formation, and naturally, therefore, stress the fact that they found in the Christian tenets alone a doctrine concerning God and human life which satisfied their reason, and that they were satisfied by evidence that this Church had a divine founder and possessed a life given and preserved by divine action.[1] Since the Church, unlike the other religions of that world, insisted on doctrine as the foundation of its mysteries and of its organization and practice, since it expressed itself more than any other in intellectual defence, it may well be that the approach to it of pagans had to be intellectual. Still, from the beginning the Church accepted all types of mankind and did not require learning as a condition of membership. It was clearly on a grander scale than a philosophical school.

It has been suggested that the attraction lay in the superior morality which it taught. Certainly this aspect of the Christian religion was stressed by some of its apologists. Such was the *motif* of the letter *Ad Diognetum* written by a Christian in the second century:

The Christians are not divided from other men by reason of the country they inhabit nor by the language they speak. They live in the country of their birth—but as strangers. They bear all the common burdens as citizens, but they suffer the disabilities of foreigners. They marry, as other men do, they have children—but they do not practice infanticide. They share their meals but not their wives. They walk indeed in the flesh but not according to the flesh. They dwell on earth but they have their city in heaven. They obey indeed the laws of the state but they are above the law in their manner of living. They love all men and they are persecuted by all. . . .

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[1] Tatian, *Ad Graecos*, 29, and Theophilus, *Ad Autoly*. i. 14.

Sometimes, indeed, this Christian morality was remarked by the pagans among whom they lived. The physician, Claudius Galen, who lived in the latter half of the second century, could write:

The Christians indeed sometimes live as philosophers should. We have evidence daily before our eyes that they despise death, and that for modesty's sake they abstain from carnal intercourse. There are among them both men and women who have abstained from it during the whole of their lives; some of them are no whit behind the best philosophers in the government and discipline of the soul.[1]

But testimony such as this was the exception. The pagan world in general appears to have kept the legend according to which Tacitus wrote (it may have been a formal juridical accusation) that Christianity was a conspiracy of hatred against the human race. So Minucius Felix, describing the attitude of the ordinary pagan of the third century, put into his mouth accusations of magic, of secret incestuous debauches, of infanticide.[2] And this pagan legend could be and was defended by the vague knowledge and wholly misunderstood reports which were current as to the Christian teaching and mysteries. Christian phraseology about eating the flesh of their Saviour and drinking His blood could become 'evidence' that Christians practised ritual murder. The little known sacred books of the Christians were clearly books of incantations. The pagans brought their sufferers from diabolic possession to the Christians who cured them by exorcism, but it was added proof that the Christians worked in league with the powers of evil.[3] The strange events which occurred when Christians were martyred or when they prayed to their God were taken as proof that they were great magicians and therefore dangerous to society. It was in such prejudices that the pagans, at least down to the third century (the legend was obviously getting a little threadbare by the time of Celsus), were brought up to regard the Christians.[4]

The large numbers of pagans of all classes who became

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[1] *Ad Diogn.* v. 1, and Galenus in *Abulfeda, Hist. anteislamica arabice scripta.*
[2] Octavius, 28 and 29.   [3] Tertullian, *Ad Scap.* iv and *Apol.* xxxvii.
[4] Origen, *Contra Celsum,* i. 27.

Christians in the second century had to overcome these preju-
dices, and it would seem that they, like the philosophers, had to
be convinced that the evidence alleged by the Christians for
the divinity of their founder and their law was sufficient to
induce belief in what the world at large regarded either as folly
or rascality.

Nor was it possible in that world for men and women to be
attracted to the Catholic Church as to a society of the perfect, or
as containing only those who observed a high moral standard.
Such a claim was made by many of the heretics, who separated
from the *catholica* precisely because it refused to insist on such a
discipline. From the beginning the Church had upheld a strict
morality and had excluded from its communion those who were
obstinate in refusing to obey it. But, even in the letters of the
first generation, in the letters of Paul to the Corinthians, the
inclusion in the Church of many who frequently offended this
morality was assumed as a fact. Both the Montanists and the
Marcionites who separated from the Church on doctrinal issues
during the second century were in theory more rigorous than
the *catholica*, and denounced it for including many who were
sinners. Even those who were loyal defenders of the authority
of the bishops objected to any change of discipline which made
the reconciliation of those whose sins were notorious easier and
wider known. Hippolytus in Rome formed a schism because the
Roman bishop allowed the faithful to know that those who had
fallen from the faith could receive a second remission of sins after
baptism.[1] Tertullian, after his magnificent defence of the claim
of the Catholic Church to possess the apostolic teaching by
reason of its apostolic succession, broke from it in later years and
attacked its authority because of the episcopal decree, probably
a decree of the bishop of Rome, which announced a willingness
to absolve the sins even of adultery and fornication to those
who did penance.

While it is clear that the Church did not present itself to the
world of the first and second centuries as a company of ascetics,
it is not less true that it claimed authority to teach morality

[1] *Philos.* vi. 41.

independently of civil society, and it was precisely on this field that the strife between the Empire and the Church was fought out. In the earliest years of its propaganda Christianity appeared to the imperial authorities as a sect of Judaism, and enjoyed the privileged position of that religion. The distinction of the two could not long be ignored; the Jews themselves insisted that there was no justification for the Christians to call themselves orthodox Jews, the Christians repudiated the necessity of the Jewish law. Most important probably in the eyes of the administrators was the fact that the Christians sought to make the Gentile citizens accept their teaching and become members of their church. In doing so they forfeited the privileges which the Roman law accorded to the Jews. Whatever the basis of distinction it was made by the time of Nero, and that emperor launched a proscription of the Christians at least in the city of Rome. It seems probable that this new religion was then declared illicit by an express law. From that time onwards, certainly till the middle of the third century, to profess the Christian religion was a crime.

As a result, however, of the attitude of the emperors this crime of being a Christian was not on the same footing as others. The younger Pliny, who was governor of Bithynia in the early years of the second century, found many professing this religion in his province, but despite his training was not acquainted with the rules of Roman law in regard to them. The Emperor Trajan, in his rescript to Pliny's inquiry for instructions, directed that the imperial officials were not to make inquisition for those guilty of this crime, but that if they were accused by other citizens they were to be given the opportunity to deny that they were Christians, and were to be allowed to make this manifest by sacrificing to the gods. By this procedure it was not so much Christianity as obstinacy in professing it which was punished, and even so this obstinacy was only punished if it had been publicly denounced by other citizens. This rescript explains the distinction which Melito of Sardis drew fifty years later between the sufferings of the Christians in the reigns of Nero and Domitian and in the reigns of other emperors. Only those two had shown zeal

in hunting down the Christian religion. In their reigns the government officials who wished to follow the will of the emperor sought out Christians and put them to death because they had practised the Christian religion; the rescript of Trajan, however, gave definite legal sanction to a milder procedure, and from then, generally speaking till the beginning of the third century, it remained the normal policy of the government. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius even attempted to restrain popular clamour for the execution of the law against the Christians.

It is clear also that many of the magistrates did their best to avoid sentencing Christians to death. Tertullian, in a plea for the continuation of this attitude, mentioned how one magistrate used to suggest to Christians the sort of replies which would enable them to escape the rigour of the law. Another spoke openly of the regret he had in proceeding against them, and contented himself with a minor penalty. The acts of the martyrs of Scilli, as preserved by the Christian community, show that the proconsul, failing to understand the attitude of his prisoners, tried to persuade them 'to give up their nonsensical ideas' and urged them to take a little time to consider what they were doing; despite their professed willingness to suffer for their cause he insisted on a thirty days' delay of judgement.

From the Roman point of view the magistrates were as reasonable as the emperors, and no doubt this accounts for the praise which men like Melito of Sardis could bestow on them. The only emperors who had been savage against the Christians were Nero and Domitian, and they had left behind them an evil reputation as tyrants.

But while the Christian writers could boast that many of the most prudent of Roman rulers had sought to modify in practice the effect of the principle that it was not lawful to be a Christian, the history of the contact of the Church with the Empire during the first two centuries had been in the main a sequence of persecution and martyrdom. At various times in every city of the Empire the population would be aroused to insensate rage against the Christians, accusing them of being the cause of temporal misfortune because they despised the gods on whose

protection men said their prosperity depended. Accusations
would be laid against this Christian or that, the populace would
seek out all who practised this religion even though the ad-
ministration refused to take the initiative. Some citizens would
use the opportunity to satisfy private hatreds; the magistrates,
either because they shared the fury of the people or desired to
placate it, would proceed with the full rigour of the law. Even
when they attempted to save their prisoners they did but add
moral torment to those for which the Christians had prepared
themselves. The magistrates no doubt believed that they were
doing their best to defend a foolish and obstinate prisoner from
the consequences of his folly. But for the Christians the magis-
trate was but tempting them to deny their faith, to deny the
authority of God, and was making it as easy as possible to do so.
In other cases the magistrate, thinking death to be the greatest
of misfortunes, would try to give a lesser sentence, to send maybe
a Christian slave woman to the houses of prostitution rather
than to the lions; but for the Christians it was a far worse fate,
and again and again they would deliberately provoke the judge
to give the heavier sentence that an end might be made of the
temptation to abandon the faith. And so in city after city and
sometimes throughout a province there would be a fierce but
temporary persecution. Christians would be scourged till the
flesh was torn from their backs, would be dressed in the skins of
animals and sent into the arena to be attacked by bears and
lions, would be crucified or executed according to their social
status. And after the corpse of the criminal had been burned,
the Christians would carry away the bones as relics valued above
the price of rich gems, would enshrine them in honour, and
celebrate thereafter the day of martyrdom as the birthday of the
saint.[1]

The acts of the martyrs, embodying often a considerable part
of the procès-verbal of the trial, were preserved and read in
each of the churches. Some of those which have survived are
later attempts to elaborate the earlier accounts, or sometimes
are but fourth- and fifth-century stories embodying traditions of

[1] *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 18. 1.

the locality, but the contemporary *passiones* are numerous enough
to permit a general reconstruction of the circumstances. And it
is possible to calculate that eighty-four of the years of the second
century were years of persecution for the Christian Church in
some part of the Empire, and that in practically every generation
every local church knew what it was for some of their members
to die for Christ. Nor, curious as it may seem to an age which
believes in the liberalism of the people at large, did the con-
stancy and sufferings of the martyrs generally cause a cessation
of the persecutions. It is noted as a surprising and even miraculous
occurrence in some of the *passiones* that the jailers or the magis-
trates or the people were converted from their hatred because
of the charity and steadfastness of those who were to be hence-
forth the heroes of the Church.

The opposition between the Christians and the Empire is
obvious historical fact. Yet it is not easy to assign the basis of
this opposition. Sometimes, and especially at first, the magis-
trates, like the populace, may have believed that the Christians
were magicians, that their religion was a cloak for immorality
vaguely summarized by the charge of atheism. The explana-
tions of the Christian apologists may have removed this. St.
Justin could write after a description of the Christian religion:
'What man who uses his reason would call us atheists since we
worship the maker of the universe?' Similarly they challenged
their contemporaries to show that their religion was a cloak for
evil deeds. Aristides, even earlier than Justin, could boast that
his co-religionists were not adulterers nor fornicators, nor per-
jurers, nor thieves.[1] The boldness with which the assertions were
made shows that the facts had already been established by pro-
cesses which were above every suspicion of bias. And, indeed,
the innocence of the Christians from the popular charges would
soon be made clear in the tribunals of Rome. Not only is that a
reasonable inference from their general character but it is con-
firmed by the *passiones* of the martyrs.

In the earliest persecutions there may have been question,
as Pliny suggested in his letter to Trajan, of crimes said to be

[1] Justin, *Apol.* i. 13; Aristides, *Apol.* 15.

associated with the profession of Christianity; very soon, however, the only evidence required for proof of guilt was a refusal to acknowledge the divinity of the gods recognized by the state. Against such a charge of course the apologists could not defend their co-religionists. Aristides himself said in his *Apologia*:

The Christians derive their origin from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most high God, who by the power of the Holy Spirit descended from heaven to save men, and was born of the Holy Virgin without human intercourse and without sin, who assumed flesh and appeared to men that he might recall them from the error of polytheism.[1]

But very soon the question was narrowed still farther, at least by some magistrates. It is true that the test for Christians by which alone they might escape sentence of death was that they should perform the prescribed ceremonies of reverence to the images of the pagan gods, should throw a little incense into a brazier. But it soon became clear that the question of the multiple deities of the various pagan religions was not in question. The important element in the ceremony soon became the image of the reigning emperor which was included in the images or was sometimes the only image before which reverence had to be made. The difficulty of explaining the struggle between the Empire and the Church lies in evaluating the meaning which was attached to this ceremony. The pagans did not think that Caesar was God in the sense that the Christians spoke of God—they did not believe that the emperor had created heaven and earth. The proconsul Saturninus in the trial of the martyrs of Scilli described the faith which he wanted the Christians to acknowledge: 'we are religious and our religion is simple—we swear by the genius of our Lord the Emperor and we supplicate for his safety. You should do likewise.'[2] The man who said that did not himself believe that either the emperor or his genius was God in the sense of the Christian faith. But he did believe that the emperor was not only possessed of civil power but, being emperor, could impose a moral obligation. The title of *imperator*

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[1] *Apol.* 15.   [2] *Passio Sanct. Scilit.* 3.

expressed his power, but that of *augustus* his sacred authority. As the embodiment of the state he was, if not the source, at least the sole judge of moral obligation. And it was exactly on that ground that the Christian men and women who were his prisoners, for the most part devoid of legal training or worldly culture, opposed themselves to him. Speratus replied: 'I do not acknowledge the authority of this world, but rather I serve the God whom no man has seen or can see. I am not a robber; when I buy I pay the tax to the state: because I acknowledge my Lord, the king of kings and the ruler of all men.'[1] From that position the prisoners would not recede, and though in other trials the fundamental issue was overlaid with questions of polytheism, the claim of the Christians seems usually to have been that they professed obedience to the laws but only because they were commanded to do so by the God whom they served. From Him came the obligation to keep an oath, and because of His command they would be good citizens. And such a promise was not sufficient for the Roman magistrates, who recognized in the emperor alone a sufficient and necessary source of moral obligation and demanded therefore that this should be acknowledged—either by an oath in the name of his genius, or by an act of religious veneration.

It would be easy perhaps to imagine the martyrs as early liberals claiming freedom of conscience or toleration for their religion. They can scarcely have appeared in this light to the Roman magistrates. The Christians claimed, indeed, that they would only acknowledge as sovereign moral authority, as ruler of all men, the God whom they preached but they also claimed for Him authority over all men. Christ had come to teach all men, to deliver them from the errors of polytheism, and consequently to teach that all men, even the Romans, should serve Him. So the martyrs would warn the magistrates who condemned them of the judgement of this Lord of all, and of the punishments which they would suffer for rejecting Him and His authority.[2]

The efforts of provincial magistrates were not without result.

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[1] *Passio Martyrum Scillitanorum.*   [2] *Passio Polycarpi*, x.

There were apostasies in many places, and in some the local Christian life seems to have been destroyed. The local church diminished or disappeared. But precisely during this period the Church as a whole was adding to her numbers and developing her organization, despite or perhaps because of these occasional persecutions. In fact they helped the *catholica* to distinguish itself from those who wished to belong to it but not to accept its rule of doctrine. The war of the state relieved the Church when hard pressed by heretical teaching. And in effect the Christians looking back could boast that the forces of the Empire had been powerless to prevent their growth. And Tertullian could enshrine this observation in lapidary phrase: 'Plures efficimur quoties metimur a vobis; semen est sanguis Christianorum.'

The persecutions of the second century had been due to the local governors who, either of their own volition or when forced by popular clamour, put the existing laws into execution. Once the emperors were convinced that the Christians were good citizens, it was possible that the quarrel could be adjusted without solving the apparently theoretical question of the source of moral authority. In the first quarter of the third century it seemed as though this might happen. On the one hand the importance of Christian culture and of Christian property had become obvious to all, and with it the protestations of the Christian writers that they did not seek to destroy the Empire. Some of them were putting forward a claim to toleration on the ground that religion was a matter for every man to decide for himself. By human law and human nature each man may worship as he thinks, Tertullian argued, and the religion of one man neither helps nor hinders another.[1] At the same time he protested that the Christians would obey the emperor in everything that was not an infringement of the worship of God:

As regards the honours due to kings and emperors, we hold it as a tradition to remain in due obedience to magistrates and princes and rulers according to the command of the apostle; but we hold this tradition to be binding within the limits of that discipline by which we are separated from all idolatry.[2]

[1] *Ad Scap.* 2.   [2] *De Idol.* xv.

Such a statement of the Christian attitude left unresolved the problem of the source of moral authority, but for practical working purposes the imperial government could content itself with such a declaration. Such seemed to be likely, for on the other hand the emperors of the early third century were adopting the fashionable syncretism in religious matters, with its implied acknowledgement of one supreme God as the origin of all authority. According to the account of the writer of the *Historia Augusta* of the next century, Alexander Severus included Christ in his pantheon of lesser gods, and certainly his mother Mamaea learned from the Christians Hippolytus and Origen what their doctrines inculcated. As a result of this change of attitude the persecutions ceased. Indeed the legal change went farther still. In one case the title of the Christian church to its property was recognized by a rescript of the emperor. Hitherto the large properties of the Christians—though their existence and use was clearly known to the civil authorities —had been held in the name of private citizens; now the right of the Christian community to possess property was recognized. They could use it as the assembly place of their religion.[1] Indeed, if one can argue from one phrase of the biography of Alexander Severus, in a context which seems to be giving a list of his edicts, it would appear that that emperor repealed the law declaring the Christian religion illicit.

The practical and perhaps legal recognition of the Christian religion by Alexander Severus did not survive him. His successor Maximinus was actuated, according to Eusebius, by hatred of the household of his predecessor, and gratified it by an edict against the hierarchy of the Christian churches because so many of Alexander's civil servants were Christians. The ensuing persecution was short-lived, but it introduced the principle, henceforth to be traditional with Roman administrators, of differentiating between the hierarchy and the faithful. They had recognized that their warfare was not with a superstition or an opinion, but with an organization whose life depended in some way on its rulers.

[1] *Vita Alex. Sev.* 49.

After ten years of calm and even of favour the struggle was resumed by the Emperor Decius in A.D. 249, who as a conservative sought to revive respect and devotion to the gods of Rome. Bishop Denys of Alexandria, who was saved in this persecution only by being carried into hiding against his will, wrote a lengthy account of the events in Alexandria to the bishop of Antioch. During the year before the accession of Decius there had been a series of pagan tumults against the Christians. Denys attributed the organization of the murders and robbery which took place to one man who strove to resuscitate the cult of the local gods, but it is clear from his account that Decius's decree, at least in Alexandria, did but give legal effect to the passionate desires of a large number of the inhabitants. After a time the savagery of the mob, which had been tolerated if not encouraged by the magistrates, returned on itself, and the Christians were spared because pagan factions were fighting one another for the mastery. But the decree of Decius soon reunited them in what was now no longer mob violence but imperial law. Almost immediately many Christians, especially those who were functionaries of the state, surrendered to the imperial commands, and either sacrificed to the gods or denied that they had ever been Christians. Others went to prison and torture, endured for a time, and then renounced their Christianity to be spared further sufferings. But Denys was surprised and proud of the great number who remained constant under persecution and many of whom suffered death and so became, as he said, worthy witnesses of the kingdom of the Lord. As Denys noted, there were amongst them native Libyans and Egyptians as well as the Romanized citizens of Alexandria. They were of all classes in society, including even some amongst the soldiers who guarded the court-room of the governor.[1]

Though Denys described only those who suffered martyrdom or who fled to the deserts and the mountains to avoid death,[2] it is clear from the writings of Cyprian, the contemporary bishop of Carthage, that the aim of the government was to terrorize the faithful and especially the bishops into apostasy, and that in con-

[1] Eus. vi. 41.   [2] Ibid. 42.

sequence many magistrates contented themselves with the confiscation of the goods of Christians and with their imprisonment. The path of apostasy was made easier still; in many provinces, perhaps everywhere, *libelli* or certificates of having sacrificed were sold to those who would obtain exemption from trial. As far as the state was concerned some Christians could avoid the necessity of physical co-operation in pagan worship, provided they allowed themselves to be inscribed as having done so. It was only the Christian Church, or rather the bishops, who forbade the use of this legal fiction. They insisted that the *libellatici* had apostatized, and that they could only be restored after penitence and by the authority of the Church. Perhaps it was that the emperor realized that his policy had not broken the power of the Christian Church, perhaps it was because he hoped that it was cowed, perhaps it was that he had not realized what civil evils would result from such a persecution—for some reason he brought the inquisition and therefore the persecution to an end after two years. His successor, Trebonianus Gallus, did not resume it on a large scale, but made a special effort to destroy the church of Rome. Even here he discriminated between those in schism and those who were catholic. A priest, Novatian, opposed to the episcopal policy of allowing those who had apostatized during the persecution to be reconciled after penance, organized in Rome a more rigorous church than that of the bishop. Gallus neglected the professors of this 'purer' Christianity altogether, but he strove, in Cyprian's phrase, to strike terror in the camps of the Christians by expelling from his see the catholic bishop of Rome.

The assassination of Gallus brought peace to the Church since the new Emperor Valerian showed no signs at first of resuming the policy of Decius. But the peace was short-lived. The Christians attributed the resumption of persecution to the prompting of one Macrian whose hatred was born of the dark Egyptian mysteries which he practised. Certainly the attack now made had features of its own. Again the civil authorities realized that, if they would succeed, they must destroy the organization of the Church. The bishops were summoned by their official titles

before the tribunals and were required not only to obey the commands of the emperor themselves but to give the names of their priests that the same inquiry might be made of them. Refusal to obey the imperial command was at first punished with exile, and at the same time it was decreed that, if any assembly of Christians were made, those taking part would be liable to the capital penalty. Yet these orders, carried out with efficiency by the magistrates and police, failed to break the Church. Cyprian, who was among those sentenced to exile, makes mention in one of his letters of bishops, priests, and lay folk in Numidia sentenced to the mines and put to death, and the only offence punishable thus was the crime of holding a Christian assembly.

Perhaps because the initial legislation had failed in its object, another edict was published in A.D. 258 decreeing death for bishops, priests, and deacons who would not apostatize, loss of rank and confiscation of goods for those of senatorial and equestrian rank, confiscation and slavery on the imperial domains for those of the household. Under this decree Xystus, bishop of Rome, Cyprian of Carthage, and others in Asia, Spain, and Egypt were put to death.

While Valerian's persecution carried to its logical conclusion the distinction first made by Maximinus between the hierarchy and the plebs of the Church, it also seems to have brought the moral strife to its final issue. In the persecution of Decius the Christians were to be forced to abandon their religion and to return to that of Rome. But when under Valerian's edict Denys of Alexandria was brought before the judge, the demand of the state was framed differently. Denys had said: 'We adore the only God, the creator of all things who has given the empire to Valerian and Gallienus, and we pray for their power unceasingly that it may be invincible.' To this the judge replied: 'Who prevents you from worshipping this god, along with the gods who are so by nature?' In this statement of course the judge was ignoring, or affecting to ignore, the claim which Denys made, that the God whom he and his worshipped was unique—but there is a hint that, in the syncretism which would have satisfied the civil state, there was room for a distinction between the

Christian God and the rest. The change of attitude was brought
out more clearly in the trial of Cyprian of Carthage. In sum-
marizing the instructions of the emperor, Paternus the proconsul
made it clear that Christians were not required to worship
according to the Roman religion. 'Those who do not worship
according to the Roman religion' were required to give another
proof of their loyalty and gratitude toward Caesar. They must
romanas caerimonias recognoscere. It would seem therefore that what
was required was that Cyprian should recognize as authentic the
sacred rites of the religion which he did not practise himself.
The emperor imposed a test of the loyalty and moral obedience
of his subjects; of those who practised the Roman religion he
was sure; he would be sure of the others, more particularly of the
Christians, only if they recognized that the Roman religion could
impose a religious obligation on a man, only if they admitted that
the sacred rites of the Roman religion, even if they did not employ
them, did nevertheless authentically form a bond between the
worshipper and the divine. And Cyprian, who had been a
learned pagan before he became a Christian bishop, could only
reply: 'I know no other gods but the one true God who created
heaven and earth. We Christians serve this God and we beseech
Him day and night for you and all men and for the safety of
our emperors.' The Christian bishop could offer to the pro-
consul as guarantee of his loyalty, of the moral obligation which
he accepted of obeying the state, only the fact that he served the
one true God, and that this moral obedience was inculcated by
the Christian religion. Independently of the God he worshipped
he knew no means of binding either his or any other human
spirit by a moral obligation.

Among the measures which Valerian adopted to break the
organization of the Church was the confiscation of its build-
ings and other places dedicated to the practice of the Chris-
tian religion. When Valerian was defeated and captured by the
Persians, his son became sole emperor, put a term to the
persecution, and also ordered that the Christian property should
be restored to the bishops.[1] Such an act presupposed that

[1] Eus. vii. 13.

henceforth the practice of Catholic worship and the organization of the Church were recognized as legal by the Empire. This condition remained true for the next half century, which was in consequence a period of expansion on a scale greater probably than had occurred hitherto. To this period must be assigned the formation of the dioceses along the borders of the Danube, in northern Gaul, in Britain, for the churches in those lands appear completely organized as soon as the next persecution had come to an end. Territorial expansion was accompanied by the growth in numbers of the Christian communities in those places where the faith had long been preached. At a council of bishops held at Elvira in Spain in the early years of the fourth century the bishops had to make regulations for the discipline of those Christians who held office of magistracy under the imperial government, and even for those who despite their baptism had attained the office of flamen, priests of the imperial cult either in their municipality or in the province. An inscription of Mauritania of the same period records the gift of a cemetery and of a chapel by a Christian of that province whose title was *clarissimus*. The city of Rome at the end of the period possessed forty churches.[1] In view of that evidence it is not surprising to find that Eusebius claims that both the wife of Diocletian, the Emperor in the last part of this half century of peace, and his daughter were Christians; or that he mentions— though as an exception—that in one of the provinces of Asia Minor there was then a town in which the entire magistracy and population were catholic. At the same time the *catholica*, perhaps because of freedom of its growth within the Empire, was extending its authority to countries which lay outside. Towards the end of this third century the missionary, Gregory, returning to his Armenia, converted both the King Tiridates and many of the people of that land to the Christian faith. Pagan temples were transformed into churches, monasteries were founded, and a hierarchy was constituted for the country.

The energy which such an expansion demanded was not obtained at the expense of indifference to the exactitude of the

[1] *C.I.L.* viii. 9585 and Optatus, 1. iv.   .

rule of faith. The danger in that field of action was different from what it had been in the second century. Then the *catholica* had had to defend itself from those who wanted to graft doctrines not Christian in source on to the faith which was the basis of the life of the Church. Now the difficulty arose from attempts of some of the clergy and even of bishops to explain the faith in such a way as to make it seem more self-consistent. They sought to avoid the necessity of demanding intellectual assent to a mystery, of asking the human mind to accept what it could not understand. The chief difficulty naturally lay with the reconciliation of the doctrine of a unique God with the affirmation that Christ is God and yet was sent into the world by God. Sometimes, it is true, the quarrels appear to have been chiefly concerned with the suitable way of expressing these facts. More often, however, an attempt was made to minimize some part of the traditional meaning of the rule of faith in order to formulate a theology which would present no mystery or less mystery to a rational mind. To all these attempts, however, and some of them were short-lived and have left but the merest trace in historical record, the reaction was violent; at all costs the Church preserved the full teaching of the divinity of its Founder and His real humanity, and at the same time asserted the unity of God. The organ which was developed at this time to safeguard the rule, even against individual bishops, was the council of the bishops of a province, which had been called into being in the controversy as to the date of Easter. When a bishop was accused of heresy the bishops of the neighbourhood met to learn by discussion whether his teaching was or was not consistent with the traditional teaching. So universal was the practice that one can but suppose that provincial organization and clearly delimited provinces were recognized throughout the Church. When the decision had been reached it was notified to other bishops, and in particular to those of the greater sees, to the bishops of Carthage, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome. Should the accused bishop refuse to accept the decision he was deposed and another substituted for him, as in the case of Paul, the bishop of Antioch, in the latter part of the third century. In such a process the

question of appeal would not normally arise. The bishops who assembled were there not primarily as judges but as witnesses, custodians of the deposit which must be preserved. Since the first duty of every bishop was to guard the faith, since the preservation of it by the bishops was divinely guaranteed, the concurrent witness of the whole province was sufficient proof of the meaning of the rule of faith, and no argument from reason was valid against that prescription. Therefore once the rule of faith was established there was no other duty incumbent on the bishop but to accept.

But the use of the provincial council was only a convenient way of obtaining what would be the judgement of the whole *catholica*, and, though unlikely, it might happen that the local judgement, especially if it proceeded to deposition, would be challenged. So the concurrence of the bishops of the world was sought. The proceedings against Paul of Antioch seem to have been made almost at the direction, as they required the confirmation, of the bishops of Alexandria and Rome. It may be that this was regarded as a special case because of the dignity of the see of Antioch. Another procedure, equally designed to protect the faith, is illustrated by another case. The bishops of Pentapolis were divided, in the short interval of peace before Valerian's persecution, on the doctrine, proposed originally by Sabellius, that the Eternal Word of God was but a different mode of being of the Eternal Father. Both groups appealed to Denys of Alexandria, who wrote an instruction on orthodox doctrine condemning the error of Sabellius, and addressed this letter to the bishop of Berenika and the other bishops of Pentapolis, but at the same time sent a copy of his letter to the bishop of Rome. Later, the bishops who had been opposed to Sabellius thought that Denys's own doctrine was itself unsound and accused him to the bishop of Rome of teaching the doctrine that Christ, the Word of God, is inferior to the Father. The bishop of Rome then assembled his council of bishops—at this time they numbered sixty or so—and sent the doctrinal decision so arrived at to the accusers and the accused. Such a procedure and the acceptance of it both by the bishops of Pentapolis and by the

Patriarch of Alexandria, 'father' of all the dioceses of Egypt and greatest after Rome of the bishops of the *catholica*, shows that in the matter of preserving the meaning of the rule of faith the test of St. Irenaeus was still universally accepted; the rule of faith of Rome was always apostolic.

The practice of appealing to the bishop of Rome on matters of the guardianship of the faith would have led to the practical extension of his jurisdiction in disciplinary matters whether there was or was not any tradition affecting the latter. The discipline of the Church, being directed primarily to maintaining its deposit of doctrine, every disciplinary act would have a connexion close or remote with the rule of faith, and would consequently lead to the exercise of Roman jurisdiction. At the same time the local bishops, and still more the assembly of bishops of a province, would naturally be jealous of their own sovereignty in disciplinary matters, as the bishops of Asia had been in the second century when they resisted the demands of Pope Victor concerning the observance of Easter. Both developments were illustrated during the second half of the third century. The two practical questions which every local church had to consider were its rules for the readmission to communion of those who had lapsed, who had apostatized in the persecutions, and its rules regarding the validity of sacraments administered by those who had been excluded from the *catholica*. Both questions were primarily disciplinary, concerned with the maintenance of the organization which guarded the deposit of faith; both questions were connected with the doctrine of the Church, with its teaching concerning the operations of God. In regard to the first, Cyprian of Carthage and the hundred bishops of Africa over whom he presided found themselves in agreement with the bishop of Rome as against a group of priests who tried to establish a schismatic church also centred at Rome. To encourage the bishop of Rome to be firm in maintaining the discipline on which they were agreed, Cyprian treated the question as one of doctrine, and urged the authority of Rome in the question on the same ground. Rome is the chair of authority of Peter, where 'unfaith' can never find place. Rome is the chair

of the principate on which the unity of the bishops of the *catholica* is built.[1] And apparently in consequence of this authority of the see of Peter, Cyprian urged the bishop of Rome to appoint a new bishop of Arles, since the present one refused to accept the discipline which Rome had authorized.

But on the question of the validity of baptism administered by those who were not in communion with the *catholica*, Cyprian found himself at variance with the bishop of Rome. Cyprian, anxious above all to insist that only the *catholica* was protected by the Holy Spirit, claimed that those who were cut off from its communion could not administer the sacraments, since the Holy Spirit would not work through their ministry. He based his judgement therefore on an inference from a doctrine which was certainly part of the rule of faith. He carried with him all the bishops of Africa, and found that Firmilian, the bishop of Caesarea, and many other bishops of Asia were of the same mind. Then to their surprise they found that Pope Stephen of Rome refused to agree with them, on the ground that nothing should be done in discipline which was contrary to the traditional practice of the Roman church. It was not only an opinion, it was an instruction as to the procedure Cyprian should adopt. Both Cyprian and Firmilian revolted against this discipline; but Cyprian on the ground that in a matter of discipline the practice of bishops might legitimately differ, Firmilian on the ground that Stephen had shown himself to be no true successor of St. Peter. The quarrel came as near to causing a schism as was possible; it seems indeed only to have been averted by the gentleness of Stephen's successor. But Rome did not alter her discipline nor abate her claim to give instruction. And making such claims she still remained the centre of catholic unity. The case of Denys of Alexandria, wherein all accepted the authority of Rome, was later than that of Cyprian and Firmilian. Eventually the discipline of Rome became the discipline of the other churches. Jerome, writing a century later, says that the opponents of Pope Stephen themselves returned to the traditional custom and did so publicly.[2]

[1] Epistle 59.   [2] *Contra Lucif.* 23.

So the commission: 'Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church' found its application in discipline as in faith, and in the third century as in the second Rome's authority in disciplinary matters was effective even though obedience to it may often have been reluctant.

IV

The fifty years of peace which the Church enjoyed after the persecution of Valerian was a period of expansion in numbers and in wealth, and was also a period when the hierarchy was organized the better to express its common judgements. At the same time, however, there was no alteration of the essential characteristics of the *catholica*. Its faith remained the same, its discipline was but developed on traditional lines to meet the changing circumstances of its life. Eusebius suggests that the ease of Christian life during these years, years of his early manhood, led to a lessening of Christian fervour.[1] He instances the quarrels of bishops, and the ambition of men to obtain episcopal office. It would have been natural had such a result followed. But discount must be made of his statement since similar judgements were common form with all Christian writers during a period of peace. Cyprian has a similar passage with regard to the early years of the century, and the Johannine epistles apply the same criticism to the Christians of the end of the first century. Even in the first generation of the Church the epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians suggest that it could also be made of the converts of the apostolic age. It was no doubt true that when the fear of persecution died away the places of authority were sought after, but there is no reason to suppose that it was especially the case at the end of the third century. Certainly the constancy of the faithful in the subsequent temptations was as firm as it had been earlier.

Whatever effect the increasing social importance of the Church had on the Christians, it did not diminish the hatred which was felt for it by the pagans. They complained, according to the contemporary Arnobius, that the gods were neglected

[1] Eus. *H. E.* viii. 1.

and the temples deserted, and therefore put the more vigour into their attacks on the religion which was displacing them to an ever greater extent.[1] Many of their best writers and philosophers set themselves directly to attack the Christian doctrine. Such was Porphyry, fragments of whose *Contra Christianos* have survived. Lactantius describes the polemics of two others, and one can fairly infer that they set themselves not only to mock the Christian ethic and life, but to challenge the evidence which the Church alleged for its claim as a teacher warranted by God. They made their attack in the name of human reason, but they also sought for support from those who wanted to revive devotion to the religion of their forefathers.[2]

It was this latter motive which inspired the terrible persecution which broke out in the year 303. The Emperor Diocletian, an extremely able soldier and administrator, married to a Christian and who had admitted Christians to office of command in the army and in the household, had associated with him in his government Maximian Hercules, Galerius, and Constantius Chlorus, dividing the empire geographically between them for administrative purposes though maintaining a unity of authority. Maximian and Galerius were both uncultured soldiers, devoted to the pagan gods, and to the influence of Galerius and to a lesser extent of Maximian the Christian writers attribute the edict of A.D. 303, commanding the surrender of the sacred books and places of the Christians as enemies of the gods, and obliging them publicly to join in sacrifice to the gods. It was not merely an attempt to secure that Christians should accept as morally binding, irrespective of their religion, the authority of the emperor. It was typical of the mind of a soldier who knew no other way to obtain loyalty than by demanding conformity to the religion of the army, and indeed the earliest attempts seem to have been directed to purging the army and especially its commands of Christians. The same desire to restore the worship of the gods, not merely the worship of Caesar, was the strength and motive of the popular support which the persecution received in later years. At Antioch a statue of Zeus

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[1] Arnobius, i. 24.   [2] Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* v. 2.

Philios was alleged to have demanded the expulsion of the Christians. On the information being supplied to him by the magistrates the emperor professed himself ready to obey the commands of the great 'Zeus who rules your city and protects the gods of your fathers and your wives and children and homes'.[1] At Arikanda the inhabitants of Pamphylia had a tablet erected to perpetuate their prayer to the emperor to drive out the 'atheists' and to compel them to worship the gods. Eusebius relates that the practice was general, and that with the petition there was inscribed the favourable reply of the emperor.

The serious attempt to revive polytheistic worship was one of the characteristics of this persecution. The other was the vigour with which it was conducted. Not only were the buildings of the Christians destroyed and their sacred books burned, and their treasures confiscated, but all were required to sacrifice and those who refused were punished by heavier penalties for each refusal, the last of which was death.[2] Owing to the large number of Christians the full rigour of the law could not be imposed on all at once, and at first the attack was directed against the clerics.[3] But while the arrangements for further action were being made, the Christians were deprived of all legal rights. A Christian slave could not be enfranchised, no privilege of rank defended a Christian against torture.[4] In the later stages of the persecution, which lasted in some provinces for ten years, the zeal of the pagans was maintained by an organization of publicists who assailed the memory of the Founder of the Christian Church with forged memoirs of Pontius Pilate, and these were taught to the children and placarded in the market-place.[5] Every act of social life was made specifically pagan. Transactions of buying and selling were allowed only to those who had paid worship to the gods, the use of the baths was denied to those who would not offer incense at a shrine by the entrance. And, perhaps as a result of direct orders from the emperor, perhaps because of the inflamed passions of the mob, there followed veritable massacres of the Christians.[6]

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[1] Eus. *H.E.* ix. 7.   [2] Lact. *Mort. Persec.* 15.   [3] Eus. *H.E.* viii. 6.
[4] Lact. *Mort. Persec.* 13.   [5] Eus. *H.E.* ix. 5.   [6] Eus. *De Martyr. Palestinae.*

But this persecution did not affect all parts of the Empire to the same degree. Constantius Chlorus, who had been one of Diocletian's associate rulers, and who administered Gaul and Britain, only enforced that part of the imperial edict which ordered an attack on the Christian churches, and even this he executed only to the extent of confiscation. When Constantius died in A.D. 306 his son Constantine was accepted as emperor by the army in Britain and Gaul despite the wishes of the other emperors, and not only continued his father's policy but restored to Christians the opportunity of practising their worship.[1] Elsewhere the persecution seems to have been universal until the year 307 despite the fact that, owing to the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, there was now a different tetrarchy of emperors. In that year, however, Maxentius, who ruled Africa, Italy, and Spain, decided to bring the persecution to an end.[2] The motives for restoring liberty to the Christians which actuated Maxentius are uncertain; it may have been the failure to obtain a return to pagan worship, it may have been consideration of the corruption of Roman civil life which the proscription and massacre of a large portion of the population necessarily entailed. Four years later Galerius and Licinius who ruled the provinces of Thrace, Illyricum, and Asia, made a decree jointly with Constantine permitting in these provinces the resumption of the Christian worship. They stated as the reason for their action that Christians, despite the sage legislation which had been made in the past, still remained attached to their folly, and therefore had become a people without public worship of any sort. Consequently to avoid so great an evil the emperors permitted the Christian worship again to exist, and commanded the Christians in their assemblies to pray their god for the safety of the emperor and the state.[3] There remained then only one ruler to act as champion of the gods, Maximin Daia, ruler of Egypt and the East. Perhaps he also would have abandoned the warfare against Christianity. But at this stage the question passed into a political one. Daia seized the imperial authority in the territories administered by Licinius who was probably

the author of the decree of A.D. 311. Licinius had already
arrived at an understanding with Constantine, who denied the
authority of Maxentius in Italy and Africa. Consequently the
tetrarchy broke into two opposing groups, Constantine and
Licinius against Maxentius and Maximin Daia. While Licinius
'contained' the forces of Daia in Dalmatia, Constantine made a
rapid descent on Rome. Maxentius sought the favour of the
gods from the oracles of the pagan religion, Daia was still pro-
mising to bring all his subjects to the worship of the gods; Con-
stantine, according to the contemporary Lactantius, marked the
shields of his soldiers with the sign of Christ, that he might fight
under that protection. The victory of Pons Milvius made Con-
stantine and Licinius masters of the west and of Africa. After a
few months' interval Licinius began to attack Daia in Bithynia.
The latter had already issued a rescript associating himself with
the policy of the edict of A.D. 311, but it was no longer a question
of the persecution of the Christians. Licinius continued his
campaign, and the last of the persecuting emperors died in time
to avoid falling into the hands of his rival.

In the interval between the two campaigns Constantine and
Licinius had held conference at Milan and had promulgated a
law on the subject of religious cults which has since been known
as the Edict of Milan. Its terms can be deduced with reasonable
accuracy from instructions based on it and issued by Licinius
at Nicomedia when he captured that town, the eastern
head-quarters of the old tetrarchy. By this legislation the new
emperors not only allowed the Christian religion to exist, but
put that permission on a basis different from that which it had
enjoyed as a result of the edict of Gallienus. Instead of assuming
that the normal religion of the citizens was that of their ancestors,
the edict laid it down as a principle that each citizen ought to
have, for the public security, some religion by which he should
revere divinity, and for this purpose the emperors gave complete
liberty to the Christians, and to all others to follow that religion
by which they could propitiate the divinity above the human
race. It was then, as far as Christians were concerned, a recogni-
tion by the emperors that the Christian religion was in itself an

adequate means of binding men to divine things, and therefore adequate as a source of moral obligation and therefore adequate for public security. Further legislation in connexion with the edict ordered the restitution of all the confiscated property to the churches of the Christians, whether that property was used for strictly religious purposes or not, whether it had been sold or not since its confiscation; and it ordered the imperial officers to make the restitution without the formality of legal demand by the Christians, but with the promise that the emperors might of grace indemnify those citizens who should be losers by such restitution.

Though this legislation was clearly based on conceptions much more confident of the loyalty of Christians than any of the past, and though it enabled the Christian churches to resume their disorganized life much more easily, there was still nothing in it which of itself guaranteed the permanence of toleration. It might have inaugurated a period such as followed the accession of Gallienus, or as occurred possibly in the reign of Alexander Severus. About the year 320 Licinius showed signs of resuming the old attitude of suspicion and of re-establishing a police control of Catholic worship. He eliminated Christians from the public service in the lands which he governed, by demanding that all officials should sacrifice to the gods. He forbade the attendance of women at the Christian mysteries, and then ordered that the Christian liturgy should only be celebrated in the open. And then he complained that the Christians prayed for his fellow-emperor Constantine and not for himself.[1] The ill-feeling might easily have led to a resumption of persecution, but Constantine had decided to make himself master of the Empire, and in the war which resulted the defeated Licinius was made a prisoner and compelled to abdicate.

It was not the Edict of Milan taken as a piece of legislation, nor even the circumstances in which it was made, but the attitude of Constantine which made the peace which followed the battle of the Milvian Bridge different from that which had followed the death of Valerian. Though Constantine maintained for many years, in a sense indeed almost to the end of his life, the attitude

[1] Eus. *H.E.* x. 8.

to religion which inspired the Edict of Milan, he enriched the Church to such an extent that it would have been much more difficult than heretofore to reverse the policy. Usually in his official acts he talked of the divinity which governed the world of men and which all citizens must worship, and thereby bind themselves morally to be good citizens, as an impersonal divinity making no choice as to the religion which men adopted as a means of expressing their loyalty. But he showed again and again that he, Constantine, regarded the Catholic religion as the only worthy or the most worthy way of expressing this dependence on divinity. Even if it was not till the end of his life that Constantine accepted the Christian faith there were undoubtedly many stages in his conversion, and he had traversed some of them already when he put his army under the protection of Christ in A.D. 312, and again another when he adopted the labarum as his own symbol in A.D. 317. The overwhelming respect which the Emperor had for the Catholic Church was shown soon after his conquest of Maxentius. In the following year he wrote to the proconsul of Africa bidding him see that all the clerics of the Catholic Church ruled by Caecilian of Carthage should be exempted from the public services. His letter gives the reason why he thus elevated the Catholic clerics to the ranks of those whose occupation was a sufficient service to the state: the cult these clerics serve shows in the highest way the respect due to divinity, the practice of this cult will procure for Roman civilization the benevolence of divinity.[1] And because of this attitude Constantine endowed the Church with money and lands and built great basilicas. Caecilian received at the hands of the *rationalis* of Africa a sum of money equivalent to some £10,000 of present worth. Even earlier the bishop of Rome had received first the use and then the gift of the imperial palace of the Lateran. The basilica which Constantine built alongside was enriched with gold and silver altars and ciboria, of which a list is preserved in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Nor was Rome the only diocese to receive the imperial benefactions. Nicomedia, Antioch, Naples, Capua, Ostia, Albano, all

[1] Eus. *H.E.* x. 7.

received basilicas from Constantine's generosity. At Jerusalem he and his mother Helena built a basilica of the Holy Sepulchre and another of the Ascension. But Rome received more than any other, or at least the memory of his gifts there has been better preserved; five new basilicas and abundance of gold and silver ornaments for those already existing testified to the respect he had for the apostolic see.

The Catholic Church which Constantine endowed had a social organization capable of making full use of his benefactions. Despite the effect of the ten years of persecution it was able to resume its former labours. Among these none was more characteristic than its works of charity. Even in the first generation of Christians the church at Antioch had organized relief for the churches of Judaea.[1] Fifteen years later a similar work was carried through by the Christians in Macedonia and Achaia at the suggestion of St. Paul.[2] Later on the deacons of the different churches, and particularly of Rome, were given charge of the administration of these large charities. St. Cyprian, urging a man to a course which would lead to poverty, bade him in that case claim sustenance from the church of the town in which he found himself. In the middle of the third century a bishop of Rome wrote that it was part of his work to provide for 1,500 poor.[3] And already this charity had been exercised for the benefit of the pagans as well as of the Christians. When the plague of typhus broke out in Alexandria in A.D. 268, and the sick were driven from the houses for fear of infection, the Christians under the leadership of their priests and organized by them devoted themselves to the care of the unfortunates. It is but little surprising that Constantine, who certainly had the happiness of his subjects at heart, should be prepared to entrust so charitable an institution with large sums from the public treasure and the imperial estates. And it is not surprising that when, some fifty years later, the Emperor Julian sought to deprive the Catholic Church of all social status, he should find it necessary to write to the pagan priests whom he intended to

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[1] Acts of the Apostles, xi. 27–30. [2] Romans, xv; 1 Cor. xvi; 2 Cor. viii.
[3] *Epist. Cornelii* in Eus. *H.E.* vi. 43.

put in the place of the Christian bishop: 'Why do we not imitate the practice which has made the impious religion of the Christians so successful? ... Is it not a shame that the impious Galileans support not only their own poor but also ours, while we neglect altogether to make provision for them?'[1]

As with the organization of charity, so with the organization of learning. The existence of the school of Alexandria at the end of the second century, and the formation of others shortly afterwards, suggest that already the bishops were organizing instruction within the Christian community. At least it was known that some of the orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, physicians, and jurisconsults, of the time of Arnobius,[2] were Christians, and Christians would normally frequent their courses for preference. After the Edict of Milan there was naturally a development of this form of social activity, and when Julian sought to throw back the wave of Christianity he took considerable pains to crush the schools conducted by Christian masters.

It is clear that Constantine, even though not yet a Christian, could have justified his donations to the Church on the ground that it had showed its ability to perform a great social work for the Empire, and that it could do it better than any other imperial organization. Had it been objected, as pagans had objected in the past, that the doctrine of this Church was antisocial or at least opposed to the political authority of the Caesar, answer could have been made from the line of Christian apologists, beginning with St. Peter, who had all protested that the duty of Christians, imposed on them by their religion, was to observe the discipline of the Empire in all things except those which were contrary to the revelation of God. A better argument would perhaps have been that the very sects which had been cut off from the *catholica*, and were anathematized by all its bishops, had based their appeal to men on a morality which was anti-social in its rigour. It was Judaeo-Christianity which had encouraged a political and armed revolt, it was Montanism which had treated marriage as a thing of shame. In the *catholica*, even such rigorist bishops as those who formed

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[1] Sozomen, *H.E.* iv. 16.   [2] Arnobius, ii. 6.

the Council of Elvira a few years before the persecution of Diocletian had accepted the fact that Christians could perform their duties as servants of the state, even though they had imposed a penitential discipline on them because those duties were connected with idolatry. But the best argument for the contention that the Church could associate and co-operate with the Empire in the government of its subjects was that Constantine was convinced of the wisdom of such co-operation; he was not a man to risk the peace of his empire lightly, and through his friendship with Bishop Hosius he had ample means of learning both the doctrine of the Church and its applications.

While both the Church and the Empire were willing to co-operate, the social status which came to the Church through Constantine's generosity created two sets of problems for the future. In the first place the Church had its own doctrine of human society, and this doctrine was on many points different from that commonly received by Romans; and because the social principles of the Catholic Church were derived from its rule of faith the Church was sure to show itself intransigent in respect of them. The Church had included from the first men and women of all classes, but she had also maintained that for her purposes the division of the human race was only into unbeliever and Christian, or within the Christian body into catechumen and faithful. The division of slave and free, of Roman and barbarian had no ecclesiastical significance. And since such divisions were a social fact in Rome the Church had encouraged the affranchisement of slaves to a very great extent.[1] And so far as her tradition was concerned there was no reason why a slave should not become a ruler of Christians. Already it was accepted as a fact that one of the great bishops of Rome had been a slave.

Again the Catholic Church had formed its own laws concerning marriage and had assumed that it was fully competent to do so. Even from apostolic times the regulation of marriage between Christians, or between Christians and non-Christians, had been treated as a matter for the hierarchy of the Church, and in such laws they had paid no regard to the contemporary

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[1] 1 Clem. 55; Ignat. *Ad Polyc.* 4.

practice of the Empire. As with marriage so with virginity. Though careful to denounce every form of Manichaeism, the *catholica* had constantly taught that virginity was a nobler state than marriage, and had authorized the vow of virginity being taken and as it were registered by public ceremony.

Again the Church had set aside some of her members for the hierarchy, had mancipated them to the service of God, and had treated this as a sufficient vocation in life. This hierarchy not only enjoyed a special reverence from the faithful but exercised a special authority over them, and they were encouraged even in matters of secular moment to accept its judgement. St. Paul in the first generation of Christians had upbraided the Corinthians for pursuing their quarrels before the tribunals of the state. Cyprian had treated it as a generally recognized and authentic Christian custom to have recourse to the bishop in such matters.[1] The *Didascalia* of the Syriac church shows how general the custom was in the third century.

In these and other ways the Church had already begun to fashion a social discipline of its own. It was different from and often opposed to that which obtained in the civil state and which was consecrated by Roman law. But since the Catholic Church based its own discipline on its rule of faith, it would not abandon it even when co-operating with the Empire. In the second and third centuries, when the Church was fenced off from imperial life by its opposition to the religious law of the Empire, the situation was not difficult to maintain. But now that an alliance looked like being proclaimed between the Emperor and the Church a difficulty arose; if the Church gathered into its fold the citizens and magistrates of the Empire and maintained its discipline, the citizens would be accepting a law at variance with the civil law, the magistrates would be administering a law which they repudiated in their consciences. The normal result of such an alliance would be the alteration of the civil discipline of society until it was consistent with the dictates of the religion which was accepted. That process, at best but half complete, was to be the work of many generations.

[1] Cyprian, *Testim.* iii. 14.

But immediately after the Edict of Milan Constantine began the work by accepting as juridically valid in the Empire much of the discipline which the Christian Church had evolved. The clerics of the Church were exempt from any further service to the state. Later, the Christian feast of Sunday was recognized to the extent that the civil courts should not function on that day. In the year 321 enfranchisements of slaves before a bishop of the Catholic Church were accepted as legally binding.[1] Twelve years later the measure of this acceptance of the Church as a body having public authority was completed; by a law of A.D. 333 Constantine recognized the juridical validity of the judgements which were given by a bishop, and ordered the civil magistrates to refuse to accept a plea against the episcopal sentence.[2]

Though then Constantine's attitude to the Catholic Church did not mean that the Empire became Christian, it is true to say that the type of society for which the Church stood, different from that of the traditional Roman world, was recognized and in large measure protected by the work of Constantine. But the inevitable strife between the two types of social organization on the points where they differed was to be worked out in the centuries to come.

There was a second group of problems inherent in the acceptance of the Church as a licit and even privileged society within the Empire. Although the Edict of Milan had given liberty to all religions Constantine had made his donations, and had granted the legal privileges, only to the clergy of the Catholic Church. This was an organization which, as a man of the Roman state, he could understand and appreciate. It had a unity of faith, it was co-extensive with the Empire, it was ruled by a hierarchy and each ruler was supreme in his own city, while all the episcopal rulers were united both by the theory of the institution and by its practice, it had under these rulers a common liturgy and a discipline which were for practical purposes the same everywhere. Soon after the edict Constantine learned that there were rebels against the authority of Caecilian the bishop of Carthage,

[1] Cod. Theod. iv. 7, i.   [2] Const. Sirmond. 1.

and that these rebels challenged the legitimacy of Caecilian's rule. Constantine naturally enough called on the bishop of Rome and three other bishops whose titles were unchallenged to deal with the dispute. When even this judgement was impugned by the rebels, Constantine decided that the only way to obtain complete peace in the *catholica* was to assemble a larger number of bishops that the judgement might be even more public than before. The judgement of these bishops assembled at Arles was exactly that of the bishop of Rome, and in terms of the greatest deference they reported their findings to him that 'through him the results of their inquiry and such other decisions as they had come to might be made known to all', and that 'all might thus know what they were bound to observe.'[1] The dispute was not settled by this second judgement. Indeed it was but the beginning of the Donatist schism which had yet a long course to run. But it is an illustration of a misunderstanding which could easily arise in the contact of the Empire and the Church. It may be that Constantine did not know of the special position which by Catholic tradition the bishop of Rome enjoyed. The bishops whom he sent to Carthage after Arles to bring the dispute to a close only made use of the Roman judgement; possibly it is an indication that Constantine had learned in the interval that, for the *catholica*, the judgement of Rome was final.[2] But in any case Constantine would naturally have supposed that the business of the hierarchy was primarily to maintain the unity of the Church, i.e. of the bishops amongst themselves. Whatever the authority of the bishop of Rome, Constantine would know that he also would make it his endeavour to maintain unity, and would therefore suppose that if the bishop of Rome found the opinion of his fellow bishops against him he would accede to their judgement that unity might be maintained. Such a view was natural enough to a statesman who could appreciate the strength and unity of the Church. What he would fail to appreciate would be that the unity of the Church and its organization, though externally very like the unity of an empire, was in fact *sui generis*. The unity of the Catholic Church

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[1] *Conc. Arel.*, Proem.   [2] *Optatus*, i. 26.

was built on the uniqueness of its faith, on the fact that its intellectual assent was to a doctrine deposited with it and not made by it. Consequently the unity of the Church not only existed to maintain this deposit of faith, but only existed in so far as it preserved that deposit. The unity of faith of the Church was logically prior to the concord of teaching and was not a result of consultation, compromise, and agreement. Only in the light of that characteristic could the relations of the bishop of Rome with the other bishops be understood. The successors of Peter believed themselves to preserve immaculate the faith on which alone the unity of the Church was built. And consequently the bishop of Rome, remaining true to the tradition of his see, would not alter his judgement even to secure the agreement of all the other bishops of the *catholica*. But it was the duty also of every bishop positively to maintain this true faith, not merely to be ready to agree to it when promulgated. Each bishop was bound, no less than the bishop of Rome, to see that in his own diocese this faith was preserved, even if it meant separating from, and anathematizing other bishops. The other bishops accepted with Irenaeus that the tradition of Rome was always apostolic, and with Cyprian that *nulla perfidia* could enter the teaching of the successor of Peter, but such belief did not exonerate the bishops from positive and personal care for the purity of their own teaching. The duty of each bishop was positively to uphold what was preserved accurately by the Roman tradition, not merely to be ready to repeat what the bishop of Rome might promulgate. So there was scope for much discussion if at any time a new expression or a developed expression of the rule of faith should be suggested. But also there was opportunity for a great misunderstanding between the Emperor and the Church as to the working of the Church, especially in what concerned that intellectual assent on which the whole of Christian life was based. Such an opportunity came in the lifetime of Constantine when a priest of Alexandria, developing a line of thought which had been known at Antioch for some fifty years, denied that the Son of God was consubstantial with the Father.

THE CHURCH, THE LATER EMPIRE, AND THE BARBARIANS

By S. N. MILLER

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THE CHURCH, THE LATER EMPIRE, AND
THE BARBARIANS

*T*HE *reformed system of government—the tetrarchy.* The religious policy inaugurated at Milan was a supplement, on the moral side, to a reformed system of government by which it was hoped to restore and strengthen the unity of the Empire. In particular, the new system was intended to check military particularism by ensuring a more effective supervision of military and provincial administration by the central government, and by making a more satisfactory provision for the succession.

In 286 Diocletian had associated with himself a Pannonian of the name of Maximian, with whom he shared the title of Augustus. A rough division of the Empire was made into East and West, Diocletian undertaking the government of the East, with Nicomedia in Bithynia as his usual residence, while Maximian ruled the western provinces from Milan. Diocletian, however, as senior Augustus, was to be regarded as supreme ruler, and indeed Maximian had recommended himself as a colleague not only by his merits as a soldier but also by a lack of the political qualities which might have made him a dangerous rival.

A further subdivision took place in 293, when each of the Augusti associated with himself a junior colleague with the title of Caesar, who undertook the government of part of his territory. The junior colleague of Diocletian was Galerius, who governed from Sirmium the Danubian provinces and the Balkans, Diocletian retaining responsibility for the eastern provinces and Egypt. The sphere which the western Augustus, Maximian, ruled from Milan was correspondingly limited to Italy and Africa, while the Caesar associated with him, Constantius, took over the western provinces, which he governed from Trèves.

Ever since the time of Hadrian the title of Caesar, as distinguished from that of Augustus, had marked out the heir, and the new system of the tetrarchy, with its two Augusti and two Caesars, was intended not only to secure, by its four spheres of government, a closer supervision of the Empire, but also to

provide for the succession, Diocletian's design being that each of the Augusti should automatically be succeeded by the Caesar associated with him.

The system of Diocletian did not altogether prevent the intervention of the troops, and it was deranged from the inside by the personal ambitions of Caesars or Augusti and by the dynastic influence. Yet, in spite of periods of confusion or conflict, and more than one return to the rule of a single emperor (Constantine, Constantius, Julian), the joint rule of two Augusti continued to be the normal system throughout the fourth century, and assumed a more definite character at its close. Like Diocletian, Valentinian looked upon himself as the senior ruler when he proclaimed his brother Valens eastern Augustus soon after his accession in 364, while a masterful Augustus like Theodosius, who ruled the East from 375 till 394, completely dominated his western colleague. But when Theodosius was succeeded in 394 by his sons Arcadius and Honorius, the partition of power hardened permanently into a separation by which two co-equal emperors ruled the eastern and western halves of the Empire in virtual independence of one another. The more elaborate scheme of the tetrarchy, with its two Caesars subordinate to the two Augusti, hardly outlasted the retirement of Diocletian (305) in its original balanced form, but the corresponding partition of the Empire into four spheres continued to form the framework of the administrative system.

No change in the theory of Caesar's office. It was indeed administrative necessity that had given occasion for the reform of the central government, and no change was implied in the theory of the imperial power. Even in form there was no actual innovation. The practice of marking out the heir as Caesar went back to Hadrian, while Marcus Aurelius had given a precedent for the joint rule of two Augusti, and his example had been followed intermittently throughout the third century. The change introduced by Diocletian consisted in assigning to each of the Augusti and Caesars a fixed territorial sphere—an administrative measure which itself testifies to the persistence in Caesarism of the magisterial notion of an immediate performance of func-

tion with a corresponding limitation of province. In the same
way the division of power to which this partition of territory
corresponded was a drawing out of the potential collegiality
which was inherent in Roman magistracy.

This persistence of the magisterial notion meant the persis-
tence of the idea that the ruler derived his power from the state,
and that the state was a 'res publica'. If it was part of the scheme
of Diocletian that each of the Augusti should adopt his junior
colleague as a son, and if family feeling or influence frequently
determined the succession in the fourth and fifth centuries, that
again was no innovation in practice, and meant no change of
theory; authority was still formally conferred upon a successor
by and from the state and not conveyed to him by or from the
preceding emperor, for the emperor was not regarded as holding
the imperial powers as a personal possession which he could
transmit as an inheritance. Though the term 'dominus' was one
of the regular imperial titles, and that most generally used, it
was not seriously intended, as Aurelian seems to have intended
it, to suggest that the emperors, like oriental monarchs, were
themselves the source of the power which they exercised. And
the theocratic sanction which Aurelian had claimed for his rule
changed character with Constantine. Aurelian had presented
himself officially as an incarnation of deity. If much the same
form of expression is still found as late as the reign of Theodosius
the Great, when Vegetius recommends devotion to one who has
received the title of Augustus 'as if God were present in his
person', it is the exaggerated language of a courtier, nor did the
expression mean what it would have meant to a courtier of
Aurelian, for Vegetius explains his figure of speech by adding
that devotion paid to the emperor is paid to God because the
emperor rules by God's authority. If this Christianized view
of the source of the imperial power deprived the emperors of
their divinity, it reinforced their political authority by giving
to it a religious sanction of acknowledged force in place of one
that had come to be regarded as a ceremonious fiction. Nor was
the doctrine that the ruler derived his power from God in any
way incompatible with the theory that it was conveyed to him

by the state. To Vegetius, for example, it was the conferment of the name of Augustus that gave a title to devotion, and it was the state that conferred that name. The original notion of the imperial office as one conferred by the state outlived the western Empire and persisted in the East to be reaffirmed in the *Digest* of Justinian.

The palace and the bureaucracy. It is true that the ceremonial of the palace, already elaborate enough, was greatly heightened; the Augustus, crowned with a diadem, sat removed upon a throne, before which those who approached him prostrated themselves. But though this ceremonial apparatus was borrowed from the Persian court, it did not imply the oriental theory of rule. Its purpose was a practical one—to repair the damaged prestige of the imperial office and so to hedge in its majesty that it should seem inaccessible, and perhaps not desirable, to personal ambition. Nor was the imperial court primarily a ceremonial body. Apart from those employed, under the charge of the chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*), about the person of the emperor, it was a body of administrators, and the titles which distinguished the rank of its members indicated administrative grades.

All the higher functionaries were 'clarissimi' and therefore belonged to the senatorial order, which now regained something of the prestige which it had lost in the third century. This was not due, however, to any restoration of the old administrative privileges of its members but to the appropriation of its titles as well as its functions by the imperial bureaucracy. It was on the administrative side that Oriental monarchy had exercised the most real influence upon the Roman imperial government, supplying it with a model of a bureaucratic system centred in the palace. The system is known to us mainly from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, or 'List of Dignities', a document drawn up, in the form in which it has reached us, in the early years of the fifth century.

The reorganization of the palace, begun by Diocletian, was continued by Constantine, and completed in certain particulars by their successors. The action of Constantine in erecting Byzantium, under the name of Constantinople, into a capital which

THE LATER EMPIRE

according to the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM

The four prefectures: THE GAULS. ITALY. ILLYRICUM. ORIENS.

should be the eastern counterpart of Rome, to correspond to the partition of power between an eastern and a western Augustus, had the effect of duplicating the system. Each Augustus had an advisory council, the sacred consistory, which combined the legal function of the earlier 'consilium principis' with the functions of a general council of state, for which the emperors had previously made use of an informal group of their 'amici' or 'comites'. The title 'comites (consistorii)' passed to the members of the new council, who were now of permanent appointment. The council had its staff of secretaries, *schola notariorum*, some of the more important of whom came to be admitted to the council under the name of *referendarii*. These secretaries not only kept a record of the proceedings of the council but prepared all the material for its deliberations, for which purpose they had access to the records (*scrinia*) of the palace. The council was thus kept in touch with the administrative system as a whole. Indeed it was the chief of these secretaries, the *primicerius notariorum*, who kept the register (*laterculum maius*) of all the more important administrative offices, both civil and military, and who issued the diplomas of appointment, and *notarii* were frequently sent to the provinces as special commissioners.

The more important members of the consistory had the rank of 'illustres'. The chief of these were the *quaestor sacri palatii*, who drafted and issued imperial constitutions; the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, who was in charge of the fiscus; the *comes rerum privatarum*, who was in charge of imperial property, which included all imperial domains; and the *magister officiorum*, who was the head of the bureaucracy, with the exception of the legal and financial departments. This official was the chief instrument of the imperial vigilance. He directed the ceremonial of the court and, outside the narrower competence of the chamberlain, he was responsible for its discipline. He was charged with the personal security of the emperor, and commanded the *scholae palatinae*, a new mounted bodyguard instituted by Constantine. He was director-general of the manufacture of arms. The keepers of the imperial records (*magistri scriniorum*) were under

his control. From the palace his vigilance extended over the whole administrative system of the Empire and even over its external relations. For this purpose he had at his disposal a corps of agents (*agentes in re*) who supervised the imperial dispatch-service, directed state transport, notably the transport of troops, executed warrants of arrest, and acted as spies (*curiosi*) upon the officials of the government as well as upon those whom they ruled.

These great officials of the palace, now supplemented in the military sphere by general staff officers, undoubtedly tended to seclude the emperor from active administration. Yet, theoretically at least, they were not responsible ministers of state. They were simply executant officers or agents of the emperor, who was responsible to the state as supreme magistrate. If they had the capacity to 'act for' (*vice*) the emperor, that was simply an extension of a power that had long been allowed to the praetorian prefecture; and indeed their several offices represented, to a large extent, the partition, for administrative reasons, of powers previously concentrated in the praetorian prefects, who now changed character and became regional governors.

Provincial administration. Diocletian's partition of the Empire between four rulers had meant the creation of four praetorian prefectures, and after his scheme collapsed these prefectures survived as regional governorships with circumscriptions roughly corresponding to the spheres assigned, under the original scheme, to Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius. The prefecture of the East included the Asiatic provinces, with Egypt and Thrace; that of Illyricum included Greece, Macedonia, and the Balkan region as far west as the Middle Danube; from there the prefecture of Italy extended over Pannonia, Dalmatia, and the Alpine region to the Upper Danube, and included Africa as well as Italy; the Rhenish area, with Gaul, Spain, and Britain, belonged to the prefecture of the Gauls. With Constantine the prefects lost such military powers as they had possessed up to that time, and thenceforward they were charged solely with the supervision of civil administration within their own sphere.

For civil administration the prefectures were divided into

dioceses, in each of which the prefect was represented by a 'vicarius'. Thus Britain now became a diocese of the prefecture of the Gauls. The dioceses, in turn, were divided into provinces, the governors of which were usually styled 'consulares' or 'praesides', in a few cases 'correctores'. The title of 'proconsul' was retained only by the governors of the old senatorial provinces of Achaea, Africa, and Asia, which were excluded from the prefectures and were directly subject to the emperor. Italy, on the other hand, now lost its privileged status, and was incorporated in the general provincial system as a diocese divided into two groups of regional units. Rome, however, continued to occupy a special position. The charge of the capital remained in the hands of the 'city prefect', alongside of whom survived, in a shadowy form, something of the old urban magistracy as well as the senate. Constantinople also had its city prefect, urban magistrates, and senate.

The grouping of provincial areas into four great prefectures and of these prefectures into two pairs under an eastern and a western Augustus was a measure of centralization designed to safeguard the threatened unity of the Empire. But while the new system undoubtedly did much to counteract the strains that had made themselves felt in the third century, it permitted and indeed encouraged the process of disintegration to spread in other directions. It reinforced the difference between the hellenized East and the latinized West by drawing an administrative boundary along the line of cleavage in language and culture, and by erecting Constantinople into an eastern counterpart of Rome. If this giving to the eastern Empire of an administrative system complete in itself enabled it to survive when the western Empire collapsed, yet it was partly responsible for the collapse in the West by preventing any large concentration of the resources of the Empire as a whole upon the sector of the frontier, west of the Middle Danube, which was most exposed to barbarian attack. And meanwhile it impaired the moral unity of the Empire by weakening the position of Rome. The character of the new system showed clearly that in the hands of the Caesars the imperium, the power of government, had

freed itself almost completely from the Roman municipal tra-
dition. In the early days of the Empire its exercise from Rome,
as well as its conferment by the Roman senate, had helped to
legitimate the growing autocracy of the Caesars, but even then
it no longer had its seat in Rome in the same sense as had
the consular imperium in the period of the later Republic. It
moved with the emperor, and its seat was where he resided.
When the potential collegiality of the imperium was drawn upon
to create an eastern as well as a western Augustus, the establish-
ment of the whole system of the palace at an eastern centre as
well as at Rome naturally followed. By this development the
Roman imperium so disengaged itself from the municipal tra-
dition that its continued exercise by the Caesars at Byzantium
was to perpetuate the name of the Roman Empire for a thousand
years after Rome itself had ceased to form part of it. Even the
western Augustus usually resided, not at Rome, but at Milan or
(later) Ravenna, from which he could better keep watch upon
the Alpine passes. On administrative grounds the lessened im-
portance of the city of Rome was no doubt justified, and was
perhaps inevitable. Nevertheless, the imperial system lost some-
thing essential by this change. We know not only from a western
writer like Rutilius Namatianus but from the tribute of an
Egyptian like Claudian of Alexandria how powerful was the
influence that the tradition of Rome was still capable of exer-
cising upon the minds of provincials. Undoubtedly the moral
unity of the Empire was impaired when government ceased to
have any necessary connexion with the centre which alone could
serve as a focus of patriotism.

There was another feature of the reformed system of adminis-
tration which tended ultimately to defeat the purpose which it
was designed to serve. That was the separation of civil from
military administration. In the circumstances of the third
century the practice of combining military command with the
control of areas rich in natural resources had sometimes resulted
in a formidable challenge to the living emperor or had en-
couraged rival claimants to the succession; and since the bar-
barian danger had made it necessary to entrust this combination

of powers more and more to professional soldiers, the result had
been to subject civil areas, and sometimes the whole Empire, to
the government of men who had neither the training nor the
qualities that civil government requires. By confining soldiers
to military commands and by entrusting the civil areas to
governors suitably trained, the new system raised the standard
of civil administration and made the army a more efficient
instrument against the barbarian than it had been in the third
century. But in the long run it aggravated the military threat
to the unity of the Empire by reinforcing the cleavage that
already existed between the civil and military elements of the
state. The civil population now found itself beset by a ring of
armies that were becoming increasingly difficult to co-ordinate
in its defence as they became increasingly alien to it in tradition
and blood.

Economic conditions. The multiplication of military commands
as well as their separation from the civil administration greatly
increased the number of officials, and the same effect was pro-
duced by the division of the civil areas into smaller provincial
units. Britain, for example, which had formed a single province
in the first two centuries, and two provinces, an Upper and a
Lower, in the third, was now divided, as a diocese of the prefec-
ture of the Gauls, first into four provinces, and later (in the reign
of Valentinian) into five. The object of this change was to secure
a closer supervision and, above all, a stricter enforcement of the
multifarious exactions for which the increase in the number of
officials was itself largely responsible. The economic collapse of
the third century and the depreciation of the coinage had been
the cause of a fairly general return towards a 'natural' economy.
This tendency was hardly affected by the monetary reforms of
Diocletian, by which he stabilized the gold and silver standards
and fixed the relation to them of a new fiat currency, or by his
Edict on Prices, by which he attempted, at least in the eastern
Empire, to regulate the currency in relation to goods and labour.
Comparatively little money was in circulation. Diocletian's tariff
assumes that labourers are paid partly in food, and the govern-
ment itself found it necessary to pay its officials largely in kind

because it was in that form that it had to accept the payment of the bulk of the taxation. A special levy, known as *aurum oblaticium*, to which members of the Roman senate were subjected, and the 'crown gold' which was exacted every five years from all decurions of local communities were heavy burdens for the individuals affected, but these money payments were only a secondary source of revenue to the imperial government. Nor was the tax on trade and industry now a very productive one, owing to the cessation of large capitalistic enterprises and a general inertia of production and exchange. More valuable to the imperial government, as to the local communities, were the services which were exacted from the trade and industrial guilds. In order to ensure the continued performance of these services the guildsman had been tied to his guild, and indeed his status had been made hereditary. The same thing had happened to the peasant. To ensure the cultivation of the imperial domains the *coloni*, or small tenants, to whom they had been let out, had been tied to the soil as hereditary bondsmen, and the same system had been applied to private estates in order that the landowners might be able to meet their obligations to the central government. Their chief obligation was still the land-tax, which was now, however, paid in kind, the government maintaining large granaries for the distribution of grain to the armies and also, in lieu of salary, to the officials of the civil service. Hitherto the quota required from each community had been allocated among its citizens by the local governing authority. Now the allocation as well as the quota was based on a strict assessment made by the imperial government of all lands according to yield. But the responsibility of collecting the tax was still laid upon the local communities, and the decurions had to make up any deficiency. Like the guildsmen of the towns and like their own peasantry, the landowners, who were thus responsible for the obligations of their community to the imperial government as well as for its internal finance, now found themselves bound, as an hereditary class of 'curiales', to the burdens which attached to their status or at least to their land.

When they endeavoured to pass on to the rest of the com-

munity some part of these burdens, the government intervened. The curators who had been appointed by the emperors in the second century to supervise the financial affairs of the local communities had come to be selected by the local decurions from their own number in the course of the third century, and had thus ceased to be an effective check on the 'curia' and the magistrates. In the second half of the fourth century the central government set up a new official, the *defensor rei publicae* (or *civitatis*). He was especially intended to protect the humble against the oppression of the notables, and he is referred to more particularly as *defensor* (or *patronus*) *plebis*. To begin with, the 'defensores' were nominated by the praetorian prefect, subject to the approval of the emperor. But the local tradition and influence proved too strong. From all but the larger cities the 'defensores' soon disappeared. Where they remained, they changed character. Though chosen from people of rank outside the decurionate, they were, from the beginning, usually natives of the city they supervised, and with Theodosius the nomination of the 'defensores', though still subject to the emperor's approval, passed to the decurions. The function of this official now takes on a more general character, and the *defensor plebis* is lost in the *defensor civitatis*, who actually comes to represent the local 'curiales' as against the agents of the central government.

It was not the 'curiales' of the towns, however, who now dominated provincial life but the great rural landowners, most of whom were exempt from municipal burdens as possessing the rank of Roman senators. The economic collapse of the third century had affected commerce and industry more than agriculture. Many of the *bourgeoisie* found themselves compelled to sell the estates which they had acquired in the neighbourhood of the towns, and under a caste system which denied ownership to the peasantry, these estates passed on easy terms into the hands of the larger rural landowners. In the rural areas it was the smaller landowners who were ruined. Their abandoned lands were taken over by their more powerful neighbours, who were able to tide over bad periods and to resist or elude official extortion. Comparatively, the great landowners emerged from the troubles

of the third century more powerful than before. They were able to constrain the government to apply to private estates the system of the servile colonate, and by this means they kept their land in cultivation. In the course of the fourth century they were even able to take under their patronage, sometimes in whole village communities, large numbers of landless freemen, who sought their protection, proffering their services in return. So a new form of the old gentile relation of client and patron was formed under the name of *patrocinium*. Nor was it only the landless freemen who entered into this relation. The small landowner also sought the protection of a more powerful neighbour—protection against barbarian raiders, against brigandage, against the officials of the central government itself. When he sought such protection, he was met with the answer that the great landowner could protect only what was his own. The result was that the small landowner was constrained to surrender his land, receiving it back as *precarium*—enjoying, that is, by favour of his patron, the usufruct of the land, with protection, during his lifetime, but forfeiting the right to transmit it to his children, though they might receive the land in their turn on the same tenure. So the social relation of *patrocinium*, through the land-tenure of *precarium*, led to a vast extension of the great domains, in spite of the opposition of the central government as it realized that more and more land was being removed from its effective control. And as the central government was increasingly distracted by imperial problems, the great landowners made themselves responsible for the maintenance of order in their locality. The 'villa' is now fortified, and becomes the stronghold of the neighbourhood. The owner becomes like the ruler of a small principality; he assumes governmental functions and executes justice. The population of his domain, if not his subjects, are 'his men'—*homines eius*; the term is that used in the Roman codes, and it passed into the language of medieval feudalism.

Localization. Though the Empire still presented the appearance of an imposing unity, it was in reality disintegrating from the inside. The centralizing policy of the government showed

it to be conscious of the danger, but its elaborately articulated system only confirmed the tendency towards disintegration, for the administrative divisions closely coincided with, and therefore deepened, lines of racial and cultural cleavage. It has been explained that the partition of the Empire between an eastern and a western Augustus, with the line of division running from the Middle Danube by the Adriatic to the Gulf of Sidra, emphasized the separation between the two great cultural and linguistic zones, Greek and Latin, into which the Empire was divided. Similarly the four great prefectures—the Asiatic provinces with Egypt and Thrace; Greece, Macedonia, and the Balkan region to the Danube; Italy and the Alps with Africa; Gaul with Spain and Britain—tended to develop regional consciousness by giving an administrative organization to areas that were more or less homogeneous in race and culture. Thus it strengthened the feeling of western solidarity that Briton, Gaul, and Spaniard should now look, not to Rome, but to Trèves as the seat of imperial authority, while it narrowed their horizon and impaired their sense of the unity of the Empire as a whole. In the same way, the division of the dioceses which composed the prefectures into provinces much smaller than the old units confirmed the general tendency for life to become more and more localized. This tendency was reinforced by the legislation which tied the craftsman and trader to their guild, the peasant to his tenancy, and the landowner to his curial obligations in the local community. This localized organization, in turn, reflected a restriction of economic life. Long-distance interchange had never recovered from the disorders of the third century, and exchange was further circumscribed by the return to a 'natural' economy which had been encouraged by the depreciation of the coinage to which the government had had recourse at that period. The process of localization went so far that every municipal territory, even every great estate, tended to become a self-contained unit. Inevitably this had its effect upon culture, especially in the western Empire. When Byzantium was erected into a capital, it had attracted to itself the artistic and intellectual activity of the eastern provinces and had largely withdrawn

it from Rome. This had impoverished the life of the city, and had impaired its power to radiate cultural influence over the western provinces. Hitherto these provinces had reflected the fashions of the capital without any real development of their native powers. Left largely to their own resources, they betrayed the essential crudeness of their culture. With the increasing localization of life less and less room was left for literature, and art was gradually reduced to the level of village craftsmanship.

In the fourth century, then, not only was the society of the Empire divided horizontally according to a system of fixed status and hereditary caste but its life was partitioned territorially into local units more or less self-contained. This constraint upon the free movement of life from class to class, from one occupation to another, from town to town, was a desperate attempt to simplify the control of an Empire the sheer size of which was now presenting to the government military and financial problems which, in the changing circumstances of the time, were becoming insoluble. But in its concern for local life the government was only recognizing the fact that vitality now resided more in the constituent cells of the Empire than in the organism as a whole. The active interchange in every department which had given animation to the imperial system until the disorganization of the third century showed little or no sign of recovery. Ultimately the defect lay in this—that the material framework of the Empire was not unified by any spiritual principle. Nor was it to make good this defect but to secure divine favour for themselves and the state that the emperors adopted the Christian faith as an imperial religion.

CHURCH AND STATE

To the God of the Christians, whose symbol he had ordered to be placed upon the shields of his soldiers, Constantine attributed his triumph over his rival, Maxentius, and his object as emperor, plainly shown after the death of his pagan colleague, Licinius, in 325, was to retain this Divine favour for himself and to secure it for the Empire which he ruled. His policy was not only to associate with the state the Catholic

Church, within which the God of the Christians was rightly
worshipped, but to bring within the Church schismatics, here-
tics, and pagans, through whose errors the state and its ruler
might incur the Divine anger. It was to this part of his policy
that he referred when he described himself on one occasion as
having been 'appointed by God to be bishop of those outside
the Church'. His appropriation of the title of bishop was a
figure of speech, but he did believe himself to have been
divinely charged with a mission to maintain and enlarge the
Catholic unity. In Constantine, then, though he was not actually
baptised until he was on his death-bed (a common practice at
that time), the Church gained a convinced and zealous adherent,
but he had little appreciation of dogma as the core of the
Catholic unity, and his idea of conformity was therefore an
external one. The enthusiastic support of an emperor who
inherited the pagan tradition which made the ruler head of the
religion of the state, who believed himself to have been entrusted
by God with a mission to safeguard the unity of the Church and
whose notion of that unity was a comprehensive organization
within which all Christians should worship together peaceably
without raising awkward questions of doctrine, was bound to
be embarrassing to ecclesiastical authority. And, in fact, diffi-
culties arose over the two great controversies of the period—
those caused by the Donatist schism and by the Arian heresy.

Constantine and the Donatist schism. In Africa a number of
Numidian bishops, including a certain Donatus, had associated
themselves with a faction at Carthage which refused to accept
as valid the ordination of the Catholic bishop of that see, Cae-
cilian, declaring that Felix, bishop of Aptunga, who had or-
dained him, had been a 'traditor' who had delivered up the
Scriptures to the agents of Diocletian in the great persecution,
and was therefore incapable of transmitting the Holy Spirit,
which he had deprived himself of by his act of betrayal. Along-
side Caecilian the rigorist faction set up a bishop of its own, one
Majorinus, who was succeeded in 315 by a Donatus, probably
the Numidian bishop, from whom the schism received its name.
    When the Donatists found that they were not to benefit by

the reparation made by Constantine to the Christians of Africa and that imperial benefactions were confined to the Catholics as represented by Caecilian, they appealed to the emperor to refer the dispute between them and Caecilian to bishops from Gaul. In itself this was not an unreasonable petition; the Gallic provinces had not been affected by the persecution of Diocletian and knew nothing of the controversies arising out of it, and their bishops might be expected to be unbiased. But an appeal to arbitration, even episcopal arbitration, was not in accordance with ecclesiastical procedure, especially as the case involved not merely a question of fact (whether Felix was a 'traditor') but a question of ecclesiastical discipline (whether a bishop in a state of sin could validly administer a sacrament). The reply of Constantine was to refer the decision to the Pope Miltiades, but, to conciliate the Donatists, he associated with the Pope three Gallic bishops, whom he summoned to Rome. Miltiades, in his turn, regularized the procedure by changing this mixed tribunal into a council by the addition of fourteen Italian bishops. The decision was in favour of Caecilian, and the Pope pronounced sentence. As Constantine himself said, the dispute should now have 'settled itself automatically', but the Donatists refused to accept the decision, and Constantine, in his anxiety for peace, summoned to Arles in 314 a council of western bishops from Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. The Council reaffirmed the Roman decision, but the Donatists remained obdurate and demanded a judgement from the emperor himself. 'The judgement of bishops,' wrote Constantine, in a letter addressed to the Council of Arles after it had given its decision, 'ought to be looked upon as if the Lord Himself were sitting in judgement. . . . What is to be said of these disparagers of the law who, rejecting the judgement of Heaven, have thought that they should demand judgement of me?' Nevertheless Constantine complied by taking the matter out of the hands of ecclesiastical authority and pronouncing judgement himself. No doubt he considered that a faction which had now hardened into a body of determined schismatics came under the jurisdiction which he claimed for himself as a 'bishop of those outside the Church'.

But that was not how the Donatists regarded themselves, and when the imperial decision which they had asked for went against them and was followed by repressive measures, they turned round and demanded what right an emperor had to interfere in ecclesiastical matters. The Catholics, on their side, though the decision had been given in their favour, were disconcerted by Constantine's intervention and by his methods. The Pope, now Silvester, who had succeeded Miltiades, had not himself attended the council which the emperor had summoned to meet at Arles, though he was represented there by two priests, and indeed his action in protecting his dignity from imperial intrusion by remaining within his see formed a precedent which his successors followed as a ceremonial rule for centuries. The Council itself seems to have felt some misgiving about revising a process which had already been presented at Rome. At all events the signatories to its decrees communicated them to the Pope, that 'preferably by you they may be circulated to all . . . that all may know in the future what rule to observe'. In expressing their regret at his absence, they add that they recognize that he could not have left his see, 'where the apostles daily sit in judgement'. This has the appearance of having been suggested by the Pope's representatives and of being intended for the eye of Constantine. In any case the Emperor was reminded not only of the busy jurisdiction of the Roman see but of its apostolic authority.

The Arian Controversy. Imperial intervention had only embittered the Donatist schism. It was now to prolong the Arian controversy, which did not cease to distract Christendom until the Papacy was able to reassert itself as the centre of Catholic unity. The doctrine of the Trinity, with which the Arian heresy was concerned, had been treated by western and eastern theologians with a characteristic difference. The Roman theologian applied a juristic aptitude to comprehend the deposit of revealed truth within a definition designed to safeguard rather than explain. He had devised the formula: three *personae* of one *substantia*—in God three Persons (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) who were consubstantial, that is, of one and the same subsistent

reality, of one and the same divinity. In Greek a corresponding terminology was not ready to hand, and took some time to devise, and meanwhile the speculative freedom of eastern theology, and its .philosophic preoccupation with the unity of the Godhead, led many away from the traditional belief in two opposite directions.

There were those who reasoned that if Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were of the same being, were 'homoousioi' (ὁμοούσιοι, the nearest Greek equivalent to the Latin term *consubstantiales*), then they could only be mere forms or figures (πρόσωπα) of the one God. Here the emphasis put upon the divine unity suppressed the distinction of persons. This doctrine (Sabellianism) was condemned. In itself it was an abstract deism of limited appeal, but its condemnation exercised a strong influence on the Trinitarian controversy by giving strength to a contrary error and by discrediting the term 'homoousios', which for Easterns was now associated with heresy.

The contrary error consisted in attributing full divinity to the Father only, and assigning a subordinate degree to the other Persons of the Trinity (Subordinationism). It was this tendency that was carried to its logical conclusion in Arianism, a doctrine formulated about 320–2 by a priest of Alexandria, of the name of Arius, who exerted great influence there by the austerity of his life and his imposing personality. According to Arius, God is one, eternal and unengendered. All else is His creation. First created was the Word (Logos). As a creature, the Word is not of the divine being (οὐσία, *substantia*), but was created from nothing. He, in turn, created the Holy Spirit and then all other beings. At the appointed time the Word, which was also, by God's adoption, the Son, took to himself a human body, and so Christ was formed. Such a cosmogony, with its God and its Demiurge, was a system which a Neoplatonist would not have disowned. This was, in fact, one reason for the attraction that Arianism had for many minds saturated in the religious philosophy into which intellectual paganism had developed in the course of the third century. On the other hand, by its sharp distinction between the Persons of the Trinity, Arianism lent

itself to a popular exposition which was able to emphasize the more concrete elements in the Christian tradition. It is true that in its original form of 'anomoeism', according to which the Son was 'not like' (ἀνόμοιος) the Father, and did not participate in His divinity, it contradicted the traditional belief too flatly to win acceptance, but that was a part of the system which admitted of compromise. In any form, it called in question the divinity of Christ. The issue was confused by misunderstandings and equivocations, by personal animosities and regional jealousies, but the issue was vital.

Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, condemned the teaching of Arius, and a synod of Egyptian bishops deposed him and his adherents. The deposed priest, however, found a powerful friend in Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, who had great influence at court. Around Eusebius a large number now grouped themselves who professed doctrines more or less akin to that of Arius, and when Constantine became ruler of the whole Empire by his victory over Licinius in 324, he found the East divided by the controversy into two hostile camps. Hosius, bishop of Cordova, who was his ecclesiastical adviser at this time, was at once sent to Alexandria with a letter to Alexander and Arius, in which the emperor announced that, having removed one cause of disunion by the defeat of Licinius, his object now was to bring God's people back to religious communion, and that he himself, as God's servant, would be mediator in the cause of peace. But the dispute was now too widespread for peace to be negotiated at Alexandria, and it was decided to convoke a general council.

The emperor, whose residence was at Nicomedia, summoned the council to meet in the neighbouring town of Nicaea in the summer of 325. Though the controversy at this stage was essentially an eastern one, the western as well as the eastern bishops were summoned to attend. Their immediate interest in the matter was slight and Nicaea was far away, and not many of them attended, but they included Hosius of Cordova, who appears to have presided, and two legates of Pope Silvester, who, though simple priests, were the first after Hosius to sign the acts of the Council. The western influence which this

implies seems to have been decisive. When the Council, after
condemning Arius, proceeded to formulate the orthodox view of
the relation of the Son to the Father, it adopted the Roman term
'consubstantial' in the Greek equivalent 'homoousios' (ὁμοούσιος
τῷ πατρί) in spite of the fact that this term, owing to its use
in an heretical (Sabellian) sense, had previously been con-
demned in the East. To this formula all those present sub-
scribed with the exception of Arius and two Egyptian bishops,
whom Constantine banished to Illyricum. The emperor had
himself been present at the sessions of the Council, and had even
intervened in the debates, but, though he was determined to get
a decision and to enforce it, he had not dictated what that de-
cision was to be; 'I myself', he said, 'received the exposition of
the truth.' The decision of the Council, Athanasius assures us,
was freely arrived at. At the same time there was a minority
which had been induced to acquiesce only by Constantine's
insistence upon agreement. Among these was Eusebius of Nico-
media, who presently began to agitate against the decrees of the
Council, whereupon the emperor banished him to Gaul.

The removal of Eusebius did not bring peace. Like the Latin
term 'consubstantial', the homoousian formula was that which
best safeguarded the dogma of the divinity of Christ, but its
heretical association for Easterns made it difficult for them to
accept, and the conservative opposition which it provoked was
exploited by those who held Arian views. Constantine, who had
his own notion of what unity meant and of how it could be
brought about, gave up the attempt to enforce the Nicene
formula, and decided to work for unity from the opposite side,
where he discerned a more compromising spirit. In 328 he
recalled Eusebius, who now displaced Hosius as the emperor's
ecclesiastical adviser. Eusebius and his friends did not venture
to make a direct attack upon the dogmatic definition of the
Council. Their plan of campaign was to prepare the way for
its revision by getting rid, on one pretext or another, of the more
important of those of the eastern bishops who were uncom-
promising defenders of the Nicene formula, and replacing them
by others who favoured their own views. In particular they

sought to depose the young bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, who had succeeded Alexander and who now became the leading opponent of the Arian doctrine which his predecessor had been the first to denounce. In 335 Athanasius was deposed by a synod held at Tyre, and was banished by the emperor to Trèves, while Arius was recalled from exile. This campaign was still going on actively when Constantine died, in 337, having received baptism a few days before at the hands of Eusebius.

The death of Constantine was followed by the joint rule of his three sons, Constantine II, Constantius, and Constans, but Constantine II was killed in 340, whereupon the Empire was divided between Constantius, who continued to rule the East as before, and Constans, who now received the whole of the West. In the West the change from Constantine to his youthful son at once set the ecclesiastical machinery free to work, and a synod held at Rome in 340 by Pope Julius declared the eastern bishops who had been deposed by the Eusebian party to be reinstated. As before, the central figure was Athanasius, who had returned to Alexandria on the death of Constantine but had again been expelled from his see in 339 and had appealed to the Pope. As it happened, the Arianizing party also, whose leader, Eusebius, had now obtained possession of the see of Constantinople and who felt themselves strong in the support of Constantius, had ventured to demand a judgement from the Pope, hoping for confirmation of the decision of the Synod of Tyre. But the judgement of Julius was in favour of Athanasius, and he expressed his disapproval of the proceedings at Tyre in a letter which he sent to the Easterns announcing his decision: 'Why did you not write to us in the case of the church of Alexandria? Are you ignorant that the usage is to write to us first, that so justice be rendered from here? What I declare to you is what I have received from blessed Peter the Apostle.' A century and a half before, when the state was persecutor, the employment by Pope Victor of the ecclesiastical instrument of excommunication had speedily eliminated from the churches of the province of Asia and the surrounding region a practice not in conformity with Catholic usage; now, when the state was an ally, papal

action was made ineffectual by the intervention of the civil power. Since the Easterns were supported by Constantius, it was impossible to give effect to the decision of the Roman council so long as they chose to resist it. In these circumstances it was decided, with the concurrence of Constans and Constantius, that an attempt should be made to compose all differences at a synod at which both East and West should be represented. The synod met in 343 at Sardica (Sofia) on the confines of the territories of Constans and Constantius, though actually within the territory of Constans. The Arianizing Easterns, when the Westerns would not agree to their condition that the deposition of Athanasius and others should be accepted as a preliminary to discussion, withdrew from the synod, which then proceeded to reinstate the bishops whom they had deposed, including Athanasius, to excommunicate their leaders (Eusebius had died about two years before), and to frame a series of disciplinary canons, which dealt especially with the deposition of bishops and recognized a right of appeal to the Pope. 'It will seem best and most seemly', the synod wrote to Julius, 'if the bishops of the Lord from the several provinces refer to the head, that is, to the seat of the Apostle Peter.'

In the circumstances the decrees of Sardica naturally remained a dead letter, receiving no recognition within the territories ruled by Constantius. By now the controversy had developed into something like a conflict between East and West. In the East the Arianizing party, who now made use of various formulae which admitted of a more or less orthodox interpretation, had united the great majority in opposition to the suspected term 'homoousios', while the West remained solidly united in support of the Nicene definition. The distribution of the two parties, however, was modified by a change in the political situation. In 350 Constans was murdered by the usurper Magnentius, and three years later Magnentius in his turn was defeated by Constantius, who thus became emperor of the West as well as of the East. This was a victory for Arianism, which at once spread about the West under the patronage of Constantius, in spite of the vigorous opposition of St. Hilary of Poitiers and

others. As the controversy thus lost its regional character, however, eastern orthodoxy became more willing to combine with the West in recognizing in the Papacy their common centre of unity. Meanwhile the course of events continued to depend upon the emperors.

In the West, as in the East, the first move of the Arianizing party was to secure recognition of the condemnation of Athanasius. In 353 this recognition was extorted by Constantius from a council of Gallic bishops at Arles, and when Pope Liberius replied by convoking at Milan, in 355, a synod representative of the whole west, he had the mortification of seeing the assembled bishops yield to the intimidation of the emperor and confirm the condemnation of Athanasius. He refused to accept the finding of the synod and was exiled. The same fate befell Hosius of Cordova and also St. Hilary, who had already taken the place of the aged Spaniard as the champion of orthodoxy in the West.

Having thus deprived orthodoxy of its leaders, both in the West and the East, the Arianizing party now proceeded to the final objective of their campaign—a revision of the creed. In 359 Constantius succeeded in imposing upon the western bishops assembled at Rimini, as well as upon the eastern bishops assembled at Seleucia, a definition which substituted for the Nicene formula, that the Son is 'consubstantial', or 'homoousios', with the Father, a formula that He is 'like to the Father in all things' (ὅμοιος τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα). This could be given an orthodox interpretation, while it avoided the suggestion of Sabellianism which had made the 'homoousian' formula of Nicaea distasteful to the Easterns. On the other hand, the 'likeness' of the Son to the Father could equally be interpreted in a 'subordinationist' sense, and it was so interpreted by the Arianizers. Because of its equivocal character the 'homoean' compromise recommended itself to those who, like Constantius, desired a comprehensive union within an elastic definition, but for the same reason it was recognized by the more discerning of the orthodox to be no vehicle for the dogma of the divinity of Christ; and their misgiving was justified when the phrase 'in all things' (κατὰ πάντα) was omitted from the official formula drawn

up at Constantinople at the beginning of the following year (360).
'The whole world groaned', St. Jerome tells us, 'at finding, to its
astonishment, that it had become Arian.'

The death of Constantius in 361 and the pagan reaction of
the reign of Julian broke the connexion between the imperial
power and Arianism for nearly two years. In the West the
association was never resumed. Jovian, who succeeded Julian
in 363, at once annulled the anti-Christian legislation of his
predecessor, but otherwise refused to intervene in religious
matters during the brief seven months of his reign. The same
policy of non-intervention was rigorously observed by his suc-
cessor, Valentinian, who, like Jovian, was a Christian of the
orthodox faith. This neutrality restored to the Church the free
use of its own organs of action. In 363 Pope Liberius, who had
not attended the Council of Rimini, condemned its 'homoean'
formula, and Arianism rapidly dwindled away in the West.

In the East it continued to be maintained for a time by
imperial support. Soon after his accession in 364, Valentinian
had associated with himself, as eastern Augustus, his brother
Valens, who was a convinced adherent of the 'homoean' doc-
trine. For several years he was occupied in securing the Lower
Danube against the Goths, but the conclusion of peace in 369
left him free to turn his attention to internal affairs, and from
370 onwards he carried on a systematic persecution of eastern
orthodoxy.

Since the death of Constantius the orthodox party in the East
had been regaining strength. This recovery was made possible
by the theologians. In the West the acceptance of Arianism had
been little more than an external conformity to an official
formula, and its rapid disappearance was assured as soon as the
ecclesiastical organization recovered its power of action and con-
demned it. In the East, on the other hand, the Arianizing party
had attached to itself a large conservative element which did
not question the full divinity of the Son but disliked the use of
the Nicene term 'homoousios' to define His relation to the
Father, because it had been used among them in an heretical
(Sabellian) sense which reduced the Persons of the Trinity to

mere forms or figures. Here there was a misunderstanding to be cleared away. To remove objection to the definition of the Persons of the Trinity as 'of the same ousia (being)', it was necessary not only to give 'ousia' the sense of the Latin 'substantia' but to find a Greek term for 'person' which should not be (like 'prosopon') too external in its meaning. The difficulty was got over by distinguishing the term 'hypostasis' from 'ousia' and 'substantia', to which it had been equivalent in the current usage, and appropriating it (as Origen had done) to indicate the underlying reality of that which is denoted by 'person'. For the Roman formula of three 'personae' of one 'substantia' a Greek equivalent was now found in three 'hypostases' of one 'ousia'. This solution was put forward about 365–70 by a group of Cappadocian theologians, which included St. Basil, bishop of Caesarea (of Cappadocia), his brother St. Gregory of Nyssa and his friend St. Gregory of Nazianzus; and round their formula, as round a standard, a party now formed which included not only those who had always accepted the Nicene term 'homoousios' but also those who, from a misunderstanding of it, had hitherto inclined to one or other of the less extreme forms of Arianism.

During the persecution of Valens this neo-Nicene party, under the leadership of St. Basil, who was a statesman as well as a theologian, sought to join forces with the now triumphant orthodoxy of the West, and St. Basil recognized in the Papacy the natural centre of such a union. His efforts to induce Pope Damasus (who had succeeded Liberius in 366) to repudiate by name certain eastern bishops who were opposed to him and to receive his own party into communion were hampered by misunderstandings on both sides, but agreement was arrived at in 379, when one hundred and fifty bishops of the neo-Nicene party, assembled in council at Antioch, subscribed to a declaration of faith which had been drawn up two years before by a council held at Rome by Damasus.

As it happened, the persecution of orthodoxy in the East had already been brought to an end by the death of Valens in the great disaster which the Goths inflicted on the Roman arms

at Adrianople in 378. Gratian, who had succeeded his father Valentinian as western Augustus in 375, assumed the Spanish general Theodosius as his eastern colleague in 379. At the beginning of 380 Theodosius received baptism at the hands of an orthodox bishop, and early in the same year (February 28) he addressed to the people of Constantinople an edict, issued in the name of Gratian as well as himself, requiring all whom they ruled 'to practise that religion which blessed Peter the Apostle delivered to the Romans, as the religion taught there by him to this day shows, and which it is known that the pontiff Damasus follows and Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic purity (of faith)'; those who follow this rule have the name of Catholics, all others are heretics. That is to say, the standard of Catholic orthodoxy is the doctrine of the Roman see as received from St. Peter and handed down by his successors to the present pontiff Damasus. In order that the eastern subjects of the Empire, to whom the edict is primarily addressed, may know the Greek form in which to recognize 'the religion which blessed Peter, the Apostle, delivered to the Romans', they are referred to Peter, bishop of Alexandria, whose personal orthodoxy is unquestionable. Throughout the Trinitarian controversy Alexandria had always associated itself with Rome, and Peter, who had succeeded to the see on the death of Athanasius in 373, had been at Rome from 374 to 378 and had attended the council held there by Damasus in 377, when the declaration of orthodoxy was drawn up which was submitted for subscription two years later to the eastern bishops assembled at Antioch. No one, then, was better qualified than Peter of Alexandria to interpret to Easterns the doctrine of the Roman see, but he died a week or two before the edict was actually issued, and the function which it assigned to him did not pass to his successor; as the terms of the edict imply, it had been assigned to him personally and not to his see. Indeed the dignity of the see of Alexandria was lowered by a disciplinary canon passed by a council convoked by Theodosius at Constantinople the following year.

The Council of Constantinople (381) confirmed the Nicene

Creed and supplemented it by a condemnation of those who questioned the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Originally representative of the East only, it· was not until the sixth century, when its decrees were accepted in the West, that it was recognized as the Second Oecumenical Council. But from the beginning it marked the end of a dogmatic controversy which had threatened at one time to take the form of a conflict between eastern and western Christendom. Unfortunately one of its disciplinary canons was to act as a solvent of the union sealed by its dogmatic definitions Hitherto the sees of Alexandria and Antioch had ranked next to that of Rome; now it is laid down that Constantinople is to be allowed 'precedence of honour' (τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς), after Rome, 'because it is New Rome'. This introduced a new principle. The great sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch had based their pre-eminence on their apostolic foundation, Alexandria claiming St. Mark, 'Peter's interpreter', as its founder, while Antioch, like Rome, could refer back to St. Peter himself. Now the civil importance of a city is put forward as the standard of its ecclesiastical dignity, and in time this was to become the motive of a claim to disciplinary and even dogmatic authority. On this ground Constantinople, the seat of Caesarism for many centuries to come, was to challenge the primacy of the Roman see as the importance of the city of Rome declined, and the application of this secular principle was to break up the unity of Christendom by extending to the ecclesiastical sphere the secular rivalry of East and West. And if, in the end, it released Constantinople from its obedience to the Roman see, it subjected it to the obedience of the Caesars. When the ecclesiastical was subordinated to the civil order, the eastern tradition of the divinized monarch revived in the form of Caesaropapism. In the West the Caesars were to disappear within a century of the Council of Constantinople, but not before they had been brought to acknowledge the autonomy of the Church within her own domain.

The two powers. In protesting against the imperial attempt to make an Arianized form of Christianity the religion of the state, Athanasius, Hosius of Cordova, and St. Hilary of Poitiers had

insisted that in religious matters the Church was not subject to
the civil power. 'God has given to you the government of the
Empire,' Hosius had written to Constantine; 'to us he has given
the government of the Church. . . . We are commanded to render
to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things
that are God's. To us it is not permitted to assume imperial
authority; so also you have no power in the ministry of divine
things.' This was a revolutionary doctrine. At Rome, as in
every ancient community, the civil power had always included
the sacerdotal function which prescribed the ritual necessary to
ensure the favour of the divine power which sustained the state.
Constantine had always retained the title of 'pontifex maximus',
and his conviction that he had been charged by God with a
divine mission was confused with the traditional notion that in
the ruler sacerdotal and religious powers were combined. To
have eradicated this idea would have required a more complete
conversion of the mind than Constantine had experienced. If
he had remained under the influence of Hosius throughout his
reign, his conscience in this respect might have been gradually
conformed to the Catholic discipline. As it was, he fell under
the influence of the politically minded Eusebius and his Arian
associates, and the same influence was predominant with Con-
stantius, after the death of his brother Constans, and with
Valens. The elder brother and western colleague of Valens,
Valentinian I, who was of the Catholic faith, declared himself
a layman, and as such disclaimed all right to judge between
bishops; and he translated this declaration into public policy by
removing bishops from the civil jurisdiction in matters of ecclesi-
astical discipline as well as faith, and making them subject to
episcopal judgement only. His policy of abstention marks a
transition to that of Gratian, his son and successor in the West,
and of Gratian's colleague, Theodosius, who succeeded Valens
in the East. With Gratian and Theodosius we find for the first
time an active Catholic conscience in rulers of the Roman State.
This was largely due to the influence upon them of St. Ambrose,
bishop of Milan.

The son of a high official who had been prefect of the Gauls,

Ambrose himself had been governor of Aemilia and Liguria, with Milan for his head-quarters, before he was consecrated bishop of that city in 374. A year later Gratian and Valentinian II became joint rulers in the West in succession to their father, Valentinian I, while Theodosius succeeded Valens as eastern Augustus in 379. Gratian, the elder of the two young emperors of the West, accepted the spiritual direction of Ambrose, to whose influence it was probably due that he refused the insignia of 'pontifex maximus' (382) and so dissociated formally from his office the control of religion. In 383, at the age of twenty-four, Gratian was assassinated by an agent of the usurper Maximus. Meanwhile the younger brother, Valentinian II, remained under the control of his mother Justina, who favoured an Arian remnant which still maintained itself in isolated groups in Illyricum and north Italy, notably at Milan, then the imperial residence. For his services as a political adviser and diplomatist, Ambrose was held in high consideration by the court at Milan, but his religious influence with Valentinian II was naturally restricted so long as Justina lived. But even at that period he did not hesitate, when an opportunity offered, to impress upon the young Augustus that the Church expected her authority as well as her autonomy to be respected.

In 386 the Arian party at Milan had asked that one of the churches there, the Basilica Portiana, should be handed over to them by the Catholics. To St. Ambrose such a surrender would have been an act of sacrilege, and he declined. By the influence of Justina a constitution was issued, in the name of Valentinian, giving those who held the creed of Rimini the right of assembly, and forbidding any interference with them under penalty of death. This law, though general in its terms, was directed against Ambrose, who was summoned before the imperial consistory. He persisted in refusing to appear, and in the end the party of Justina had to give way. Legally, his refusal to appear before the consistory was grounded on the constitution of Valentinian I which declared a civil tribunal incompetent to judge a bishop in an ecclesiastical matter, but Ambrose claimed more for the Church than the autonomy conceded by

that constitution when he wrote to Valentinian II that 'in matters of faith Christian emperors are not judges of bishops but bishops of emperors', and when, in a sermon directed against the Arian party in the city, he laid down the principle: *Imperator enim intra ecclesiam, non supra ecclesiam est.* To this claim that the emperor, so far from being 'over the Church', was 'within the Church', and therefore subject to it in religion, Valentinian II readily submitted after the death of Justina in 388.. Unfortunately the hopes that were formed of this amiable and pious prince were frustrated by his murder in 392 at the instigation of his Frankish general Arbogast. Meanwhile Ambrose had had an opportunity to teach his lesson to a more powerful and a less tractable pupil—Theodosius, the eastern Augustus, who had virtually taken over control of the West since 388, when he had removed the usurper Maximus.

Besides the Roman capacity to formulate a principle with authoritative brevity, Ambrose had the power, also Roman, to embody a principle in an act so typical as to have symbolic value. In 390, when Theodosius had taken a cruel vengeance upon the people of Thessalonica for a riot in which a number of officials had been killed, Ambrose, threatening him with excommunication, exacted from him, St. Augustine tells us, 'a public penance in the sight of the people.' Seven hundred years later this act was still, to Gregory VII, a symbolic embodiment of the principle: *princeps intra ecclesiam est.*

To emperors who were thus conscious, as Gratian and Theodosius were, of being 'within the Church' recognition of her autonomy was an act of interior assent such as was hardly possible to Constantine. That recognition of the rights of the Church could now be made a matter of conscience to a Roman ruler is shown by another scene in which Ambrose and Theodosius symbolized two powers in action. In 388, two years before the affair of Thessalonica, a disturbance had broken out in the town of Callinicum, in Mesopotamia, between some monks and a group of Gnostic heretics. In the disorder a Jewish synagogue had been burned down—at the instigation, it was alleged, of the Catholic bishop. When Theodosius ordered the

synagogue to be rebuilt at the expense of the bishop, Ambrose complained that he had condemned the bishop unheard and that the penalty had been prescribed in such a form as to do violence to the convictions of the Christian community and inflict an indignity on the Church. The scene in which this battle of principle came to an issue took place in the church of Milan, when Ambrose was celebrating Mass in the presence of the emperor. After a sermon containing plain allusions to the emperor's conduct, Ambrose came down from the sanctuary. What followed is thus described by himself in a letter to his sister:

> I remained standing for a little. Then I said to the emperor: 'Make it possible for me to offer the Holy Sacrifice for you with a good con-science.' The emperor, as he sat, made a sign of assent, but gave no clear promise. I remained standing in front of him. He said he would amend his rescript. I asked him to put an end to the case at once. He promised that this should be done. 'I have your word?' I asked him, and I insisted: 'I have your word?' 'You have.' Only then did I go up to the altar, as I should never have done if he had not made me a definite promise.

In this manner Ambrose taught Theodosius, as he had taught his young colleague, Valentinian, that 'matters of religion are not subject to the imperial power', that 'the tribute is Caesar's, but the Church is God's and is not to be subjected to Caesar'. A hundred years later the principle for which St. Ambrose had fought was finally formulated by Pope Gelasius: 'There are two powers, Emperor Augustus, by which chiefly this world is ruled —the sacred authority of the priesthood and the kingly power. And of these the authority of the priests is so much the weightier that at the judgement of God they must render an account even for the kings of men.' By then the Caesars had disappeared from the West, and the Augustus whom Gelasius was addressing was the eastern emperor, Anastasius I. It was a period of growing estrangement between East and West, and in declaring the principle of the two powers, the spiritual and the temporal, the Pope takes occasion to remind Anastasius that the supreme seat of the spiritual power was still, as it had always been, the Roman

see. 'If it be fitting in general', he wrote, 'that the faithful should submit their minds to the bishops, who rightly administer divine things, how much more ought assent to be given to the ruler of this see, whom the supreme Godhead willed to have pre-eminence over all bishops and to whom accordingly the piety of the whole Church has agreed in paying honour.' That the maintenance of the autonomy of the Church was, in fact, closely dependent upon the action of the Roman see became increasingly clear as the East, gradually withdrawing itself from the support of the papal authority, lapsed into a supine subjection to the civil power. In the West, on the other hand, the doctrine of the two Powers was to remain a prime principle of government throughout the Middle Ages.

In laying down the principle of the two powers, Gelasius claimed that the sacerdotal authority was 'weightier' than the authority of kings. Here also he had been anticipated by the bishop of Milan. 'All who belong to the Roman Empire', Ambrose had written, 'are subjects of the emperors, but the emperors are subject to Almighty God and to the holy Faith,' and therefore, in spiritual matters, to the Church. On this side the teaching of St. Ambrose was supplemented by St. Augustine, according to whom the Catholic prince must not only legislate in accordance with his religion but must place his power at the disposal of the Church. To St. Augustine this did not mean that the Church should be maintained, as the pagan priesthood had been, as a department of state. Some such idea would seem to have been in the mind of Constantine; his handing over of the Lateran palace to be the official residence of the popes may have been an expression of it, and his exemption of the clergy from curial burdens was an indication that he regarded their office as a public function. But this civic conception of religion, after being applied by Constantius and Valens in favour of Arianism, disappeared, or at least was transformed, when the civil power passed into the hands of Catholic emperors with Gratian and Theodosius. The civil power was still intimately concerned with religion in the sense that religious orthodoxy was regarded not only as giving

to legislation that character of justice which made it binding
but as guaranteeing the temporal prosperity of the state and
its rulers, but it was now recognized that the Church could
produce its effects only if it worked freely as an independent
power. The emperors therefore did not seek to make the
Church a state-endowed corporation or its priesthood a body
of salaried officials. As its spiritual subjects rather than as
its masters, they were content to place the civil power at its
disposal to make its decisions effective and to remove obstacles
to its freedom of action. It was on that principle that the state
lent its aid in the fifth century to the enforcement of the interior
discipline of the Church. But the service which the emperors
thought themselves especially fitted to render was the suppres-
sion of two hostile forces external to the Church, one inside and
one outside the Christian name—organized schism or heresy and
paganism.

The secular arm and heresy. Although Constantine reserved
all benefactions and privileges for the Catholic clergy, those
who professed other forms of Christianity benefited for a
time by the toleration promised at Milan in 313 to all re-
ligious beliefs, pagan and Christian. But an emperor who
feared, as Constantine did, that 'God may be moved not
only against the human race but also against me myself'
unless 'all, united in brotherly concord, adore the most holy
God with the worship of the Catholic religion which is his due',
was bound to take action sooner or later against schismatics
and heretics. As it happened, he was provoked into action as
early as 316 by the refusal of the Donatists, after they had de-
manded that he should judge their case, to accept his decision
when it was given against them. An imperial constitution of
that date ordered the churches which they had appropriated to
be handed over to the imperial treasury, and when the Donatists
resisted, military force was employed against them, supple-
mented by the legal penalties of banishment and confiscation of
property. Four years later Constantine gave up the attempt at
repression when he found that the schismatics were not to be
easily coerced into re-union, but he was still ready to make a

show of force where he thought it likely to be effective. In 331 he issued an edict proscribing all sects, banishing their chiefs, confiscating their churches, and forbidding any assembly for worship. Its object, we are assured, was to 'terrify rather than persecute his subjects'; it was intended to reinforce, by the threat of legal penalties, an appeal which it addressed to all sectaries that 'instead of meeting in heretical conventicles they should come back to the Catholic Church and share in its holiness'. Against powerful local groups, such as the Montanists of Phrygia, it was not enforced; Constantine's experience of the Donatists had taught him that it was worse than useless to attempt compulsion when the effect would merely be to aggravate the discord which he desired to put an end to.

Largely as a result of the prolonged and violent persecution which the orthodox endured, under Constantius and Valens, for a dogma recognized to be vital to the life of the Church, the Constantinian policy of a more or less external conformity under the Catholic name was replaced by an insistence upon Catholic orthodoxy of belief when West and East passed under the rule of the Catholic emperors, Gratian and Theodosius. In 379 Gratian was content to deny to heretics liberty to propagate their opinions, but in the following year it was heresy itself that was proscribed by the edict with which Theodosius, in the name of Gratian as well as himself, closed the Arian controversy in 380 by requiring that their subjects should conform to the religion of the Roman see, this being defined, with Latin concreteness, as the faith held by the Pope Damasus and followed by Peter of Alexandria. The effect of the edict was that heretics were henceforth regarded not only as a menace to the Empire by their revolt against the divinely constituted authority of the Church, which regulated the relations between God and men, but as rebels against the state. That dual motive is seen at work in a series of drastic enactments issued by Theodosius against heretical sects between 381 and 394. Heretics are treated as having placed themselves outside civil as well as religious communion and as having forfeited all legal rights in the acquiring and disposing of property; they are liable to heavy

fines; they are to be expelled from the towns; their churches are
to be taken from them and given to the Catholics; their assem-
blies are to be forbidden, the places where they celebrate their
rites confiscated and their clergy dispersed.

The ecclesiastical historian, Sozomen, writing about half a
century later, assures us that these penalties were intended
merely to 'bring about uniformity through intimidation'. Cer-
tainly their repetition in successive enactments would seem to
show that they were not strictly enforced, and as threats they
were not very effective. The Arians, it is true, were rapidly
reduced to isolated groups in North Italy and Illyricum. From
Illyricum the heresy had already been communicated to the
Goths, from whom it spread to the tribes of Germany, and
soon the influx of these barbarians was to bring it back across
the Danube and the Rhine, but meanwhile it practically dis-
appeared from within the Empire. The Donatist schism, on the
other hand, remained strongly entrenched within its restricted
area. After Constantine ceased to enforce his decree against it,
it had rapidly organized itself upon a formidable scale. It
was strengthened by local, mainly Numidian, feeling against
the imperial system, and in the name of religion a large
native element (*circumcelliones*), composed mostly of peasants in
whom extreme fanaticism was blended with resentment at eco-
nomic grievances, carried on a campaign of violence against
their Catholic neighbours combined with general brigandage.
Checked for a time by action taken against it by Constans,
Donatism had revived under Julian. No adequate measures to
deal with the disorder were taken by Valentinian or Gratian,
but an administrative rule laid down in a constitution of Valen-
tinian, to the effect that those who practised re-baptism, which
had been condemned by ecclesiastical councils as contrary to
the Catholic tradition, were excluded from the privileges granted
by Constantine to the Catholic clergy, prepared the way for
the suppression of Donatism by changing the juridical ground
of action; the Donatists, who insisted on re-baptizing their con-
verts, could now be treated not as mere schismatics but as
heretics, and so as liable to all the penalties pronounced against

heresy by Theodosius. In his penal legislation Theodosius had
had in view the heresies which concerned the doctrine of the
Trinity, but all who differed from the Catholic faith in any
particular were declared subject to it by a constitution issued in
395 by Arcadius and Honorius, and in a series of enactments
dating from 405 to 409 Honorius pronounced the penalties for
heresy against the Donatists by name. In these circumstances
they took up a proposal which they had hitherto rejected—that
the bishops on both sides should meet in conference. This was
a plan which the Catholics had proposed years before and which
St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, had always favoured, but not in
the form given to it by the Donatists, according to which each
party was to state its case to an imperial commissioner who was
to decide between them. In that form the conference took place
at Carthage in 411, and the commissioner, the notary Marcel-
linus, pronounced in favour of the Catholics, whose leading
spokesman was St. Augustine himself. When the Donatists
refused to accept his finding, imperial constitutions of 412 and
414 again directed that the legislation against heresy, as well as
the common law against sedition, should be enforced, and fresh
penalties were added, mostly of a pecuniary kind, which could
be more easily exacted. As a result of these measures, and of
its own internal dissensions, the sect gradually disintegrated.

Imperial legislation continued to be issued against heretical
sects, and in 428 Theodosius II condemned over a score of them
in a single constitution. But the close association of religion and
Caesarism was henceforth to be the mark of the Byzantine
system. In the West the imperial authority was steadily being
restricted by the settlement within the Empire of large hordes
of barbarians, and even within the shrinking area where that
authority continued to be recognized, until it disappeared alto-
gether in 476, its legislative enactments became more and more
intermittent and ineffective. So far as the civil power was still
effectively employed against heresy, it was the executive power
of the magistrate serving as an auxiliary to the ecclesiastical
organization in its enforcement of its discipline, and especially
to the papal authority, which, in the hands of pontiffs like

Innocent, Celestine, Leo, and Gelasius, exercised its proper
function with increasing freedom throughout the fifth century
as the imperial authority declined.

In ordering measures to be taken against heretical sects which
resisted decrees requiring them to give up churches they had
appropriated, or made attacks, as the Donatists did, upon the
Catholic churches and clergy, the emperors were simply re-
affirming the common law against sedition. Legislation dealing
with heretics as such was directed against their assemblies, their
clerical discipline, and their efforts to enlarge their numbers or
disseminate their doctrines. The motive of this action against
the organization and propaganda of heresy was not that the
state was seeking to protect a Catholic conscience or identity,
but rather that it felt itself to depend for divine protection upon
its close association with the Church and therefore regarded
revolt against the Church as a menace to itself to be treated as
a form of civil rebellion. For that reason the state did not con-
cern itself with purely personal heresy, and no one was required
to abjure his beliefs.

This tolerance of personal beliefs, however, was not simply
due to a preoccupation with the civic aspect of religion. That
had not prevented the pagan emperors from demanding an act
of apostasy from individual Christians brought before the tri-
bunals, nor some of them from submitting all who were sus-
pected of being Christians to a rigorous personal inquisition.
That the Catholic emperors, though they had the same civic
motive, did not follow the same procedure in their treatment of
heresy was due to their greater respect for persons. If Honorius
in 409 threatened the Donatists with the penalty of death, that
was for seditious violence, and it was never more than a threat.
And no such threat was ever made against heresy as such. The
only heretics who were condemned to death by legal process for
their religious practices or beliefs were the Spaniard Priscillian
and certain of his adherents. In 380 the practices of this puri-
tanical sect, generally regarded as inclined to Manichæism,
were condemned by a council of bishops at Saragossa, and four
years later, at Bordeaux, another council proceeded to depose

the Spanish bishops who had associated themselves with the
sect. Thereupon Priscillian appealed to Maximus, the usurper
who had gained recognition as western Augustus after procuring
the murder of Gratian in 383. At Trèves Maximus not only
gave judgement against Priscillian but pronounced sentence of
death against him and six of his followers. The ostensible charge
against them was not heresy but the practice of immoral and
magical rites, but it was recognized that the two Spanish bishops
who pressed the case against Priscillian were, in fact, pursuing
him as a heretic. For that reason the sentence of Maximus drew
forcible protests from Catholics so dissimilar as St. Martin of
Tours and St. Ambrose, and indeed the feeling among Catholics
in general was so strong that one of the accusing bishops had to
resign his see, while the other was deposed. As everything that
suggested Manichæism was abhorrent to the Catholics, their
feeling against the sentence pronounced by Maximus was not
due to any sympathy with the tenets of the accused but simply
to the infliction of the penalty of death for religious beliefs. This
was indeed no more in accordance with the law than with
Catholic feeling. Even such penalties as the law did pronounce
against heretical sects were commonly not enforced against
persons; they were intended to intimidate into conformity.

By their respect for persons the Catholic emperors in their
action against heresy contrast sharply not only with the pagan
emperors in their persecution of the Christians but also with the
Arian emperors in their persecution of the orthodox. It may
fairly be attributed to the restraining influence of Catholic senti-
ment or counsel that their legislation was designed to be correc-
tive rather than punitive. It was only on that condition that
St. Augustine acquiesced in the application of the secular power.
No sooner had Honorius issued his constitution of 409 threaten-
ing the Donatists with death for seditious action than Augustine
wrote to the proconsul of Africa begging him not to inflict the
extreme penalty, and three years later, after the constitution of
412, he renewed his appeal. At one time, indeed, he had been
opposed to all constraint, on the traditional Catholic principle
that religious assent must be free. If he came to accept the help

of the secular power, it was not that he had abandoned that principle. He himself explains his change of view by what he had witnessed in his own town of Hippo, where the Donatist majority, brought into the Catholic community by a 'salutary dread' of the law, had experienced there a real conversion. For this return to sanity constraint had been necessary for a time, 'as with men distraught', but the use of the law, not for punishment but as a means of direction, could be made an act of Christian charity, and it was in that spirit that St. Augustine insisted it should be applied. If there still survived, in the attitude of the civil power to religious dissent, much of the traditional notion of the omnipotence of the state, at least it was a new thing for Roman officials to be admonished that coercive action must conform not only to the laws of justice and humanity but to that of charity, in the end which it proposed as well as in the kind and degree of the constraint which it exercised. That was a spirit very different from the *clementia nostra* of the pagan emperors.

The Christian emperors and paganism. The methods which the pagan emperors had used against the Christians were not retorted upon the pagans by the Christian emperors. Constantine earnestly desired that the Empire should be a Christian state, and even that it should spread the faith beyond its own boundaries; and his insistence upon religious unity under the Catholic name was partly due to his recognition that discord among the Christians was a hindrance to propaganda. Yet in spite of the hostility and disdain with which he regarded paganism, he never ceased to allow it the toleration proclaimed at Milan in 313. An edict issued after his victory over Licinius in 324, ordering reparation to be made to the Christians in the East for the penalties inflicted upon them by his pagan colleague, was accompanied by a second edict in which he renewed his promise of toleration to pagans; and though from that time onwards he freely proclaimed his personal preference and occasionally betrayed it in minor acts of restriction, on the whole he observed his promise. His sons Constans and Constantius, it is true, did not continue his policy, and indeed the Arian Constantius, on

the death of his brother, showed much the same ill-judged bigotry in his action against pagans as in his treatment of orthodox Christians, ordering sacrifices to the gods to cease, under penalty of death with confiscation of property, and all temples to be closed; but no one was, in fact, put to death, and the temples were closed only where the pagans were few in number. Elsewhere the only effect of Constantius' measures was to exasperate pagan feeling and so strengthen the pagan reaction that came with the accession of Julian in 361.

Julian, 'the Apostate', reversed the process of conversion through which his uncle, Constantine, had passed. Brought up a Christian, he adopted the 'Hellenism' of his time, a system in which polytheism was syncretized as a solar religion and provided with a mystical theology by Neoplatonism. Julian had grown to manhood in an atmosphere of religious controversy, and this experience had no doubt confirmed his inclination to syncretism; and the Arianism in which his uncle had been baptized, and which his cousin Constantius professed, was a form of Christianity which to some extent bridged the gulf between the traditional faith and Hellenism, which on its side was already permeated by Christian influence. This influence Julian greatly reinforced by taking over with him notions which he had acquired as a Christian. He sought to give to Hellenism a system of dogma, a liturgy, and a sacramental discipline; he required its priests to be active preachers and men of personal piety; he exhorted them to practise charity, and himself proposed to found charitable institutions which they should control; and he planned for them a hierarchical organization. On the positive side his propaganda seems to have had little effect. Negatively he did some temporary damage to the Church by excluding Christians from military and civil offices, a measure which tempted many into apostasy or at least compromise, and above all by refusing to allow Christians to teach the pagan classics, the effect of this prohibition being to deny a literary education to the children of Christians unless they attended the pagan schools. By this measure and by those designed to make Hellenism effective as a religious system, Julian showed that he knew where

the strength of the Church lay—in its core of dogma, its sacraments, its spirit of charity and its moral code, its devoted priesthood, its hierarchy, and its power of intellectual persuasion. These were, in fact, the principal means by which paganism was overcome under the Catholic emperors.

'A sacrifice extorted against the will is no sacrifice . . . when men are compelled to it by proscription, injury, imprisonment, and torture. . . . We, on the contrary, do not ask that our God, though he is the God of all whether they will or not, should be worshipped unwillingly by any one.' These words were written by the Christian rhetorician Lactantius between 307 and 311, before the persecution of the Christians had come to an end. They contain not only a protest against pagan violence but a profession of Christian tolerance, soon to be put to the test by the accession of a Christian emperor. It was a test, we have seen, to which Constantine responded not unworthily. When the Arian Constantius and the pagan Julian were succeeded, after the brief reign of Jovian, by Valentinian and Valens, Constantine's tolerant policy was resumed. The Arian Valens, who ruled the East, was too preoccupied with his persecution of orthodox Christians to have time or desire to make enemies among the pagans, but with the orthodox emperor of the West, Valentinian, tolerance towards pagans was the expression of a fixed policy of religious neutrality. Neutrality was an attitude impossible to the zealous preacher of Antioch, St. John Chrysostom, yet, under the Catholic emperors Gratian and Theodosius, he affirms the principle of tolerance with even greater energy than Lactantius had proclaimed it three-quarters of a century before, when the Christians were still a persecuted sect. 'It is not lawful for Christians', he wrote in 382, in a work addressed to the pagans, 'to overthrow error by constraint and violence, but rather to compass the salvation of mankind by persuasion and reason and kindness.' He is contrasting the treatment of the pagans by Theodosius with the persecution of the Christians by the pagan emperors, and if Gratian and Theodosius used constraint, it is at least true that they used it without violence and that they used it merely to consolidate, stage by stage, a

victory that was being won by the methods which Chrysostom recommended.

Gratian, we have seen, formally dissociated the prince from the old religious system by refusing the insignia of 'pontifex maximus' in 382. In the same year the removal of the altar and statue of Victory which Augustus had placed in the senate house as a symbol of the Roman destiny announced the disestablishment of paganism. Its disendowment at once followed; the priestly colleges were deprived of the subsidies they had received from the state, and temple lands were taken over by the imperial treasury. This did no more than place the two religious systems, the Catholic Church and the pagan priesthood, in the same position, but paganism had not the power to meet Christianity on equal terms, and with the removal of its official and material supports it collapsed. When Theodosius, by laws of 381 and 385, prohibited the examination of sacrificial victims for the purpose of divination, he removed almost the only motive that now induced men to offer sacrifices, and by 391, when he forbade the temples to be frequented, paganism was already withdrawing from public view. A law of the following year which sought to drive it from its last refuge in domestic shrines and chapels expressed the conscience of a society now Christian in its ideal of private and family life.

Though the legal life of paganism was brought to an end by these measures, no pagan was compelled to practise the Christian religion or to abjure his own beliefs. In the East the rhetorician Libanius continued to champion the cause of paganism in his writings without losing the favour of Theodosius. No individual suffered violence or loss of fortune for his religion, nor was there even discrimination in the bestowing of honours or offices. Themistius, another champion of paganism in the East, became prefect of Constantinople. Symmachus, who was the spokesman of the pagan party at Rome in 384, when it attempted to induce Valentinian II to restore the Altar of Victory, was prefect of the city at the time. The praetorian prefect of Italy was another distinguished pagan, Nicomachus Flavianus, who showed some years later that the tolerance of Theodosius was liable to be

abused by leading a pagan reaction at Rome when the Frankish general Arbogast, having procured the murder of Valentinian II in 392, installed as western Augustus his nominee, the rhetorician and palace official Eugenius, who, though a Christian, found it politic to conciliate the pagan party. When this brief usurpation was put an end to in 394, there was still no retaliation against the pagans. Theodosius contented himself with obtaining a decree from the senate abolishing paganism at Rome. There was still pagan sentiment enough to provoke St. Augustine's *City of God* and to call for prohibitory laws from the sons of Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius, and from Valentinian III. But by these measures they were merely removing the debris of a religion already reduced at Rome to the obstinate observance of an aristocratic coterie, and rapidly degenerating elsewhere into a superstition which lurked in the streets of great cities or haunted the country-sides.

If the action of the state had helped to clear away the remnants of paganism, it had not been the cause of its dissolution. 'Enjoying peace and disturbed by no one', St. John Chrysostom had written, 'the error of Hellenic superstition has died of itself and has collapsed from the inside. Like bodies subject to a slow consumption, it has perished naturally without injury from any one, and has gradually disappeared by its own decomposition.' That is one half of the truth. The other is that persuasion and example had been at work withdrawing from it its votaries and incorporating these in the Christian community. By this conversion of the ancient society the Church assumed all the visible powers which antiquity had known.

THE ORGANIZATION AND LIFE OF THE CHURCH

The episcopate and episcopal councils. With a Roman power of organization the Church had logically elaborated its original structure into a great hierarchical system. From the apostles had developed the episcopate, each bishop, with clergy subordinate to him, having his seat of authority (*cathedra*) in the church of a city, which, with its territory, formed his see. From an early date the bishop of the principal city, or metropolis, of

a civil province had been allowed precedence over the other bishops of the province, along with a certain superiority of jurisdiction, and when it became the practice for the bishops of a province to meet in council, he presided over their deliberations. The Council of Nicaea (325) confirmed this arrangement, and regularized it in the East into a system of ecclesiastical provinces, corresponding generally to the civil provinces in their boundaries, each centred in a metropolitan see. The same system established itself in the West, though for long it was less stable there and more variable, its development being affected by the precarious and changeable political conditions of the fifth and following centuries.   ‑

In Italy the bishops of the suburbicarian districts (those south of the Apennines, with Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica) had no metropolitans or councils of their own, but were directly subject to the bishop of Rome. From the time of Gratian to the early part of the sixth century, a special relationship existed also between the Roman see and Eastern Illyricum (Greece, Macedonia, Dacia, Dardania, and Moesia). When this Greek-speaking area was transferred by Gratian to his eastern colleague Theodosius, the Pope, Damasus, decided to retain it within the western ecclesiastical system, and arranged that, while each of the provinces which composed it should retain its own metropolitan and council, all were to be subject to the superior jurisdiction of the bishop of Thessalonica, acting as 'vicar of the Apostolic See'.

Certain other sees of apostolic origin, besides Rome, had a special authority attributed to them. The Council of Nicaea decreed that the customary privileges of such sees should be maintained, expressly recognizing those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. To Jerusalem it gave a position of honour without removing it from the jurisdiction of its metropolitan, the bishop of Caesarea. To Alexandria, which was a great city as well as an apostolic foundation, the Council allowed not merely a special dignity but a superior jurisdiction extending over all the provinces of Egypt (now including Cyrenaica) and corresponding to the jurisdiction which the Pope, as bishop of Rome,

exercised in Italy. The see of Antioch was similarly recognized as possessing an extended authority. The Council of Constantinople of 381, besides confirming the position of the bishop of Antioch as president of the bishops of the provinces composing the civil diocese of Oriens and the special jurisdiction of the bishop of Alexandria over the whole of Egypt, now a civil diocese, declared that Constantinople was to enjoy a 'precedence of honour' after Rome. Along with Jerusalem, Constantinople had its honorary privileges supplemented by a grant of actual jurisdiction by the Council of Chalcedon of 451, which assigned to Jerusalem the three provinces of Palestine and to Constantinople the three civil dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace. The huge extent of the jurisdiction thus granted to Constantinople restricted the authority of sees like Ephesus and Caesarea of Cappadocia, which had been tending to acquire jurisdiction over the whole of the civil dioceses, Asia and Pontus, in which the provinces they belonged to were situated. In the West also there was a tendency here and there towards the formation of large ecclesiastical units around great sees other than Rome. The districts under the civil vicar of Italy (Italy north of the Apennines) all looked upon Milan as their metropolitan see in the second half of the fourth century, and Aquileia was similarly regarded by the provinces of Western Illyricum (Noricum, Dalmatia, Pannonia), while Carthage acted as the metropolitan see not only of its own (the proconsular) province but of all the five ecclesiastical provinces of Latin Africa. But the position of Milan and Aquileia was exceptional and temporary, and in the fifth century their importance declined with the increasing prominence of Ravenna, which now displaced Milan as the imperial residence, while Carthage never acquired a position comparable with that of the greater sees of the East. Mainly that was due to the unique position in the West of the see of Rome, and when, from the sixth century onwards, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem appear as a system of patriarchates, the bishop of Rome was regarded as the patriarch of the whole of the West, with which Eastern Illyricum still continued to be grouped.

Apart from the patriarchates, as they came to be called, the largest ecclesiastical unit recognized as normal was the province, the bishops of which, in accordance with a canon of the Council of Nicaea, met regularly twice a year to discuss matters of discipline. But though the province was the only unit required to hold regular synods, a canon of the Council of Constantinople of 381 recognizes that in the East, outside Egypt, where the Pope of Alexandria exercised a monarchical authority over the provincial metropolitans, it was already the practice for the bishops from all the provinces of a civil diocese to take council together when necessary. Similarly in the West a council representing the homogeneous group of the Latin provinces of Africa met regularly, and elsewhere there were occasional assemblies of bishops also representing areas larger than the provinces. It might even happen that a general council might be held representing all the western or all the eastern bishops. Rarely a council might be recognized as expressing the consensus of the episcopate as a whole. The councils of the fourth and fifth centuries which were recognized as oecumenical in that sense were those of Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), and Chalcedon (451). Originally that of Constantinople was a purely eastern council, and it was not until the sixth century that it was accepted as oecumenical, and then only in respect of its dogmatic decisions, by the Pope and the western episcopate. The other three councils were almost as exclusively eastern in their composition, but at these the Pope was represented by legates, and their oecumenical character was recognized from the beginning. If the Pope could thus give to a council, or withhold from it, the oecumenical character which made its decisions binding upon the Church as a whole, that was not merely because the inclusion of the western episcopate in its consensus depended upon his assent but also because of the special authority attributed to his see in the East as well as the West.

The Papacy. The institution of St. Peter as the foundation and ruler of the Church (Matt. xvi) had set in motion a remarkable train of consequences, which have already been traced through the first three centuries as the history of the Papacy. Under

Constantine this development was arrested by the encroachment of the temporal power, and the situation became worse when his son Constantius associated the imperial authority with the Arian heresy, and when Valens continued this policy in the East. But this aggravation of the evil provoked active resistance, and with Julius, Liberius, and Damasus the Papacy reasserted itself. With the accession of the Catholic emperors Gratian and Theodosius, full recognition was obtained of the autonomy of the Church, which was not thereafter challenged by any emperor in the West. The ecclesiastical organization was thus allowed to work normally, and the Papacy recovered its freedom of action.

Communion between the churches which belonged to the Catholic unity was regulated by formal letters, 'formatae' (or 'litterae communicatoriae'). The centre of this system was the Pope, with whom, as the successor of St. Peter, 'the whole world is united in a society of communion by an interchange of "formatae".' That is how the system is described by Optatus, bishop of Milev in Numidia, writing about 366. At Milan they thought of this 'society of communion' in the same way as at Milev. 'From Rome', wrote St. Ambrose a generation after Optatus, 'proceeds for all (bishops) the right to the venerable communion,' and 'where Peter is, there is the Church'. To be in communion with the Roman see was to be in communion with all other churches; to be excommunicated by it was to cease to be a part of the Catholic Church. 'Whom your Holiness has condemned', St. Ambrose wrote to Pope Siricius, 'we also condemn in accordance with your judgement.' Excommunication was the ecclesiastical instrument by which, in the last resort, the Papacy sanctioned its authority in matters of faith and general discipline. When Himerius, the metropolitan of the Spanish province of Tarraconensis, complained to Siricius in 385 about certain disorders of discipline, the Pope, in laying down a rule for all the provinces of the diocese of Spain, insists that it must be observed by all bishops 'who do not wish to be detached from the solidity of the apostolic rock upon which Christ constructed the universal Church'. Such papal rules, or decretals, along with the

disciplinary decisions of councils, were now forming into a body
of canon law, and Siricius warns the Spanish bishops of their
binding force. At the same time the fullest possible autonomy
was allowed to all ecclesiastical units, and normally the Pope
intervened only when appealed to. 'Especially when a question
of faith is ventilated,' to use the words of Pope Innocent, it was
considered that 'Peter should be referred to'. 'The blessed Peter,
who still lives and presides in his own see, gives the true faith
to all who seek it.' So wrote the bishop of Ravenna, Peter
Chrysologus, in the middle of the fifth century. In Gaul about
that time a collection consisting of letters of 'the rulers of the
Roman Church', Innocent and Zosimus, along with the deci-
sions of two African councils, 'which the apostolic rulers have
made their own by approving of them,' were in circulation as
a test for those 'who profess to follow and approve only what the
most sacred see of the blessed Apostle Peter has sanctioned
against the enemies of the grace of God through the ministry of
its rulers'. The two African councils were those held at Milev
and Carthage in 416, when the teaching on grace of Pelagius
and his disciple Celestius had been condemned. No part of the
Church was more jealous of its autonomy than the African
provinces grouped round the great see of Carthage, but in a
matter of faith they knew with whom the last word lay, and they
had obtained from Pope Innocent confirmation of their decision.
This was the case of which St. Augustine said, in a sermon of
417, 'Two councils have sent to the Apostolic See, and rescripts
have come from there. The case is finished.' In his *causa finita
est* St. Augustine is echoing an expression used by Innocent in
his rescript to the Council of Carthage. In this letter the Pope
lays down the ground and the extent of the authority of his see:

> You decided [he says] that it was proper to refer to our judgement,
> knowing what is due to the Apostolic See, since we who are set in this
> place all desire to follow the Apostle from whom the very episcopate
> and whole authority of this name is derived. Following him, we
> know how to condemn the evil and to approve the good. Preserving
> by your sacerdotal office the customs of the Fathers, you have not
> spurned that which they decreed with a divine and not human

judgement—that whatsoever is done, even though it be in inaccessible and remote provinces, is not to be considered as finished until it has been brought to the knowledge of this See . . . I congratulate you therefore, dearest brethren, that . . . you ask for a decree that shall profit all the churches of the world at once.

Though Innocent is addressing Africans, he is affirming his authority over the whole of Christendom, East as well as West. Five years later it is the East that Pope Boniface has especially in mind in a letter which he addresses to the bishops of Thessaly. 'The Church', he says, 'received at its origin the principle of its universal organization from the honour done to blessed Peter. . . . It is certain, therefore, that to all the churches scattered throughout the whole world, this See is the head of the body of which they are members, and whosoever separates himself from it places himself outside the Christian religion.' Unlike Innocent, however, Boniface is not asserting an authority altogether unquestioned by those to whom he is addressing himself. We have seen that when the emperor Gratian transferred Eastern Illyricum to his eastern colleague, Pope Damasus had made a special provision to retain this area within the western ecclesiastical system by making the metropolitans of the provinces composing it subject to the bishop of Thessalonica as apostolic vicar. But many of the bishops of these Greek-speaking provinces, and especially the bishops of Thessaly, were now lending themselves to an eastern intrigue to remove the apostolic vicar and connect this area ecclesiastically with the East. In a letter addressed to all the bishops of Illyricum Boniface therefore warns those engaged in this intrigue that the East as well as the West is subject to the authority of his see, recalling the time of the Arian troubles under Constantius and Valens, when Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria, and his successor, Peter, had appealed to Rome against their deposition, and when Antioch had sought help in the same quarter. In more recent times, he reminds them, when Nectarius was made bishop of Constantinople (in 382), his appointment had not been regarded as valid until he had received the communion of the bishop of Rome, and the emperor Theodosius had himself sent a legation to get

recognition of the appointment from Pope Damasus. By this reference to Constantinople and the eastern emperor, as well as by various hints throughout this correspondence, Boniface indicates the source of the intrigue—the ambition of the see of Constantinople, in association with the civil power, to rule the whole ecclesiastical system of the eastern Empire.

The claims of the see of Constantinople had no root in ecclesiastical tradition. It was not an apostolic foundation. It was a suffragan see of Heraclea (in Macedonia) when the Council held at Constantinople in 381 granted it a 'precedence of honour after Rome', and for this honorary position a purely secular reason was given—'because it is New Rome', that is, the civil counterpart of Rome in the eastern Empire. The see of Constantinople never ceased to act upon the secular principle to which it owed its high rank. Whereas in the West the Papacy asserted its freedom from the control of the civil power, the see of Constantinople gave its obedience to the emperor of the East, who tended indeed to become there what the Pope was in the West. The creation of an eastern Augustus, we have seen, and the corresponding establishment of a self-contained administrative system for the East, had had the effect of deepening the existing cleavage between the Greek and Latin halves of the Empire. The East showed itself so conscious of a separate identity as to imperil ecclesiastical as well as political unity. Corresponding to the political dyarchy which now reinforced the racial, linguistic, and cultural dualism of East and West, there grew up among Easterns the conception of an ecclesiastical dyarchy, with Rome and Constantinople, Old Rome and New Rome, as twin seats of government, sufficiently unified by a common orthodoxy of belief. In practice, however, there could be no unity of belief between East and West without an authority recognized by both as supplying the standard of orthodoxy, and even within the East itself the see of Constantinople showed itself incapable of playing the part which a dyarchy would assign to it; and the more reasonable Easterns were ready to accept 'the ecclesiastical rule' which, according to Socrates and Sozomen, who refer to Pope Liberius as their authority, 'com-

mands that the churches shall not issue any canons contrary to the opinion of the bishop of Rome.' These two historians were laymen (lawyers) writing at Constantinople about 440. Eastern ecclesiastics of that period also acknowledged the same tradition when controversy compelled them to look for the seat of authority, as at the time of the Council of Ephesus, and especially when the attitude of their rulers, as in the time of Pulcheria and Marcian, when the Council of Chalcedon was held, encouraged them to extend their view beyond their immediate horizon and envisage the Church as a whole.

When the Council of Ephesus of 431, under the presidency of St. Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, condemned Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, for teaching a doctrine which so separated the divine and human natures in Christ as to make of them two persons, and which denied to Mary the traditional title of 'Theotokos' (Mother of God) and declared her to be merely· mother of Christ the man, it was simply registering a judgement pronounced by Pope Celestine the previous year; it acted throughout in accordance with his directions, and in announcing its decision it described itself as 'necessarily impelled thereto by the canons and by the letter of our most holy Father and colleague, Celestine, bishop of the Roman Church'. In composition it was entirely eastern except for the presence of three papal legates.

Equally eastern in composition was the Council of Chalcedon of 451, two African bishops being the only Westerns, besides the legates of Pope Leo, among some 600 Fathers who assembled there and heard the proceedings opened in the name of the Pope as 'the head of all the churches'. In condemning the heresy of monophysitism, the contrary error to Nestorianism in the sense that it failed to preserve the distinction between the divine and human natures in Christ, and taught that his human nature was wholly absorbed in his divinity, the Council adopted with acclamation a dogmatic statement which had been sent by Leo two years before to Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, and which was now submitted to the Council by the papal legates. 'Through Leo', the Fathers cried, 'Peter has spoken.' And in deposing Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, they were still following the

judgement of Leo, pronounced, his legates said, 'through us and the most holy council here assembled, in union with . . . the Apostle Peter, the rock and base of the Catholic Church and the foundation of the true Faith'.

The Council then proceeded to formulate a series of canons, one of which, the twenty-eighth, subjected to the jurisdiction of Constantinople all the sees in the civil dioceses of Thrace, Pontus, and Asia. Thereafter the primacy of the Roman see over all others (πρὸ πάντων τὰ πρωτεῖα) was acknowledged, and a letter was sent to Leo, 'interpreter to all of the voice of blessed Peter', giving an account of the proceedings; through his legates, it said, he himself had directed the assembled bishops 'as the head the limbs', but the legates had objected to the canon giving precedence to Constantinople 'after your most holy and Apostolic see', and it asked him to confirm the canon directly, that so 'the head may supply what is becoming to the children'. In refusing to confirm the canon, while approving the other decisions of the Council, Leo gave as his reason that it violated the decrees of Nicaea by infringing the rights of Alexandria and Antioch and of the metropolitans whom it proposed to make subject to Constantinople. But he felt that it also threatened the authority of his own see and the unity of the Church in the future. It would encourage, he knew, the tendency for the eastern sees to group themselves around Constantinople. If the predominance of Constantinople in the East had to be accepted, as it was in fact accepted by his successors in the sixth century, it was the more necessary, for the future unity of the Church, that the Roman primacy should be acknowledged by the Easterns in the full traditional sense, and in that respect the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon was objectionable in its terms. In giving Constantinople the same rights in the East as Rome exercised in the West because the eastern city was now 'honoured by the presence of the emperor and senate', it claimed not only to be giving effect to the decree of the Council of Constantinople of 381, which had given the see a 'precedence of honour after Rome because it is New Rome', but also to be following the example of earlier Fathers who had rightly (it said) acknowledged the

precedence of Old Rome 'because it was the imperial city'. Leo indicated the reason for his dissatisfaction with the canon when, in informing the empress Pulcheria of his annulment of it, he described himself as acting 'by the authority of the Apostle Peter', and when he warned the emperor Marcian that 'no structure will be stable that is not built upon the rock which the Lord laid as foundation'. It would altogether misrepresent the mind of the Council of Chalcedon to impute to it, from the terms of its twenty-eighth canon, a secular theory of the ecclesiastical primacy which placed the unity of the Church at the mercy of political changes and of the rivalry of great cities. The Council not only acknowledged Rome as the seat of the primacy but implied by its procedure and by the terms which it applied to Leo and his see that it recognized the primacy to be derived from Peter. The canon which Leo annulled was passed at a session attended only by a third of the bishops at the Council, most of those who were then present were of the jurisdiction of Constantinople, and in connecting the privileged position always allowed to the Roman see with the eminence of the city, their object was to make out that in basing their claims for Constantinople upon its civil rank they had the support of a tradition that went back beyond the Council of 381. And their argument, if somewhat disingenuous, was in no way inconsistent with a recognition of the Roman primacy as deriving from St. Peter. As Leo himself explained in a sermon preached at Rome on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, the primacy of the see was connected at its origin with the political position of the city in the sense that, when the apostles dispersed after Pentecost, 'Peter, the prince of the apostolic order, was destined for the citadel of the Roman Empire, in order that the light of truth . . . might be shed more efficaciously through the whole body of the world from the head itself.' From the first century to the fifth the pre-eminence of the city never ceased to corroborate in men's minds the primacy of the see. As reasons for showing deference to the see in the time of Leo himself, the prerogative of Peter and the greatness of Rome appear side by side in a constitution of Valentinian III of the year 445, and in

letters written by his mother, Galla Placidia, five years later. Galla is writing on the Pope's behalf to the eastern court, and perhaps the argument from the dignity of the city was employed as one likely to appeal to the eastern mind. At all events the terms in which the canon of Chalcedon were formulated were characteristic of the inveterate habit of the Easterns to associate civil and sacerdotal power. The truth is that the East as a whole had no firm and adequate notion of internal unity as one of the marks of the Church. Partly this was because secular powers and passions had obscured or distorted the scriptural and traditional testimony which indicated the source and seat of unity, partly because the natural genius of the East inclined it less to ecclesiastical conceptions than to the freedom of ideological speculations. There also it suffered by an inadequate conception of authority, and throughout antiquity it was the author of almost all the heresies. If its ideas were also those which contributed most to the development of dogmatic theology, that was because the Papacy, as custodian of the deposit of faith, knew how to sift its theories, and mould them by its power of definition into the body of orthodox doctrine.

Intellectual activity. The Roman civil law not only supplied a formal model for the conciliar canons and papal decretals which were now gathering into a code of canon law, but also assisted dogmatic definition. If it was in the East that the controversies arose, it was in the West that the formulas which concluded them were found. An admirable instrument for concreteness and precision was supplied by the Latin language, which, on its side, was enriched with a new repertory of abstract terms. On the other hand, it was Greek philosophy, especially Platonism at this period, that helped in systematizing dogma into theology. This intellectual activity, by which faith endeavoured to explain its own grounds and draw out its own implications, was stimulated by differences of opinion, for it was only gradually that particular doctrines recommended themselves to the conscience of the Church and were sanctioned by its authority, while in combating the heresies thus excluded orthodoxy not only gained a more precise notion of the deposit of

faith but became increasingly aware of the richness of its content.
From the currents and cross-currents of opinion a main stream
of development disengaged itself. In the fourth century and in
the first half of the fifth, the golden age of patristic literature, the
eastern theologians who did most to direct the course of develop-
ment were Athanasius of Alexandria, the inflexible opponent
of Arianism; the three Cappadocians, St. Basil, St. Gregory of
Nazianzus, and St. Gregory of Nyssa, whose teaching helped
to bring the East back from Arianism to orthodoxy; and St.
Cyril of Alexandria, who procured the condemnation of Nes-
torius and his doctrine. In moral theology there was St. John
Chrysostom of Antioch, whose fearless preaching, when he was
bishop of Constantinople, drew upon him the enmity of the
empress Eudoxia (wife of Arcadius) and her court, and so put
into the hands of his doctrinal enemies a means of contriving his
deposition and banishment. St. Hilary of Poitiers was the prota-
gonist of orthodoxy against Arianism in the West, where the
traditional doctrine also received support from the writings of
St. Ambrose, which gained authority from their author's emin-
ence as a statesman. Both Hilary and Ambrose owed much to
the Easterns, inheritors of the methods of Greek philosophy, yet
it was the West that produced in St. Augustine the greatest of
all the ancient theologians. Noted especially for his exposition
of the doctrine of grace, he illuminated every department of
theology. He was also the author, in his *City of God*, of a Christian
philosophy of history. Historical curiosity was natural to men
whose religious faith began with an event and was incorporated
in a visible society. It was fortunate that in the first systematic
writer of ecclesiastical history, Eusebius of Caesarea, this curio-
sity took the form of a taste for the research of original docu-
ments, which the author's desire to justify a narrative which was
also an apologetic led him to cite at length. To this character-
istic of Eusebius modern historians owe most of the first-hand
material which they possess for the history of the Church in the
first three centuries, as well as the first example, outside the
history of literature, of the apparatus of documentation. Euse-
bius wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* in the years preceding the

Council of Nicaea. The West had to wait until the following
century before its first ecclesiastical historians appeared with
Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus, and Orosius. Meanwhile it had
produced a great scholar in St. Jerome, who, at the instance of
Pope Damasus, gave to the West the Latin version of the Bible
which it has used ever since and which it has known since the
sixteenth century as the Vulgate. The positive character of all
this intellectual activity gave substance to the ancient literary
forms. Poetry, now provided with matter and motive after
centuries of inanity, revived in the didactic and lyrical compo-
sitions of the Spaniard Prudentius. A few of Prudentius' lyrical
pieces received a place, along with the graver hymns of St.
Ambrose, in the liturgical office. The liturgy, in its turn, now
fully developed and rendered in a public setting, stimulated a
fresh activity of architecture, and inspired a symbolic art which
found a medium in mosaic, in the sculptured reliefs of sarcophagi,
and in the decorative treatment of metal-work and ivory. Al-
ready, it is true, literature and the arts are reflecting the barbari-
zation of society in the West that preceded the actual settlement
of the barbarians within the Empire, but by now the Church
has so possessed herself of the intellectual method and artistic
technique of antiquity that her vitality will ensure their conser-
vation and reflorescence.

The supernatural life. Through the closely articulated system
of dioceses and provinces the life of the Church circulated every-
where. By symbolic art, the liturgy, the preaching of the clergy,
not only dogma but all that it implied for thought and life per-
meated the mass of the faithful. In its inner life society was thus
reconstituted on the principle of authority, that is, the recog-
nition that through the Church which He had founded in the
person of Christ and informed with the Holy Spirit, God sus-
tained and illumined His creation. 'Christians ought not to be
surprised', wrote a pagan witness of the Arian controversy, 'to
find doctrinal differences among themselves, since Hellenists
also differ; indeed God likes this variety of human thought,
and is pleased to see his subjects struggle in rivalry to honour
his majesty or confess by their differences their difficulty in

comprehending it.'[1] This sceptical tolerance, the symptom of a disintegrating system and itself an agent of its dissolution, was impossible to Christian society. To such a society schism and heresy were mortal maladies, especially a heresy which endangered the principle of authority, as Arianism did by its rationalized substitute for the dogma of the divinity of Christ.

In Arianism one sees the influence of Greek philosophy. Manichæism, on the other hand, attacked the principle of authority in the name of positive science. This religious system, which was founded by the Persian Mani in the third century and spread widely throughout the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth, was not indeed a Christian heresy, but it was a syncretism which incorporated Christian elements derived from heretical sources (notably Marcionism), and its influence tended to re-awaken within Christendom a distinctive set of heretical ideas, such as those found in Priscillianism. The scientific system which Manichæism offered as a substitute for theology was an adaptation of the Chaldaean cosmogony too complicated and fantastic to be generally adopted, but many minds responded instinctively to the materialistic dualism which it shared with Mithraism and which it derived from the same Iranian source. To the Manichæan there was a power of evil, or Darkness, co-eternal with the power of good, or Light, and it was this prince of Darkness who was the creator of the material world and of human life, which were thus intrinsically evil. The 'elect' of this pessimistic and puritanical system, the origin or prototype of all the Catharistic heresies, abominated the Catholic Church as a diabolic creation for its doctrine of the Incarnation and for its sacramental system.

The sacramental system was no less essential to the constitution of Catholic society than the principle of authority. By a *communio sacramentorum* the faithful conceived themselves to draw from the divine source which sustained the Church a supernatural life, or grace, which supplied human insufficiency and made them free. By this supernatural life in which they participated they were, in the words of St. Paul, 'the body of Christ'.

[1] Themistius, *Orat.* xiii.

This conception of Christian society as a body unified within itself by a sacramental union with Christ as its Head was threatened from inside as well as from outside, and St. Augustine's exposition of the doctrine of grace was an answer to the heresy of Pelagius (a Briton), who proclaimed the self-sufficiency of human nature.

Pelagianism, in effect, was a revival of humanism in its Stoical form, and, like Stoicism, it expressed a spiritual pride which, in the claim it made for human nature, was exalting the strong man, steeled by austerity, while it depreciated the mass of humanity. The Church, on the other hand, gave to humanity a new value and a new bond of union by passing beyond humanism to the supernatural motive of charity. This *vinculum caritatis* was a love of God's creation which proceeded from a love of God Himself and therefore knew no limit. Every human soul, as a creature of God, had an infinite value, not measurable by human standards or even by its own actual merits.

By the comprehensiveness of its charity Catholic society was distinguished from the communities which took a pride in reckoning themselves among 'the saints' of which, as they believed, the Church on earth consisted. Composed of sinners as well as saints ever since her first beginnings in Galilee, the Catholic Church never found her task 'to call not the just but sinners to penance' more formidable than at the time when paganism crumbled to pieces and enormous numbers entered her communion. This transition was assisted by a wise tolerance, which accepted and Christianized traditional usages and popular festivals, but the elimination of superstition from a society newly emerged from paganism, and its sanctification by the doctrine, moral code, and penitential discipline of the Church, was a difficult process. And if the action of the state had helped to bring about this mass conversion, its legislation did not now do much to assist in the reformation of society, while its patronage, directly or indirectly, brought embarrassing consequences. The civil jurisdiction which the bishops had exercised ever since the time of Constantine grew to be a serious distraction, while official favour helped to attract to the Church a private munificence

for which it took some time to organize an administrative service such as would effectually relieve the hierarchy of the burden which this material trust imposed. In the sudden access of prosperity it would be too much to hope that religious fervour and clerical discipline would remain unaffected. Nevertheless the Church accomplished the immense task of incorporation with extraordinary success. If a formidable catalogue of complaints, against the clergy as well as the laity, could be compiled from contemporary documents, that is true for every age of a vast and mixed society which has always shown its vitality and its attachment to its ideals by a violent self-criticism; and in the fourth and fifth centuries most of the criticism came from men, like St. Jerome and Salvianus, who applied a standard so rigorous that they lived in society as ascetics or withdrew from it altogether in order to realize their ideal of Christian perfection.

The beginnings of monasticism. In the first three centuries many Christian men and women had lived an ascetic life in their own family. Occasionally a group might meet periodically to go through religious exercises, and it might happen that such a group would arrange to live together as one household. But its members did not withdraw from the world or from their local Christian community. The practice of living a life apart began in Egypt, where the extensive deserts which flank the Nile on either side offered a retreat secure from intrusion. This life took one or other of two forms, the eremitical or the coenobitical, according as it followed the example of St. Anthony or modelled itself on the system founded by St. Pachomius.

In 285 St. Anthony fixed his retreat on the east bank of the Nile opposite the Fayum, but twenty years later he moved to the coast of the Red Sea where now stands the monastery that bears his name. His solitude there was invaded by disciples in such numbers that the surrounding neighbourhood was soon peopled by them. By the time of Constantine such colonies of anchorites were to be found all over Egypt, especially in Lower Egypt. In the valley of Nitria, which derived its name from some nitre lakes to the west of the Delta, thousands of monks had settled by the end of the fourth century. With prayer and

meditation they combined a certain amount of manual labour, but this was simply to provide some of the necessaries of life or to give them occupation between their religious exercises, and it was of a kind, such as basket-making or linen-weaving, that they could do in their own cells. They met in the centre of the valley to attend services at a church served by clergy from the neighbourhood, but that was only on Saturdays and Sundays, and the function of the clergy was purely liturgical. Either singly, or in groups of two or three, the monks lived their own lives in their separate cells, subject to no rule and to no superior. Even in a large settlement, then, the Antonian life remained essentially individualistic and indeed eremitical.

From the first half of the fourth century onwards this form of asceticism spread to Palestine and the peninsula of Sinai, and to Syria and the Euphrates valley. The Syrian desert in particular was peopled by such monks. Whether they lived in settlements similar to that of Nitria, or in smaller groups, or as isolated individuals, these monks were always anchorites, remarkable, many of them, for strange austerities. It was this Antonian monachism that appealed to the Orientals. In the course of the fourth century monasteries of the Pachomian type appeared among them, but these were not common, and some of them were founded by Westerns. Such were the monasteries for men and women established at Jerusalem, on the Mount of Olives, by Rufinus and Melania (the Younger), and the monastery which St. Jerome, after a disillusioning experience as a solitary on the fringe of the Syrian desert, founded at Bethlehem in 386, alongside the monastery for women ruled by his Roman disciple Paula.

St. Jerome had made acquaintance with the Pachomian system at Canopus, near Alexandria, but its real home was in Upper Egypt, in the Thebaid. Here, about 315, Pachomius, a young peasant of pagan family who had been converted by an experience of Christian charity, after living for some time as a hermit, grouped a number of ascetics together to live a communal life, and so founded the coenobitical system. Numerous disciples presented themselves, and other monasteries were soon

established. Under this system there was a fixed routine of church services, and the labour of the monks, which was now an integral part of their life, was highly organized. Each monastery formed an enclosure containing a number of dwellings, where the monks were housed, in groups of forty or fifty, according to the nature of their work. Occasionally one of these monasteries, such as the Coptic foundation ruled by Senuti towards the end of the fourth century, might grow almost to the dimensions of a city, but most of them remained of moderate size, and the expansion of the Pachomian system in Upper Egypt took the form of a spread of monasteries which not only followed the same rule but had one administrative centre and obeyed the same superior.

This unified organization, a remote anticipation of Cluny and Citeaux, did not extend beyond its original home, but independent monasteries of the Pachomian type spread widely over the eastern provinces, especially in Asia Minor, where the climate did not encourage the life of the solitary and where the Greek political tradition favoured the communal system. The development of this system in Asia Minor in the second half of the fourth century was profoundly influenced by the rule of St. Basil, who founded a monastery near Neocaesarea, in Pontus, about 360. By his rule austerities were moderated, the importance of labour as a religious activity was further emphasized, and the communal discipline was reinforced. This gained it the favour of the episcopate, and the Basilian system became the official form of Greek (and later of Slavonic) monachism. In the fifth century, however, the principal field of Greek monastic life was Palestine, where the growth of the system was restricted by the survival of the Antonian tradition, and where the monasteries which conformed fully to the Basilian rule were outnumbered by the lauras, enclosures where the monks lived a semi-eremitical life in separate cells. Even when the centre of Greek monachism shifted to Constantinople, the Basilian rule tended to be deformed by the influence of Oriental asceticism, and it was in the West, through St. Benedict, that it was to find its most complete realization.

In the West, as in the East, native asceticism developed under the influence of Egyptian monachism, a knowledge of which spread westwards in the first half of the fourth century, especially through St. Athanasius, who came to Rome in 339 accompanied by two Egyptian monks and whose *Life* of St. Anthony circulated in the West in a Latin translation. Monastic asceticism on the Egyptian model established itself at Rome, where it was encouraged by Pope Damasus and greatly stimulated by the enthusiasm of St. Jerome, who was at Rome from 382 to 385. He particularly influenced a group of ladies of high rank, who spread the movement among men as well as among women by their example and their benefactions. Meanwhile it had extended over central and southern Italy, and had reached the cities of the north, notably Aquileia, where Rufinus and Jerome had learned something of the monastic life, Milan, where St. Ambrose maintained a monastery, and Vercelli, where the bishop, Eusebius, subjected his clerics to a monastic rule. This combination of the clerical and monastic states was encouraged by St. Augustine in Africa, where the ordinary form of monasticism already flourished. By now the ascetics of Spain and Gaul had conformed to the prevailing system. In Gaul its establishment is especially associated with the name of St. Martin. A Pannonian by origin, St. Martin had lived for nearly ten years as a hermit near Poitiers, when, in 373, he was made bishop of Tours. There he combined the episcopal with the monastic life by founding a community of monks in the neighbourhood of his city, at a place afterwards known from his monastery as Marmoutier (Martini monasterium). His monks lived singly in their cells, practising individual austerities and meeting only for church services. As elsewhere in the West at this time, it was the Egyptian system in its Antonian form. The system soon spread north to Normandy and Picardy, and it reached Provence early in the fifth century, when John Cassian founded monasteries for men and women at Marseilles and Honoratus established a community in the island of Lerins. Lerins, in its turn, was a centre from which the monastic influence radiated through south-eastern Gaul and far beyond.

St. Patrick spent some years at Lerins, and as a result of his apostolate the system took root in Ireland. Combining there with the tribal institution, it acquired a remarkable vitality, which showed itself for centuries in an energy of expansion, and thereafter in a tenacity which enabled it to survive in its Celtic home throughout the Middle Ages. But elsewhere the type of monachism which retained an Antonian character, unsuited to the western climate and alien to the non-Celtic races of the West, soon lost its early vigour, and it was in full decline, or was already being transformed, as in Italy, by Basilian influence, when it was displaced by the rule of St. Benedict, which adapted to western conditions the coenobitic system of Pachomius and St. Basil.

In the religious controversies of the East the fervour of the monks had sometimes led them into violent excesses, and here and there ascetics had disquieted the bishops by their rigorist ideas or disconcerted them by extravagant austerities. But from the beginning the Church attached supreme value to the ascetic ideal when it was pursued within the limits of the faith, tempered by humility and regulated by a suitable discipline. In canalizing ascetic fervour within the ecclesiastical system, the Church was reinforcing its power of sanctification and its energy of expansion. The eastern monks spread the faith to the Oriental peoples on the confines of the Empire. St. Martin of Tours waged war against the obstinate paganism of rural Gaul. Everywhere within the Empire the monks kept alive the spirit of renunciation and the desire of interior perfection in the difficult times when the old society was disintegrating in the West and a new order had to be built out of its ruins by barbarian hands. In this period of transition the Celtic monks Christianized the lands peopled by their race, while the monasteries of St. Benedict supplied the Teutonic barbarian with a model of an organized life and taught him the arts of peace.

THE END OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST. THE CHURCH AND THE BARBARIANS

When the emperors sought the protection of the God of the Christians, they associated with the state a society which

conceived of itself as a body sustained by a divine authority. Such a society, so long as it retained its faith, could not allow itself to be prostrated by material evils. 'Amid the ruins of a falling age', St. Cyprian had said, 'our spirit remains erect.' This was not a mere indifferentism that looked for happiness beyond the limits of this world. It was a trust in God that fortified human endeavour, and it was as active in the fifth century as in the third. By the fifth century the society which it animated, Christendom, nominally included almost the whole population of the Empire. 'Everywhere', says Orosius, 'I find my country, my law and my religion . . . a Roman among Romans, a Christian among Christians.' Was the spirit of Christendom to give to the imperial framework the interior cohesion which it had hitherto lacked?

Among the upper class at Rome there was a pagan remnant which attributed to Christianity and the desertion of the old gods the misfortunes that now afflicted the Empire. After the sack of Rome by Alaric the Goth in 410, this view was freely expressed, and it was in reply to it that Orosius, between 415 and 417, wrote his *History*, illustrating by a narrative of events a thesis which St. Augustine at that time was elaborating in his *City of God*. Like Prudentius, St. Augustine and Orosius believed that there had been a providential connexion between the Empire and the Church. St. Augustine, however, insists that since the function of the Church upon earth is to extend and safeguard the Kingdom of God, she is concerned with the fortunes of an earthly kingdom only in so far as it can be made to serve her purpose. He still believed that the Church could rely upon the support of the imperial framework: *Romanum imperium afflictum est potius quam mutatum*. But his younger contemporary Orosius is not so confident, and a generation later, when almost the whole of Gaul, Spain, and Africa were in the hands of the barbarians, Salvianus recognizes that the recovery of the Empire in the West is impossible.

The disintegration of the Empire. The Roman Empire had so imposed itself upon the minds of its subjects that, up to the fifth century, they accepted the imperial framework and the civil law

almost as part of the natural order. This view, in their turn, they have so communicated to the historian that he is more concerned to explain how the Empire came to an end than to ask how so remarkable a system maintained itself for so long as it did. The expansion of Rome, a process by which a municipality first incorporated Italy, and then an empire extending from the Clyde to the Euphrates and from the Danube to the Sahara, was so extraordinary that pagan and Christian alike regarded it as providential. But if it was extraordinary, it had not the rooted stability of a natural growth. For a modern analogy one may point to the system of international finance, which intimately affects the life of every individual and which nevertheless a war or a revolution may throw out of gear. So the Roman imperial system, which produced profound and enduring effects by enabling the West to be civilized and East and West to be Christianized, was yet, in its governmental framework, an artificial and therefore a precarious structure.

It depended for its existence upon a combination and balance of circumstances, internal and external. Internally the system required that populous areas should acquiesce in being the provinces of a vast political unit governed from a distant centre. As it happened, the East had been prepared by its subjection to an exhausting series of tyrannies for the easier rule of Rome, while the West, which had hitherto known nothing better than a tribal barbarism, was content for a time to enjoy the civilization and peace that membership of the imperial system brought with it. But that willing dependence upon the Empire tended to disappear in the West as homogeneous areas acquired a regional consciousness within the provincial framework. Indirectly the Church strengthened the tendency by the freedom of self-control which she allowed to her local and provincial units, by her recognition that catholicism is enriched by diversities, and by her action in awakening native energy and native qualities. In writings like the *Dialogues* or the *Life of St. Martin* of Sulpicius Severus we recognize, in a Latinity still classical, a spirit which is classical no longer, a native quality released, free, racy, and Gallic. Such writings announce the Middle Ages,

and with the same voice proclaim that culture is ceasing to be
imperial, and that there are units only awaiting an impact upon
the imperial framework to disengage themselves and live their
own life.

The conquest and control of populous areas had been made
possible by the fact that they were not organized as regional
states but in cities or tribes. And these had provided the Empire
with units of local self-government ready-made. Indeed the
effect of the Roman expansion had simply been to enclose
within one framework a vast number of small organisms, which
continued, subject to that limitation, to live their own lives. One
of the conditions which made the imperial system possible
ceased to be fulfilled when these cells, as it were, failed to func-
tion properly in relation to the centre and intervention became
necessary. In appearance government now becomes more cen-
tralized, but in reality this is an index of increasing localization,
and this localization, if it had the advantage of facilitating the
transition to a system of vassalage, was in itself a clear symptom
of disintegration. It meant that the local communities were no
longer supplementing and relieving the central bureaucracy,
which indeed they now hated as the instrument of fiscal exactions,
for which their own failure to co-operate effectively was partly
responsible. For long the Empire had maintained a high stan-
dard of administration under a rudimentary economic system
just because of the active co-operation of the self-governing local
communities. When they ceased to play their part and the
bureaucracy had to supply their place, the financial difficulty
became acute.

The cities, however, were more the victims than the cause of
the increasing fiscal exactions. The prime cause was the neces-
sity of maintaining a large force to guard the frontiers. Here
again circumstances had long favoured the Empire. Along its
frontiers it had been confronted by no powerful state, but simply
by a medley of shifting tribes. A mere policing force of a few
hundred thousand men had sufficed. Now conditions were
changed. Since the time of Alexander Severus the Empire had
had to face the Persian state on the Euphrates, and this meant

a continuous drain on its military and financial resources. And the barbarians in the north, urged from behind by a pressure which originated in some obscure shifting of population in the table-land of central Asia, were concentrating in large ethnic masses which had incorporated the debris of the older tribes, and were threatening the frontiers at several points simultaneously or in rapid succession. As it happened, the Roman army which had kept them at bay for centuries was itself the channel by which they first entered the Empire. To understand how the army came to play that dual role we must return to the frontiers.

The barbarization of the army. The more massed attacks of the barbarians had shown the necessity of a field reserve. In the conditions of transport of those days this meant a mobile reserve within striking distance of each frontier. Such a reserve was provided by the system of Diocletian as completed by Constantine, and in the fourth century the frontier troops, now called *limitanei* and *riparienses*, were supplemented by a field force, *palatini* and *comitatenses*, held in reserve in the cities of the interior.

By a separation of military from civil authority and by a partition of military commands the reformed system sought, without effect, to check the military particularism that had so distracted the third century. We have seen how, in the course of that century, the frontier troops became a local peasant militia and military service an hereditary obligation attaching to frontier land. A commander now became the administrator of a military territory more or less self-sufficient and but little connected with the civilian area behind. The old division of the population of the Empire into citizen and non-citizen gave place to a much more fundamental cleavage between civilian and soldier. Indeed, since the military population of a frontier area were now local people, they were more closely connected with their barbarian neighbours than with the urbanized provincials of the interior.

In spite of the number of troops now stationed in the interior of the provinces, the military system of the fourth century, by its method of recruiting, completed the detachment of the military element from the civil population and its association

with the barbarian. In the circumstances of that time the frontier areas could not of themselves provide the increased number of recruits required, even although all sons of veterans had now to do service, and not merely those who inherited government grants of frontier land. All provincial land was divided up into units called *capitularia*, each obliged to furnish a man. The central government, combining this principle of service as attached to land with the principle of vicarious service, which we already meet with in the reign of Trajan, made the landowners responsible for the quota of recruits due to be supplied from their domains. But these recruits, whom they selected from the least desirable of their semi-servile 'coloni', were poor soldiers, and the obligation was increasingly commuted for a money payment (*aurum tironicum*), with which the government found its own recruits. More and more it looked for them across the frontier, where there was plenty of fighting material which might be dangerous to the Empire if not employed in its service. At all times individual barbarians had been attracted by the imperial service. Now they are found in the pay of the Empire in such numbers that soldier and barbarian were becoming interchangeable terms. Groups of barbarians, on making a formal act of submission, were being settled on imperial lands as *dediticii* on the condition that they undertook military service. This settlement of barbarians within the Empire *en masse* from the time of the Illyrian emperors onwards was a revival of a practice not unknown in the early Empire. It had also been an old practice to arrange with native rulers near a frontier for the supply of contingents of troops. That practice was now revived upon a large scale, and great bands of barbarians, under their native chiefs, or *reges*, entered the service of the Empire as *foederati*. Not infrequently such 'federate' chiefs, or *reges*, found themselves masters of the situation in frontier regions, and they resumed, in a barbaric fashion of their own, the evil tradition of military intervention in the affairs of the centre. They marched their troops about the western provinces, making and unmaking emperors and bargaining for recognition for themselves and land for their men.

So the Goths and the Burgundians and the Franks established themselves in the West. Frontier conditions were created in the interior of the Empire, the unified imperial framework broke down, and the western Empire was partitioned among military and territorial chiefs, still professing to acknowledge the authority of the Roman emperors until the series came to an end in the West in 476, and thereafter owning, for a time, a distant allegiance to the emperor at Byzantium.

So the first stage in the intrusion of the barbarians into the western Empire, looked at from the Roman side, is seen less as a true invasion than as a gradual culmination of the frontier system which had so long kept them in check. The system has been blamed, but it was perhaps the only way of meeting the military necessities of the time. When the Empire was threatened simultaneously by formidable groups of barbarians at different points along its thousands of miles of land frontier, the admission of such groups was inevitable. It was a final solution, though a violent one, of the problem of barbarian pressure that the barbarians, instead of continuing to mass and consolidate outside the frontiers, should have been received, group by group, into the civil tradition. And their reception had long been prepared for. If the Roman frontier had all along presented an impermeable barrier, it would probably have been broken down long before, and the barbarism that would then have surged over the Empire would have been barbarism unrelieved. As it was, the incorporative action of the military system during the first four centuries, besides pacifying frontier areas, feeding the Empire with fresh blood and relieving pressure upon the frontier lines, had taught the barbarians outside that they had much to learn and to gain from civilized life.

Antiquity and Christendom. When Attila entered Italy with his Huns in 452 and moved upon Rome, the man who confronted him at the head of the Roman senators was not the emperor, Valentinian III, but Pope Leo the Great. That meeting may be taken to symbolize the final encounter of the barbarians with Rome. When they entered the Empire, they entered Christendom, and found that civilized life was now independent of the

imperial framework and was safeguarded rather by the ecclesiastical organization. *Constituit heredem universorum.* In converting antiquity Christendom had inherited its powers and reinforced them by its own sense of a mission. Orosius foresees it conserving and enlarging its life by incorporating the barbarians as it had incorporated antiquity, and nearly half a century later, after Rome had been plundered by the Vandals (455), Leo is able to claim that the authority exercised by the city of St. Peter and St. Paul is wider than had ever been wielded by the city of Romulus and Remus. As Christendom, antiquity was not only fulfilled but renewed. To survey the course of our past from the fifth century is therefore to stand central, seeing before and after. Leo by his Roman qualities recalls Trajan and as a pontiff anticipates Hildebrand. St. Augustine consummates the intellectual history of the ancient world, and contributes the element of Christian Platonism to the synthesis of St. Thomas Aquinas.

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